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ANTIQUITIES
FROM
SAN THOMÉ AND MYLAPORE.

Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore.

By
The Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

With a Foreword by
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F. H. FRANCO, V.G.,
*Administrator of the Diocese
of Mylapore.*

SAN THOME, MYLAPORE, MADRAS,
10th April, 1936.

FOREWORD.

The book before us deals principally with Christian antiquities around Madras, but contains also accounts of similar antiquities and traditions in other parts of India and the Indies. The underlying theme is of course the tradition that the Apostle Thomas founded the Christian Church of India, and the author finds vestiges of ancient Christian communities scattered all over the Indies, although only the 'Thomas-Christians' of Malabar have survived to this day. Parts I to III form the nucleus of the book and give a descriptive account of the inscriptions and other antiquities preserved in Mylapore, Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount—places hallowed by association with the Apostle. This part of the book was printed in 1924 with a preface and index. Subsequently the author added papers on special points of interest about Mylapore and about early Christian crosses and other monuments found in Travancore, Coimbatore, Mysore, Bombay Presidency, Burma, Ceylon, Maldives, Cambodia, Malacca, Java, Tonkin and other lands. The work was inspired and encouraged by the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, himself a scholar with a keen interest in the Thomistic antiquities. Nearly the whole work was written and printed by 1927, but it remained incomplete owing largely to the illness of the author. Apparently he had hopes of eventually completing the work, but they were frustrated when he was ordered to return to Europe in 1932.

Early in 1935, the Rt. Rev. Charles de Sá Fragoso, the Bishop of Mylapore, entrusted me with the preparation of the work for publication. Having been a student of the subject from my school days and having had occasion to examine some of the proofs of the present work, I consented to assist in this matter and offered to consult Fr. Hosten himself, whom I hoped to meet in Europe during the summer of 1935. But before I passed Suez, Fr. Hosten died (16th April, 1935). However, I proceeded to Brussels in July and with the help of the Jesuit Fathers of College Saint-Michel and the Flemish Jesuit Provincial House at Chaussee de Haecht where Fr. Hosten died, I ransacked the papers left by the late Father, and found that there was practically nothing pertaining to the present work. I took the opportunity to consult there the great Bollandist scholar, Fr. Peeters, who is a recognised authority on early Persian and Eastern History.

The idea of completing the work was therefore abandoned. After all it is a collection of papers, and not a unified treatise, and therefore the question of completing it does not arise. Nearly all the formes were printed before 1927 and they are

now given out as they were printed. All that I have done is to add a Foreword, a short account of the Indian tradition of St. Thomas and a table of contents. Fr. Eelen, S.J., of Kurseong, has been good enough to write a biographical account of Fr. Hosten which will be greatly appreciated by all the late Father's friends.

As the reader will see, the book is an *omnium gatherum* on St. Thomas and on Christian antiquities in the Indies. Nor does this contain all the late Father's writings on the subject. During his visits to Malabar, he made a thorough study of the Christian tradition in Travancore, collected songs and legends, studied the many ancient crosses found all over the country, carried out expeditions to explore historical sites (like Chayal), took an active part in controversies among Malabar scholars on details of local Christian History and carried on a brisk correspondence with a large number of people, some of which is referred to in these pages. His curiosity was unappeasable and his mastery of detail unsurpassed. He was captivated by the Indian tradition of St. Thomas, and was consumed with a passion for discovering the truth of the riddle that has baffled many generations of scholars before him.

Fr. Hosten has brought together information of a varied nature, partly collected by himself and partly gathered from books and manuscripts in many languages which are not accessible to the ordinary scholar, at any rate in India. He writes like a pioneer exploring a new field; in some cases like an animated tourist recording his impressions. He had not the time to collate facts and to weigh evidence; and the conclusions he has drawn are therefore tentative. The explorer has done his work; he has brought together many objects of great historical value. It now remains for the scientist to scrutinise the objects, to sift the evidence and to draw proper conclusions.

But the work of the pioneer is the most difficult and Fr. Hosten has done it admirably. The book he has written is the most detailed study so far made of early Christian antiquities of India. It is inconclusive, as such work must necessarily be. But it will long remain as a reference book of great value and His Lordship the Bishop of Mylapore deserves the gratitude of scholars for bringing out such a work at a time like the present when interest in historical researches is growing everywhere.

Senate House,
Madras, April 6th, 1936.

P. J. THOMAS.

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WAS THE APOSTLE THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA ?

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

The tradition that St. Thomas the Apostle preached and died in India is as old and deep-rooted as any of the early Christian traditions accepted by historians. In the case of most of these venerable traditions there is not enough documentary evidence compelling unanimous acceptance, and yet to disprove them is extremely difficult, owing to the array of circumstantial evidences supporting them. It is true that many mediæval traditions cannot claim any historical basis. But the tradition about St. Thomas is of much earlier origin, being handed down through well-known writers from Apostolic times. Many legends clustering round this tradition may be mediæval accretions, but that does not weaken the original tradition. An impartial study of it will convince one that it stands on the same plane as many of the generally accepted historical facts about ancient India.

1. *Testimony of the Early Fathers.*

Wherever the Apostle Thomas is mentioned, in breviary or liturgy, in poem or history, he is almost invariably associated with India. All Patristic writings, whether Greek, Latin or Syriac, bear testimony to the connection of the Apostle with India. It is significant that this belief was most pronounced among early Syriac Fathers, who by their proximity to India claim the greatest respect in this matter. According to a well-known authority, "To refer to all the Syrian and Christian Arab authors who speak of India in connection with Thomas would be equivalent to referring to all who have made mention of the name of Thomas".

The earliest known reference to St. Thomas in Syriac writings is in the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which may be dated about 200 A.D. and not later than 250 A.D. It says: "India and all its own countries and those bordering, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler of the church he built there and ministered there".¹ This was written at Edessa, in Mesopotamia; about the same time, the well-known historical romance the *Acts of Thomas* was composed in or around the same city by

¹ Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 33.

some anonymous Syriac writer, and in the 4th century St. Ephraim composed his incomparable hymns about the Apostle of India, narrating with pointed phrase and convincing illustration how Thomas "purified a tainted land of dark people". "The sun-burnt India thou hast made fair" "the cross of light has obliterated India's darkened shades".¹

2. Which India ?

Many critics have stated that the India of the early Fathers is an indefinite geographical expression, meaning sometimes Persia or Arabia or even Abyssinia. We know that such mistakes have been made by mediæval European writers who were ignorant about India, as in those days Islam had erected a barrier against European contact with the East. But to assume that the same mistakes must have been committed by the early Greek and Syrian Fathers betrays a most deplorable ignorance of the history of the time. Mesopotamia and Syria, the countries where the Syriac Fathers wrote, were in active commercial contact with India, both by overland route and by sea route via Persian Gulf. As for the Greek Fathers, it would be absurd to say that they did not know India, seeing that the most authoritative of contemporary Greek writings on Geography and Trade—Pliny's *Natural History* (C. 50–60 A.D.), *Periplus Maris Aerithræ* (C. 150 A.D.) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (C. 150 A.D.)—knew India, especially South India, with an amazing minuteness of topography. By "India" they all meant the country between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. By the "discovery" of monsoon winds in circa A.D. 47, the voyage to India became a comparatively easy matter and every year numerous ships sailed from the Red Sea (especially Arabian) ports to the West Coast of India. As the monsoon winds directed the sailing ships straight to the Malabar Coast—according to Pliny, Muziris (Cranganore)² was the first port touched in India—the Greeks and Arabs knew South India best and when they speak of India, they mean chiefly that part of the country. Ptolemy, for example, gives a full topographical account of Malabar with its ports and inland towns. From Malabar, traders went by coasting vessels or by interior routes to other parts of India. These were the works from which the early Fathers obtained their knowledge of India; and therefore, when they say that Thomas was in India, the presumption is that it was the real

¹ S. Ephraemi Hymni (Edit. Lamy), IV, p. 703. See also Burkitt, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*; Wright's *Apocryphal Gospels*.

² Cranganore was formerly the capital of Malabar (Chera), but it is now a village in Cochin State.

India, and the onus of proving that it was not is on those who deny it.¹

3. *The Indian Tradition.*

There is an independent local tradition in India to support the patristic testimony above quoted. Three separate versions of it have been handed down, one held by the "Christians of St. Thomas" of Malabar, another by the Malabar Hindus and a third by people around Mylapore. The first exists in ancient songs, whose antiquity cannot be accurately fixed; but early European travellers (e.g., Marco Polo, 1292 A.D.) have recorded the Malabar tradition, and the songs about St. Thomas were known to the first Portuguese sojourners in India. The existing written versions of these tradition are not of great antiquity, but this hardly detracts from their value. Epigraphy is of little help in regard to Malabar history; for, owing to damp air and heavy monsoons, neither cadjan leaves nor paper will keep long in that country. All ancient traditions had therefore to be periodically re-written, and naturally embellishments must have been made from time to time.

The substance of the Malabar tradition is that St. Thomas after preaching the Gospel elsewhere, sailed from Arabia to India and landed in Cranganore about the year 50 A.D., travelled and preached all over South India, established seven churches in Malabar and many outside, ordained priests to succeed him, and in 68 A.D. received the crown of martyrdom in Mylapore. He is also said to have converted a certain king, called "Cholaperumal" in some versions and "Kandapparaser" in others, besides many brahmin families of high position. Several miracles are also narrated. In some respects, the story resembles that contained in the Syriac work, the *Acts of Thomas* mentioned above; but the Malabar tradition cannot be a rendering of the *Acts of Thomas*, seeing that there are features in it which point to an independent origin, and this is confirmed by the existence of those features in certain early European writings about Thomas. Rather the probability is that the clever Syriac writer dramatized the simple story that came from India, spinning out many Indian names and incidents, and connecting the Apostle with an otherwise known Indo-Parthian King Gudapharasa. The *Acts* may be valuable or worthless, but the South Indian Tradition does not depend upon it, except that possibly it gave the theme for its talented writer.²

¹ See *Periplus* (Ed. Schoff), p. 39. Pliny, Book VI, Chapter XXVI. Also Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* and my paper on the India of the Early Christian Fathers, *Young Men of India*, January, 1928.

² The best account of the Malabar tradition is in the Malayalam work, *The Christians of St. Thomas* by the Rev. Bernard, a Syrian priest. For the Mylapore tradition, see my paper in the Report of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1924)

4. *The Apostle's Tomb at Mylapore.*

There is no doubt that the Malabar tradition has been embellished by later editors, but there is a substratum in it which is ancient and reliable. We shall here take only the story of the Apostle's death in Mylapore. At one time, this was regarded as a Portuguese fraud, but later research has considerably dispelled the doubts and to-day it would be hazardous to question it, unless one could explain away the testimony of the numerous pre-Portuguese travellers who have written about St. Thomas' tomb there. To begin with the later ones, Barbosa (1518), Nicolo Conti (1440), John Marignoli (1350), Friar Odoric (1325), Marco Polo (1292), visited and commented upon the tomb and the Church that stood near it and the many Syrian Christians that lived close by. Before them we have the testimony of the Muhammadan travellers of the 9th century who called it "Betuma" (House of Thomas). King Alfred is said to have sent offerings to St. Thomas in India (883 A.D.) and as no other place in India or anywhere else in the world ever claimed to possess St. Thomas' tomb, those offerings must have gone to Mylapore, if at all they went anywhere. Similarly references abound in Syriac writings about the tomb of St. Thomas in India. "Amr, the Christian Arab historian (1340) says distinctly that 'his (Thomas') tomb is in the 'island' of Mailapore in India, on the right hand side of the altar, in his monastery".¹

The monastery of Mylapore mentioned above has been mentioned also by the European travellers just quoted; but it existed in much earlier times. Gregory of Tours in the 6th century records the accounts which he heard from the monk Theodorus about "the church and monastery of striking dimensions" that stood near the tomb of St. Thomas in India. Lately valuable evidence for the existence of this monastery as early as the middle of the 4th century has been discovered. This is contained in a Syriac work, called *Life of Hermit Yonan* written about 390 A.D. by Zadoe who calls himself 'priest, monk and archimandrite of the Monastery of St. Thomas in India'; and in this work it is said that Mar Yonan came from Anbar (modern Baghdad) into India to visit the said monastery. It is by no means certain that the monastery of Zadoe was in Mylapore, but even apart from it, there is ample circumstantial evidence for believing that there was from ancient times a shrine where St. Thomas lies buried. Pilgrims from not only India, Ceylon and Burma but from distant countries visited the shrine from early days. But in the 15th century, the place seems to have fallen into ruins. The Portuguese renovated the place and built a beautiful church over the Apostle's tomb.²

¹ Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, IV, p. 34.

² On Mylapore and the Portuguese, see F. A. D'Cruz, *St. Thomas, the Apostle in India*. See also the following pages.

5. *An Indigenous Church in South India.*

Many critics (e.g., Milne Rac and Richard Garbe) have attributed the early Christianity of India to the evangelical efforts of "Nestorian" missionaries from Persia. There is no doubt that Christians from Mesopotamia and Persia colonized on the Malabar coast between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D. According to tradition, a Syrian merchant called Knayi-Thoma (Thomas of Cana) settled down in Malabar in the 4th century, accompanied by many followers, and this is quite probable seeing that in the middle of the 6th century, Cosmas found in South India and Ceylon a community of Persian Christians with a Bishop of their own. But these colonists were never known in Malabar as missionaries; they were chiefly traders, and are said to have fraternized with the descendants of St. Thomas' converts. That there was in South India before the arrival of Persians an indigenous community of Christians is clear from the following independent lines of evidence.

About the year 354 A.D., the Emperor Constantius is said to have sent to Arabia, Abyssinia, Ceylon and India a missionary called Theophilus. According to a contemporary historian, Theophilus preached the gospel in Maldives and from there sailed to other parts of India, "and reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for, they heard the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and did other things which were repugnant to the Divine Law; and having reformed everything according to the holy usage, as was most acceptable to God, he also confirmed the dogma of the Church".¹ According to Medlycott, and Mingana, this valuable statement implies the existence of (1) a resident congregation of the faithful, (2) Church services regularly held at which the Gospels were read, and (3) consequently a ministering clergy. This Latin account squares very well with the Syriac text quoted above, from the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which clearly says that India received the Apostle's *hand of priesthood* from Judas Thomas", and confirms the Malabar tradition that the Apostle consecrated priests in Malabar to follow in his foot-steps.² Nor need there be any doubt that the Christians whom Theophilus found were indigenous. Although the "Apostolic Constitutions" had laid down that the reading of the Gospel must be heard in a standing posture and although this had been accepted all over the Christian

¹ See Abbo Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxv, 481-489. Quoted and commented in Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 178.

² The tradition is that priests were ordained from four of the leading Brahmin Christian families, namely Pakalomattam, Sankarapuri, Kalli and Kalikavu. They still exist in Koravalangad, and the present writer is a lineal descendant. The Head of the Malabar Church, the Archdeacon, had to be selected from Pakalomattam—a practice which was continued among the Jacobites till a hundred years ago.

world, western and eastern, the news of it had not reached the Indians and they naturally continued to hear the Gospel in a sitting posture. We may remember in this connection that Maldiv Islands lie off Malabar Coast, and were always in commercial contact with it.

Another independent source of evidence is the testimony of an early Muhammadan writer that Mani, the founder of Manichaeism (born 215 A.D.), visited India to spread his rival creed, and this strengthens the Malabar tradition that the sorcerer, Mani, came to Malabar to pervert the converts of St. Thomas and that some of them succumbed to him. It is also known that owing to persecution in Persia, Mani's followers migrated to India, China and other countries. One cannot say whether the well-known Manigramakars associated with Malabar Christians were Manichaeans, but it is highly probable that Mani or his immediate disciples visited South India, and this lends support to the view that there were Christians in South India in the third century A.D.¹

6. Conclusion.

Thus we have testimony from two independent sources about the mission of the Apostle Thomas in South India. On the one hand, we have unequivocal evidence of the early Fathers that St. Thomas preached and died in India; on the other, we have in India itself a local tradition which receives more and more support as historical research advances. If the Apostle came to India at all he could not have normally avoided Malabar; and in Malabar itself we have a Christian community that claims Thomas as their founder and whose existence could be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian Era. At least from the 4th century A.D. we have reliable evidence for the fact that Persian and Syrian Christians looked to Mylapore for the tomb of St. Thomas. One cannot understand why all these people looked for it on the barren shores of Mylapore, seeing that early Christian haunts were nearer home. If they, who knew the story of the *Acts* well, thought that it happened in Parthia or Afghanistan (as modern critics would have it), it is most strange that they should have looked for Thomas' tomb and Thomas' converts in South India, as they actually did. Considering the cumulative weight of all these different lines of evidence,

¹ About the Muhammadan testimony, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Art: *Manichaeism*); the Malabar tradition is that many families apostatized, and that when the first Syrian Colonists came (some-time in the middle of the 4th century) the Christian families (called *Tarsai*=orthodox, *Syr*) were few and in a desolate condition. Some identify Mani with Manikavasagar, the Tamil Saiva devotee, but this is not convincing.

it might seem that the mission of St. Thomas in South India is as satisfactorily proved as the great majority of events in India's ancient history.

NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Among the modern writers who have denied that St. Thomas came to South India are Milne Rae, a former professor of the Madras Christian College, in his *Syrian Church in India* (1892), Richard Garbe, professor at Tübingen, in his *Indien und das Christentum* (1914), W. R. Philipps, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1903-04), and Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., in the *Cath. Ency.*, Vol. XIV. Among those who have affirmed it are Paulino, in *India Orientalis Christiana* (1794), Claudius Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches in Asia* (1814), Bishop Heber, in his *Journal*, Yule in his edition of Marco Polo, A. E. Medlycott, in his *India and the Apostle Thomas* (1905), Dahlmann, in his *Die Thomas Legende* (1912), A. Wath. in *Der Hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens* (1925), Farquhar, in his two papers in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1926-27) and Father Hosten in various writings, of which the most valuable is the work before us. Dr. Mingana, the Syriac archivist, has brought out useful documents relevant to the subject in his *Early Spread of Christianity in India* printed in the *Bulletin of John Ryland's Library* (1926), but he adopts a non-committal attitude regarding the question of St. Thomas. Of the above writers, only Buchanan, Medlycott and Hosten studied the South Indian tradition on the spot. Buchanan, a pioneer of the Church Mission Society, after laborious researches, arrived at the conclusion that "we have as good testimony that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died in Rome" (*Christian Researches* (1814), p. 135. Bishop Heber who died in South India was even more sure about it. "It may be as readily believed", wrote he, "that St. Thomas was slain in Meilapur as that St. Paul was beheaded in Rome or that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ" (*Indian Journal*, II, p. 178).

Vincent Smith, the famous historian, was at first sceptical about the Apostle's journey to South India but later when he came into closer contact with the sources, he wrote as follows:—"I am now satisfied that the Christian Church of Southern India is extremely ancient, whether it was founded by St. Thomas in person or not, and that its existence may be traced back to the third century with a high degree of probability. Mr. Milne Rae carried his scepticism too far when he attributed the establishment of the Christian congregations to missionaries from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in the fifth and sixth centuries". *Early History of India* (1924), p. 250. Elsewhere he says:—"My personal impression, formed after much examination of the evidence is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's Death". *Oxford History of India* (1923), p. 126. Had Smith been able to examine the testimony of Syriac fathers, now available in English, and had he studied Malabar tradition at closer quarters, it is possible that he would have gone much further in his affirmation of St. Thomas' connection with India.

The reason why many scholars are so sceptical about the matter seems to be: (1) the iconoclastic attitude towards traditions intro-

duced by the modern Prussian School of historians ; (2) the imperfect acquaintance with sources which are not available in the European languages and a general disbelief in them; and perhaps (3) a natural disinclination to believe how India which lay outside the Roman empire and is identified with Hinduism should possess the tomb of one of the twelve apostles of Jesus, a privilege which only one place in Europe and no other place in the world lays claim to. One wonders how many events in the history of the 1st century A.D. in India or elsewhere are better attested than the preaching of St. Thomas in South India.

P. J. THOMAS.

Madras, 6-4-36.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FR. H. HOSTEN.

Henry Hosten was born at Ramskapelle in Flanders, Belgium, on the 26th March, 1873. Already in his boyhood he had made up his mind to become a missionary. Consequently he left the local college in order to join the Apostolic School of Turnhout, there to prepare himself more directly for the Missions. On 23rd September, 1891, he entered the Jesuit Noviciate of Tronchiennes. Two years later, after taking his vows, he was sent to the newly founded Papal Seminary of Kandy, Ceylon, where he was to stay for six years, teaching Latin, English, and Rhetoric.

In 1900, he began his Philosophy in Shembaganur. It is certain that at this time already his mind was drawn towards the past of India; for in 1906 there appeared in the Madras District Gazetteer (Madras) the abstract of a report sent in by Fr. Hosten the previous year, on *Dolmens and Cromlechs of the Palnis*.¹ The year after, the same subject was treated in 'Anthropos' under the title of *Prehistoric Remains near Kodaikanal, Palnis, India*. On completing his three years' course of Philosophy, he was called to St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling. The following year 1904 we find him in Kurseong for his four years' course of Theology. It is here in the quiet of the Himalayan foothills that our budding historian made his first rambles in Indian Christian History. During his second year in St. Mary's, Kurseong, providential circumstances were to stimulate his historical interests, viz. the foundation of the now famous Indian Academy of the theologians. Fr. Hosten was elected its first Secretary and Librarian.

We must be pardoned if we give an unduly long account of his activities in this capacity. The reason is that the minutes of the Academy enable us to follow the maturing of his vocation of historian. In June 1906, he gave a study on *Abbate Tosi's Geographical Account of Bengal, 1676*.² On 22nd July, Fr. Hosten read a communication: *Inscriptions on the tombs of Jesuit Missionaries of Agra (1633-1803)*.³ On 23rd August, 1907,

¹ See also "Dolmens et Cromlechs dans les Palnis" in 'Missions Belges de la Compagnie de Jésus 1905, pp. 5, 49, 89'—an article written in 1902 (Shembaganur) with a P.S. dated 1904 (Darjeeling).

² Catholic Herald, 1906 (p. 683-5).

³ This communication he subsequently prepared for publication; it appeared in the Catholic Herald Jan. 30th, 1907, under the title: "Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and the Inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)". That same year, this article was reprinted in pamphlet form by the Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta.

the Catholic Herald published *Foundation of the Jesuit Mission at Patna* (1624) by L. Besse, S.J., notes by H. Hosten.¹

In the minutes of the first September meeting, the Secretary voices the complaint that the early books and annals of Indian Missions are becoming rare and dear in the bookmarket. At this time also, the active Secretary was trying hard to form a small band of workers to prepare a Menology of the Society of Jesus for India. From the minutes of the Academy we gather that Fr. Hosten was already familiarly acquainted with historians both in India and abroad. We shall mention only a few: Rev. Fr. S. Noti; Fr. L. Besse; Fr. Felix, O.C.; Mr. E. D. MacLagan, I.C.S. (Calcutta); Mr. H. Calvert, the Tibetan explorer and Assistant Commissioner of Kulu; Mr. H. Beveridge, I.C.S., and his friend Mr. W. Irvine, I.C.S. (retired), both of them historians of repute in England.

In February 1907, Fr. Hosten read in the Academy an extract from the 'Travels of Pietro della Valle' purporting to establish the Jesuit authorship of the Portuguese MS. treatise on Hindu Mythology, written in India in the early part of the 17th Century. The translation of this MS. by Dr. Casartelli was just then in course of publication in the newly established 'journal of Dr. W. Schmidt, S.V.D, "Anthropos". Fr. Hosten sent in his communication to "Anthropos" where it appeared in 1907 (p. 272-74) under the title of *The Authorship of the Portuguese MS. on Hindu Mythology*. In the same month of February, Fr. Bosk, S.J., read a communication on Father Henry Roth, S.J. (1650-51) which appeared in the Catholic Herald, with Introduction, notes and conclusion by H. Hosten.² On February 24th, Fr. Hosten gave a paper on *St. Francis Xavier and Tibet* (?), part of which was read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on April 3rd, 1907.³

The Examiner (Bombay) in its issue of March 23rd, 1907, published an article by H. Hosten on *Indian Church History*. On 5th May, Fr. Hosten communicated to the Academy a rectification of a geographical error in Abbé Huc's "*Le Christianisme en Chine*", repeated by Abbé Launay in his "*Histoire de la Mission du Thibet*".

From what precedes, it will be apparent which way lay Fr. Hosten's interests. The mysterious period of early Jesuit History in India and Tibet had a special fascination for him; if it was full of romance, it was also still full of obscurities. To clear up some of these was the ambition of our young historian.

¹ We may here recall that between the years 1929 and 1932 Fr. Dent, S.J., published a History of the Patna Mission, which was largely based on the notes of Fr. Hosten. (Patna Mission Letter, 4th year, No. 6, July, 1929ff.).

² Catholic Herald, 1907, pp. 171-172.

³ Proceedings A.S.B., Vol. III, No. 4.

At the same time, his attention had been aroused by the presence of old Christian influences in Hindu literature. On February 10th, 1907, in connection with a lecture of Dr. G. A. Grierson before the Royal Asiatic Society of London, the Secretary writes in the minutes of the Academy: "It is refreshing to hear a man of authority like Mr. Grierson give bold utterance to these ideas (viz. that the writings of Ramanuja, the legend of the birth of Krishna and the doctrine of Kabir are tainted with Christian ideas). They are not new, but have been too much wilfully ignored. They may go far to turn the tables against the too commonly accepted notion that Christianity has largely copied Hindu models". This is perhaps the place to say that he also got interested in the legend of Sts. Josaphat and Barlaam.

From this, back to the St. Thomas tradition there is but one step. At what time exactly he began to study this new field, we do not know.

In 1908, we find Fr. Hosten in Ranchi for his third year of Probation. The following year he is appointed to St. Xavier's; he combines the duties of professor with those of Vicar in St. John's. At the end of 1917, he is transferred to St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, where he takes up the duties of professor once more. Finally in 1926, he is relieved of his duties of professor and free to devote all his time and energy to his historical researches.

That he had the historian's flair was shown when he discovered Monserrate's *Commentarius*. No sooner did he see the manuscript than he recognized its value. In 1914, he produced in the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" a scholarly edition of the Latin text, with a valuable introduction.¹ And Sir Edward Maclagan adds: "Father Hosten has done much for the cause of historical research in India, but this edition of the 'Commentarius' of Monserrate is in many ways the most remarkable monument of his industry and scholarship". Of the importance of this discovery for the History of Akbar's reign, there can be no doubt. As Vincent A. Smith aptly remarks: "The 'Commentarius' is the most valuable of the new authorities made accessible since the beginning of the twentieth century".² Moreover, "Father Hosten's researches have proved that all narratives of the First Jesuit mission to Akbar rest primarily on the testimony of Monserrate".³

Again, little was known of Father Antonio Ceschi, S.J., "until Father Hosten, acting on a reference to Sommervogel's 'Bibliothèque', unearthed from the Franciscan Convent at Trent a copy of a book published in that town (without date but with a dedication, dated 1683) which sets forth the life and

¹ The Jesuits and the Great Mogul. E. Maclagan, p. 152.

² Akbar the Great Mogul. V. A. Smith, p. 466.

³ *Ibid.*

correspondence of this missionary".¹ It may safely be said that no contemporary historian has produced so much new material for the history of Christianity in India as Father Hosten.

As we have seen above, the Secretary of the Indian Academy of Kurseong took great interest in the history of the early Jesuits in India. He was not slow in perceiving that their writings supplied in many ways valuable data towards the clearing up of obscure points in Indian History. "The value of the Jesuit Letters and reports from the Mogul Empire for historical purposes can scarcely be overestimated".² Hence Fr. Hosten's numerous memoirs in this connection, the more important of them being: "Jesuit Letters and Allied Papers on Mogor, Tibet, Bengal and Burma".³

That Father Hosten was an authority on the Mogul Period⁴ is acknowledged on all hands, and no serious historian can afford to ignore his writings in this field. Sir Edward Maclagan pays a warm tribute to the exceptional merits of our historian. In his book "The Jesuits and the Great Mogul", he writes: "The protagonist in the exploration of these fields has been Father H. Hosten, a Belgian member of the Society of Jesus, who has worked for many years at Calcutta and Darjeeling. From the year 1907 to the present day he has devoted himself with unremitting labour to the study of every source of information connected with the history of the Jesuit Mission in Northern India. His most remarkable achievement was the discovery and publication in 1914 of the lost 'Commentary' of Father Monserrate, a member of the first Mission to the Court of Akbar; but this is only one among many services rendered by him

¹ Maclagan, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17. See also V. A. Smith "Akbar", p. VI.

³ Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, V. No. 4, pp. 155-184.

⁴ List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor, Journal of the A.S.B., 1910, VI, pp. 527-542.

Father A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar. *Ibid.*, 1927, VIII, pp. 185-221.

Father N. Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor (Goa, 1566), *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 57-65.

Father N. Pimenta, S.J., on Mogor (Goa, 1600), *ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 67-82.

Father N. Pimenta's Annual Letter of Margao (1601), *ibid.*, XXII, pp. 83-107.

Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier, S.J., *ibid.*, pp. 108-130.

Three letters of Father Joseph de Castro, S.J., and the last Year of Jahangir, *ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 141-166.

Fr. Fernão Guerreiro's Annual "Relation" of 1602-1603 on the Mogor Mission, The Examiner (Bombay), 1919, pp. 469-470; 478-480.

The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court (1579-1583) according to Father de Souza, S.J. The Examiner (Bombay), 1920, on the various dates between March 13 and July 3.

The Spiritual Letters of Father Antonio Ceschi di Santa Croce, . . . a Jesuit Missionary in the Mogul Mission (1647-1656), *ibid.*, on the various dates between July 7 and September 8, 1917.

towards the elucidation of this aspect of Indian history. The details of the Mission have received his attention in a large number of articles and he has put together in monographs much information regarding special features of its history. He has not only himself examined carefully the older printed records and traced and accumulated copies of many manuscript authorities : but has also been at pains to reproduce many of these in the original language or in English, or both, for the benefit of scholars interested in the subject. His contributions are, however, scattered through a number of periodicals which are not always easily accessible in Europe—in the ‘Journal’, for instance, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in ‘Bengal Past and Present’, in the ‘Journals of the Punjab’ and ‘United Provinces Historical Societies’, in ‘The Catholic Herald of India’, in ‘The Examiner’, Bombay, and other similar journals published in India—and have never been set forth in any connected form. Father Hosten himself has other duties and is immersed also in other historical studies, so that he has not felt himself in a position to put together the results of his labours. He has, however, been good enough to give me access to a number of his scattered papers and I have, with his permission, attempted to compile from these and other sources an abstract of our existing information on the Jesuit Missions in the Mogul Empire. Although the Father is in no way responsible for the contents of this book, the chapters below, so far as they do not reproduce information already available in 1896, are very largely based on Father Hosten’s various publications. The information thus available has been supplemented by a number of transcripts of manuscripts and copies of other documents which Father Hosten has from time to time prepared with immense diligence and ungrudgingly placed at the disposal of the present writer.”¹

Others, too, have handsomely acknowledged their indebtedness to Fr. Hosten and paid tribute to his scholarship. C. H. Payne, in his *Broadway Travellers*’ volume “Akbar and the Jesuits” (1926) writes : “I am under special obligation . . . to the writings of the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., particularly those relating to the works of Father Monserrate” ;² and again in his later volume “Jahangir and the Jesuits” (1930), he writes : “Of the numerous authorities quoted or referred to in the notes, I have specially to acknowledge the assistance I have received from the writings of the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and the works of Col. Sir Henry Yule”,³ where certainly he puts our historian in excellent company. De Filippi, too, in his book “An Account of Tibet” gives several references to Fr. Hosten, “the well-known writer on the history of the mission in India”.⁴ Fr. C. Wessels, S.J., in his “Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia” gratefully mentions Fr. Hosten, “the learned writer on the

¹ pp. 2-3.² p. X.³ p. XII.⁴ p. 18.

mission-history of India, who more than once directed my researches in my hunt for documents".¹ Would that all writers who have received help from Fr. Hosten had acknowledged their indebtedness to him with equal fairness.

It would serve no useful purpose to append a complete list of Fr. Hosten's writings relating to the history of the Mogul period of the Jesuit Missions of that time. We must content ourselves with mentioning two or three points on which Fr. Hosten has thrown light. For a fairly complete list of his writings, the reader is referred to Mr. MacLagan's book, Appendix II, pp. 391-94.

The siege and fall of Hugli, described at length by Mr. J. A. Campos in his "History of the Portuguese in Bengal" could not have been written without the aid of Fr. Hosten's studies on the subject;² "*Travels of Fra Sebastien Manrique, 1629-1643*";³ *Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Bengal (1628-September 11, 1629)*, in Bengal, Past and Present.⁴

Again, it is Fr. Hosten who has published the most up-to-date account of *Mirza Zu'lqarnain*, a Christian official of the Mogul Government.⁵ Lastly, whoever wants to form his opinion about the debated question whether or not *Akbar had a Christian wife*, will find the evidence available collected by Fr. Hosten.⁶ So much for the Mogul Period.

Father Hosten has written a fairly large number of articles on the *Jesuit Missionaries in Tibet* and translated some of their letters. As early as 1907, he pointed out and corrected a geographical error in Huc's famous book; ever since that time till shortly before his sickness and return to Europe, he has written on this subject at intervals. Meanwhile Fr. C. Wessels, S.J., assisted by Fr. Hosten, as we have seen, published "Early Jesuit Travellers" (1924), and Mr. Fillippo de Filippi published his 'An account of Tibet', being the travels of Ippolito Desideri. Fr. Hosten, for some years already, had been contemplating publishing a history of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet, but for various reasons, indifferent health, accidental loss of MSS., discovery of new material, and the fact that he had always many irons in the fire, he never began the composition of the book seriously. We may still regret that he did not put his

¹ p. VIII.

² The Cath. Herald of India, 1918; at various places between pp. 91 and 671.

³ (Hakluit Soc.) by Col. Eckford Luard, C.I.E., assisted by Fr. Hosten, S.J., 2 Vol.

⁴ B.P.P., 1916, Vol. XII, pp. 272-315; Vol. XIII, pp. 1-43.

⁵ "Travels of Peter Mundy." Hakluit Soc., Vol. II, Append. E. by Sir R. C. Temple and Fr. Hosten.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1916, V. No. 4, pp. 115 seq.

⁶ Memoirs A.S.B., 1916, V. No. 4, pp. 175-177; and B.P.P., XXXIV, 1927, pp. 97-105.

plan into execution, for possessing unequalled firsthand knowledge of the manuscripts and history of that period, we cannot doubt that he would have produced an interesting and valuable book. We mention only a few of his longer contributions in this connection. Two letters of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., a missionary in Tibet (1715-1721).¹ A letter of Father Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet, (Tsaparang, August 16, 1626).² A letter from Father A. de Andrade, S.J. (Tibet, August 25, 1672).³

No notice about the life and work of Father Hosten would be complete without a reference to the Sadhu Sundar Singh episode. Heated discussions around the figure of the Sadhu arose in Europe, and especially in Germany between the years 1924 and 1930. He had many admirers and the well-known scholar F. Heiler was one of his most convinced believers. Even Catholics were taken in for some time.⁴ However, from the very beginning some clear-sighted men looked with suspicion upon the Sadhu, and very soon began to denounce him, Dr. Pfister being in the foreground. Fr. Hosten too was among the first to sound a note of alarm. Historian as he was, he began at once to collect facts about the new prophet. And if the famous Heiler-Pfister controversy about the historicity of the Sadhu Sundar Singh's miracles and heroic experiences has come to a close in favour of Pfister, it is largely thanks to Fr. Hosten's laborious researches. Armed with his voluminous documentation, Pfister succeeded in enlightening the public in Europe and convincing it that F. Heiler's "Apostle of the East and of the West, Saint and true vicar of Christ", the Sadhu Sundar Singh, was an impostor and downright liar. Most papers have come to this conclusion. "Der Protestant" wrote on 25 August, 1928: "The balance inclines more and more in disfavour of the celebrated man of the East . . . Of the wonder-worker and apostle there remains nothing . . . It will now be good that one begin to keep silence about him in the West". And the "Religiöses Volksblatt, St. Gallen", 6th October, 1928: "The Sadhu cannot be cleared from the reproach of simulation,

¹ The Examiner (Bombay), pp. 338-340; 399-400; 409-410; 498-500. 1918.

² Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXI, pp. 49-73, 1925.

³ Ibid., XXI, pp. 75-93. 1925.

⁴ In 1922; Fr. L. de Grandmaison, S.J., taking occasion of two recent books "Sadhu Sundar Singh, called of God" by Mrs. Arthur Parker (1919) and "The Sadhu: A study in Mysticism and practical Religion", by B. H. Streeter, M.A., D.D. and Appasamy, B.A., B.D., (1921), wrote a remarkable article: "Le Sadhu Sundar Singh et le problème de la sainteté hors de l'église catholique" (Recherches de Science religieuse, 1922, pp. 1-29) in which he admitted the possibility of miracles and of genuine mystical experiences outside the visible Church. Similarly the well-known Bollandist H. Delehaye, S.J., *Analecta Boll.*, 1923, p. 249.

of having told lies and of failing to own up ”¹ There is no need of going further into this controversy which is a thing of the past. We must, however, be allowed, by way of a conclusion, to quote a page from P. Braeunlich's book 'Sundar Singh in seiner wahren Gestalt' where the author pays a well-deserved tribute to Fr. Hosten's services and serviceableness in this Sundar Singh affray. "On 4 July, 1923, the Jesuit Father H. Hosten published in the Catholic Herald, Calcutta, his first article against the Sadhu. He simply called him a bare-faced swindler. From that time onwards he collected—helped by Protestant missionaries—an immense amount of material against Sundar Singh. Already in summer 1926, it amounted to not less than 2000 typewritten pages. Through his diligent, careful inquiries into the innumerable deceits of the Fakir, he rendered Truth and Christendom an immense service. At the same time he proved himself to be a man of gentlemanly character; for not only did he put all his material at the disposal of other scholars, among them Protestants, in a most unselfish way, but he showed himself moreover always ready to supply any desired information without ever giving way to bigotry. My researches about the Taxil swindle and similar cases would have given me only half the trouble they did, had I always found in my inquiries among the Evangelicals the same readiness as in the Jesuit Father . . ." (p. 145).

As stated above, it is difficult to say at what time exactly Fr. Hosten became interested in the St. Thomas problem. In 1912, Fr. J. Dahlmann, S.J., published a book 'Die Thomas-Legende'—The Legend of St. Thomas, in which he comes to the conclusion that it is probable that the Apostle came to North India, in the region of the Indus; and that it is fruitless to look to Mylapore or the South-Indian traditions for light upon the history of the Apostle's Martyrdom. What was Fr. Hosten's reaction, if any, upon the appearance of this book? We don't know. We know that some ten years later, when he undertook a journey to Mylapore with the object of collecting "materials for the historiographer of the Jesuit Missions in

¹ How far the public got interested in this controversy is shown by the following list, altogether incomplete, of papers that wrote about the Sundar Singh question: Der kleine Bund; Die christliche Welt; Sächsisches Kirchenblatt: Religiöses Volksblatt; Der christliche Apologete, etc.

Dr. O. Pfister wrote a book: "Die Legende Sundar Singhs"; and a great number of articles in various reviews: "Sundar Singh und Albert Schweizer" in Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 1922, No. 1; "Die Wahrheit über Sadhu Sundar Singh" in Religiöses Volksblatt; 1925, Nos. 45, 46; "Das Ende einer Heiligen-legende" in Frankfurter Zeitung, No. 32; "Sundar Singh und sein Apologet Heiler" in Schweizerisches Protestantenblatt, 3 and 10 March, 1928; "Der Bankrott eines 'Apostles', in Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft," 1928, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6.

Bengal, whose work was to appear in Belgium in 1921" Fr. Hosten published an account of his tour as it was financed by the Government of India. "At Mylapore, he writes, in addition to securing the primary object of my visit, I discovered in connection with the St. Thomas question as rich a field for future research as might well fall to any student of history". If this journey was not the beginning of his researches in the St. Thomas tradition, it certainly awakened his interest in it and gave a new impetus to his activity. The last week and a half of his stay there he devoted "to investigations of even greater moment than the history of a four-centuries old Indian Mission: I mean the story of St. Thomas the Apostle and his traditional connection with San Thome, Mylapore". From that time onward he begins to publish articles on the subject in various journals. In the Catholic Herald, beginning from the 27th July, a series of *tentative articles on my findings; St. Thomas and San Thome, Mylapore*, in Journal and Proceedings of A.S.B. (Vol. XIX, No. 5, pp. 153-236); *St. Thomas in India or Tattah Fakirs and St. Thomas and San Thome, Mylapore*; *Altar Crosses*, both in Indian Athenæum (August-September, 1923); *Laud's anecdota Syriaca*, in the Indian Antiquary, 1927; *Is S. Thomé in Civitate Iothabis*, *ibid.*, 1931; *The St. Thomas Christians of Malabar*, in Kerala Society Papers. The present volume was printed as far back as 1925; Fr. Hosten was still engaged upon the problem of St. Thomas' coming to South India, when sickness overtook him. The more he studied the question, the more it broadened out and threatened to elude his grasp. His painstaking efforts gathered in a whole harvest of facts... on the faith of the Thomas Christians in the 16th century; on the churches of Malabar and Mesopotamia in the Middle Ages; on the early literary testimonies concerning the Apostle's coming to South India; on legends and customs connected with it; on the feast and the office; the song of Thomas Ramban; the Malabar crosses...

All the while, the present book on the Antiquities of San Thomé and Mylapore lay full ready and printed, buried in the Baptist Press at Calcutta. Why did Fr. Hosten delay in releasing for the public a book so dear to him, so full of research and scholarship? For the first time in his life he had come across a problem so intricate as to baffle all his energies and his whole ingenuity. By instinct as it were, he felt that Fr. Dahlmann and others after him, had made too light of an imposing tradition. In similar fields, the pendulum of research had swung round from the left of hypercriticism to the right of critical respect for well-founded traditions. The hour had struck, he was convinced, when St. Thomas like so many others before him, would come into his own:—not Gondophares in the North; but Malabar yea and Mylapore—in the South—as the literary and monumental and the living tradition had it.

Facts came in but slowly, very slowly, too slowly for him. Many a point had been raised in the "Appendices" which needed a scholarship more extensive and researches more protracted, and "St. Thomas", like so many endeavours inspired by Christian hope as well as scientific optimism, was destined to remain a Cathedral whose spires are unfinished.

The master mason has been laid to rest (April 16, 1935); the building stands unfinished; it is now seen as he erected it A.D. 1925. Who can tell how he hoped to perfect it, had time been granted him and suitable opportunities?

However the hints, thrown out by him, did not go unnoticed. In 1908, Vincent A. Smith (*The Early History of India*—Oxford Press—p. 221) was decidedly against the Southern Indian tradition. "If there is any basis of truth in the Gondophares legend, which seems probable, it is very improbable that the Mailapur story also can be founded on fact". "Kalamina should be regarded as a place in fairy land, which it is vain to try and locate on a map".

In his 1919 and 1923 editions of the *Oxford History of India*, the same author seems to have come round to a saner view, for he writes: "My personal impression, formed after much examination of evidence, is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's death". (p. 126).

It had been Fr. Hosten's dream to disentangle that whole story and to revert to the ancient tradition, as far as possible. His hesitations and delays in the matter of this publication would go to show that he was looking for further evidence in support of his views. The stones discovered by him in the long "Appendices" of this book may yet prove landmarks for other explorers of the same ungrateful field. *Quod faxit Deus.*

KURSEONG.

20-5-36.

F. EELLEN, S.J.,

of St. Mary's Indian Academy.

PREFACE.

The plan followed for this compilation has the disadvantage of covering, so to say, twice the same ground : once in connection with subjects of interest which were photographed, and a second time in connection with other topics of antiquarian interest in the same places. It is hoped, however, that this book will readily serve the purposes of a guide, as a look at the General Index under Parts I and II will show at once for a particular place what can be pieced together from both parts.

It would have been easy to quote largely from medieval and later travellers and from the Portuguese historians. We have rarely done so here, owing to the controvertible nature of such materials. Texts from pre-Portuguese writers would form a volume by themselves, and another volume, even more ponderous, could be filled with texts from the Portuguese period. Much has been done in this direction, which we hope to publish some day.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank publicly the Government of India, which through the enlightened interest and the great pains taken by its officers in the Archæological and Epigraphical Departments has made it possible to illustrate in no mean way the many valuable Christian remains, Portuguese and pre-Portuguese, of S. Thomé and Mylapore.

*St. Joseph's College,
Darjeeling, Oct. 11, 1924.*

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore.

PART I.—LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF ANTIQUITIES SHOWN AT THE VATICAN EXHIBITION (1925).¹

A.—Antiquities other than Inscriptions (1-123).

1. At Bishop's House, S. Thomé (1-3).

1.—Oil-painting representing Dom Frei Manoel de S. Catharina, 16th Bishop of Cochin, Archbishop of Goa (1780—Febr. 10, 1812).

The inscription says: *Vera effigies / Exmi ac Rmi D.D. Fr. Emano'elis a S. Catharina ex ordine / Carmelitarum Excalceato / rum Archiepiscopi Metropoli'tani Goensis orientisque Primatis necnon omnium Regu'larium Corporatio/num Vizitatoris² Ge/ neralis ac Refor'matoris Apos'tolici hac in India Luzita nia.³*

(Translation): True likeness of the Most Excellent and Most Reverend Lord, the Lord Frei Emanuel of St. Catherine, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, Metropolitan Archbishop of Goa, Primate of the East, Visitor General and Apostolic Reformer of all the Religious Bodies in this Portuguese India.

Other paintings in the same place show: Dom João Chrysostomo de Amorim Pessoa, Archbishop of Goa; Dom Ayres de Ornelas, Archbishop of Goa, and Dom Antonio Sebastião Valente, 1st Patriarch of Goa.

2.—Cathedral chair of the old Bishops of Mylapore (the bigger chair). It has the Augustinian coat of arms, and may go back to 1611, when the first Bishop of Mylapore, Dom Frei Sebastião de S. Pedro, an Augustinian, took possession of the See of Mylapore, founded in 1606. Residential Augustinian Bishops governed the See of S. Thomé from 1611 to 1637, and from 1747 to 1817.

The smaller chair comes from the old Jesuit Church of Madre de Deos, Mylapore, and was presented to Lady

¹ These photographs (118) were taken in 1921 and 1923 by the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras. Seven others were contributed by the Epigraphical Department, Madras. See at the end of Part I where and how copies of these photographs can be obtained.

In our description of exhibits from the Bishop's Museum, S. Thomé, we give the Museum marks (e.g., A1, B2, C3, etc.).

² Sic.

³ Sic.

Willingdon, the wife of Lord Willingdon, the late Governor of Madras, some time after it was photographed in 1921.

3.—Nude, male Jain statue (Ab) ; headless ; no inscription ; the right leg rests on the left leg, and the right hand on the left hand. Mr. Foucher, to whom I sent the photograph in 1921, while he was studying sculptures of the Buddhist *jñtakas*, at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, wrote that, as the statue is quite nude, it is not Buddhistic, but Jain. The Jains were very numerous at one time in Southern India. This statue was apparently found at Mylapore. It was at Bishop's House before 1921. Our photographs show two other nude, male, standing figures carved in relief (Nos. 39, 40).

Near the statue, a hollow cannon-ball or bomb (J1) from the grounds of St. Thomas' Convent.

2. *In the Museum, Bishop's House, S. Thomé (4-21).*

From the Cathedral Grounds, S. Thomé (4-15).

4.—(a) On a massive pedestal (A1a), possibly of Christian origin, displaying an eight-petalled lotus, and similar to another pedestal in the same place (A1b) : a separate stone (A2) showing, in low relief, on the right side of the onlooker, the Apostle St. Thomas (A2a), on the left Kāndāpa Rāja (A2b). This separate stone comes from the Cathedral grounds, where we are told it stood formerly in the open air, the Indian Christians being in the habit of pouring oil on the head of the two figures.

In 1729, according to Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romæ, Typis Salomonianis, MDCC XCIV, pp. 130-131, a stone statue of St. Thomas was found near St. Thomas' tomb "*habitu talari, in sinistra librum ad pectus tenentis, et dextera benedicentis.*" It is thought that the photograph shows that identical statue. D. Joseph Pinheiro, Bishop of Mylapore, wrote to the S. Congregation of Rites, in 1720, concerning his discovery. The correspondence must be in the Archives of the S. Congregation of Rites and deserves to be published.

In 1729, D. Joseph Pinheiro wrote to the Bishop of Verapoly :—

Anno 1729. mense Aprili In the month of April of the *apertum fuit sepulcrum (S.* year 1729 the tomb (shown as *Thomæ attributum),¹ ut [P. 131]* that of St. Thomas) was opened *terra peregrinis distribueretur.* in order to distribute earth to the pilgrims. Now, the upper *Aperta autem fuit superior pars* part (the floor?) of the place *loci intra sacellum ad orientem* within the chapel towards the *ubi prius altare extructum fuerat.* East, where an altar had former-

The parenthesis must be Friar Paulinus'

josso insculptam effigiem S. Thomæ habitu talari, in sinistra librum ad pectus tenentis, et dextera benedicentis. Cavata terra ad sex pedes romanos profunditatis, inventum est rudus novum ex calce et minutis particulis marmoris confectum firmissimum crassum quatuor digitos, deinde apparuit lapis marmoreus quadratus tres pedes, in cujus angulis quatuor sunt aperta sepulcra parva in figura quadrata, deinde visi magni lateres calce bene ligati sub arena inter lapidem et lateres sparsa. Lateribus his fractis apparuit terra mobilis, quæ tantum occupabat locum, quantus esset satis ad humanum corpus humanum, et non plus. Ipsa 29. die splendor quidam vivus et clarus apparuit, de qua re septem testes jurati et examinati ita deposuerunt. An locus hic sit verum sepulcrum S. Thomæ definire non audeo, ideo rem ad S. Congregationem rituum remisi.

ly been erected, was opened.¹ The marble (stone?) [floor?] having been dug up, we saw a sculptured effigy of St. Thomas (representing him dressed) in a garment falling down to the heels, holding in his left hand on his breast a book, and blessing with his right.² The earth having been dug to a depth of six Roman feet,³ there was found a new and very hard conglomerate, four inches thick, and made of mortar and small particles of marble (stone?); next, there appeared a square (rectangular?) marble stone, three feet in dimension at the corners of which had been cut four small square (quadrangular?) sepulchres; then, big bricks well-joined with mortar were seen under the sand which was strewn between the stone and the bricks. These bricks having been broken, movable earth appeared, which occupied as much space as was sufficient for burying a human body, and not more. On the same 29th day, a bright and clear light appeared, and seven eyewitnesses, after being sworn in and examined on the matter, testified to the fact. Whether this place be the true sepulchre of St. Thomas, I dare not assert; therefore I submitted the matter to the S. Congregation of Rites.⁴

¹ Before the erection of the present Cathedral (1893-96), the tomb of St. Thomas was at the East end of the Church, outside, adjoining the sanctuary. It was covered with a dome, and had an altar near the tomb (about 1600). Cf. G. Milne Rae, *The Syrians in India*, W. Blackwood, London, 1892, plate facing p. 312, for a view of the dome-covered Chapel.

² The statue must have been found some distance away from the tomb within the dome-covered chapel.

³ This further digging must have been immediately above the site of the tomb of St. Thomas, since it resulted in finding a tomb which, apparently, was the same which the Portuguese had disturbed in 1521-23, when the reputed tomb of St. Thomas was in that same Chapel.

⁴ Cf. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131.

Since the Portuguese, who dug into St. Thomas' tomb in 1521-23, did not find that statue, we argue that it was probably buried near the tomb either between 1430 and 1500, when the Christians were driven from Mylapore, or at an earlier date. The statue would testify to the cult of St. Thomas, in pre-Portuguese times, at the place reputed to possess his tomb.

Date of the stone: Anterior apparently to the Nestorian aversion for statues, *i.e.*, before A.D. 650 (?).

For a fuller description of the two figures, cf. Nos. 5, 6, 7.

The two pedestals (A 1a, A 1b) with the eight-petalled lotus design come from the Cathedral grounds.

(b) Four stones (A4, A3, A5, A7), about 2 feet high, each with a cross (within a rope-like circular border) resting on a triangular base. For a fuller description, see No. 8.

(c) A cannon-ball (J1) from the grounds of the St. Thomas Convent (old Dominican Monastery).

5.—Detail of the right side figure (A2a) in No. 4, or St. Thomas. A figure, clothed from neck to foot in a tunic, holds up the right hand (index and thumb joined ?) in the act of blessing or teaching; the left hand supports a book against the body. Conspicuous is the girdle, part of which falls in front, below the knee; stole winding round left hand; hair parted in the centre of the head; thick moustache falling down on either side of the upper lip; the tip of the beard (one of two tips ?) is seen near the thumb and the index of the right hand; feet bare.

According to Syrian traditions (based on apocryphal writings ?), St. Thomas received Our Lady's girdle after her Assumption. St. Thomas' girdle is connected by local legends, already recorded by Bishop John de' Marignolli, (about 1349), after a visit of four days to Mylapore, with a wondrously large log which came floating from Ceylon (the Terrestrial Paradise and *Limbus Patrum* of the Nestorians ?) to Mylapore, where the King with his elephants and men could not drag it ashore. St. Thomas with his girdle dragged it whither he would, and built with it his church, at the place where he was later buried.

For the discovery of this statue, see No. 4, under (a). The book in the Saint's hand may be taken to show him to be an Apostle, as the Apostles in olden times were usually represented with a book, both in the Greek and the Latin Church. The girdle would show that the figure is St. Thomas, according to the present belief of the Christians at Mylapore.

A quotation, about 70 years earlier than the testimony of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, and of John de' Montecorvino, Archbishop of Pekin, shows that, even for many Syrians, Mylapore was the traditional site of St. Thomas' tomb. Mar Solomon, Metropolitan of Perath-Maishan (Basrah, on the Persian Gulf), says about A.D. 1222 in the *Book of the Bee* (E. A. Wallis Budge, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886, Vol. I,

Pt. 2, p. 105): "Habbân, the merchant, brought his [St. Thomas'] body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of the Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahlûph, a city in the land of the Indians." Cf. Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*, D. Nutt, London, 1905, p. 38. No other place in India but Mylapore answers to the last part of the statement. Query: Could not 'Mahlûph' be read so as to come closer to the form Mayilâpur (Peacock-Town), which Ptolemy's *Maliarpha* so closely resembles?

6.—Side-view of A 2a (St. Thomas) of No. 4, to show that the ears are of normal size, contrary to what we see in statues of Gautama-Buddha.

7.—Detail of the left side figure A 2b in No. 4. This figure is called by Indian Christians of Mylapore Kândâpa Râja, and is by them identified with the King of Mylapore, whom St. Thomas converted. The name Kândâpa Râja seems to be an echo of the name 'Gondophares.'

Bearded figure, clothed from neck to foot; double rope-like girdle round waist; his right hand, broken at the fingers, appears to be in the act of throwing about his person, past his left ear, a loose piece of garment (shown by the triple wavy line in the background?), which reappears round the left arm, down the left hip and up the right hip, and hangs loose in front above the knees (or it may be that the wavy lines in the background represent a halo); flowing beard, rising high above the ear, which appears somewhat too large; no diadem; at the back of the head, what appears to be like a top-knot, though someone has suggested that it is an aureole (thus placed for the sake of perspective), because there is a groove all round the outer border; the left heel is raised as in the act of walking, while the right foot rests entirely on the ground.

The left hand holds either a book or an instrument, more probably a book, which would show that this figure is also an Apostle. In that case, should we not identify him with St. Bartholomew, who is said to have brought to India St. Matthew's Gospel, written in Hebrew, a copy of it having been brought from India to Alexandria by the Christian philosopher Pantænus (about A.D. 190)?

In A.D. 883, in the time of Alfred the Great, King of England, "Sighelm and Æthelstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King had vowed to [send] thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew." (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, transl. by B. Thorpe, London, 1861, II. 66.)—A.D. 883. "Asser, Bishop of Sherbourne, died and was succeeded by Swithelm, who carried King Alfred's alms to St. Thomas in India and returned in safety." (*Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, transl. by Thos. Forester, London, 1854, p. 73.)—Alfred was "very attentive on bestowing alms; he confirmed the privi-

leges granted to the churches which his father had sanctioned. Beyond the sea, to Rome and to St. Thomas in India he sent many gifts. The legatee employed for this purpose was Sigelinus, the Bishop of Sherbourne, who with great success arrived in India, at which every one at this age wonders. Returning thence, he brought back exotic gems and aromatic liquors, which the land there produces." (T. D. Hardy, *Wilhelmi Malmesbiriensis . . . libri 5*, London, 1840, I. 187.)

"A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage unto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesbury his second booke *de gestis Pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus*.

"Sighelmus being for the performance of the Kings almes sent beyoud the seas, and travailing unto St. Thomas of [p. 403] India, very prosperously (which a man would wonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrie of India, and returning home brought with him divers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church." Cf. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, London, J. M. Dent, Vol. 2, pp. 402-403.

Since the Bishop of Sherbourne visited India with its Christians of St. Thomas (and of St. Bartholomew?), it is very likely that he came to Mylapore, without which his visit would not have been complete, and that he saw the very statue of St. Thomas (and of St. Bartholomew?) shown in our photographs.

Is it true that the Westminster Abbey has in its treasure a girdle of St. Thomas? If so, was this girdle one of the treasures brought from India by the Bishop of Sherbourne? In the East, there were Christians called 'Christians of the Girdle' (of St. Thomas?). a name towards which further research should be directed.

Though we are in favour of the supposition that the second figure of the Mylapore stone represents St. Bartholomew, we must not conceal that a claim for St. Pantænus could be made out.

"Ciampini in his work *Vetera monumenta*, pt. I, ch. IV, p. 38, fig. XXVII, shows a picture of St. Thomas the Apostle and of Pantænus, a priest in charge of the school of Alexandria, which was copied from the brass gates of the Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian way, which were incised at Constantinople in the year 1070, in the time of Consul Pantaleon. Pantænus holds in his right hand the Gospel of St. Matthew, which he himself was the first after St. Thomas to preach to the Indians,¹ and the martyrdom of St. Thomas in India is mentioned in the following Greek inscription:—

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΛΟΧΙ ΥΠΟ ΗΝΔΙΑ ΤΕΛΗΕΥΤΕ

¹ St. Bartholomew is here forgotten.

St. Thomas dies pierced with a lance in India.

See Blanchini, *Demonstr. Hist. Eccles. Monum. Comp.*, Tab. III, 2nd Century, Nos. 40 and 41." (Cf. P. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 142-143, 260.

8.—Detail of No. 4. Four stones (A4, A3, A5, A7), about 2 ft. high, each with a cross, equal-armed, containing a smaller equal-armed incised cross; round the cross a rope-border; the triangular shape of the base of the stones can best be seen in No. 4, where the stones stand straight up on the floor. Three stones (A4, A5, A7) have fleur-de-lis terminations of a fully developed hieratic type; one cross (A3), of the Maltese type, is like the cross on the Si-ngan-fu stèle, China (A.D. 883), and like another from China, both shown in L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2e éd., Chang-hai, Orphelinat de T'ou-sé-wè, 1904, pp. 130, 152. The triple button termination of the cross appears, not only in the cross of the Si-ngan-fu stèle, but in all the oldest crosses thus far found in India: several at Mylapore, one in the Anuradhapura Museum (Ceylon), two in the Valliapalli Church (Kottayam, Travancore), and one at Kadamattam (Travancore).

The sharp edges of the triangular base of the stones stop about half a foot from the bottom, as seen in the two right-hand stones of this photograph; the edges flatten out at the end.

Provenance: Cathedral grounds. Old residents of Mylapore say they stood formerly outside the 'old' Cathedral, in what was a burial-ground, north of the present Cathedral. Age: it may safely be supposed that this is pre-Portuguese Christian work. The compiler did not meet with any such stones in Malabar. An Armenian gentleman recognizes in the fleur-de-lis crosses forms of crosses common in Armenia. The Maltese cross is to him unfamiliar.

Destination of stones: unknown. At the Descanço Church, Mylapore, three such stone crosses, within rope-border medallions are inserted in the wall of the façade: one, above the centre of the arch; the two others some distance from it, one on either side. The Rev. S. Jacob, the Armenian priest of Armenian Church Str., Madras, stated to me in 1923 that it is an Armenian practice to put crosses of stone in the walls of houses and Churches. He did not know what to make of the rope-borders. He stated also that Ionic volutes are common in Armenia, as also pillars with a single-leaf pattern at the corners of pillar-bases.

It was thought formerly at Mylapore that these crosses were consecration crosses, crosses indicating the consecration of churches; but consecration crosses are along the walls within churches, and the four crosses in question are not known to have been used in the old Cathedral. Moreover, a Maltese cross within a rope-bordered medallion (L1) was found on February

3, 1923, at Westcot, Sullivan Street, St. Thomé, *i.e.*, at some distance from the now extant churches. Did that cross too come from a church? It seems that in Portugal it is not uncommon to have stone crosses inserted in the walls of private buildings, in some prominent part. The triangular bases of our four crosses would seem to show that they were used as keystones in an arch.

9-10.—Two medallions (A28*a*, A28*b*), one at each extremity of a big stone (a door lintel?). No. 10 shows that the stone rests on the floor. The two portions of the stone (now broken) fit into each other. The Ionic capital under each medallion shows that the stone rested on two pillars, which cannot have been very high. The shape of these pillars and of their base can be surmised from the small Ionic pillars and their bases in No. 13. A detail, not seen in the photographs, is that, between the two capitals, and close to each of them, a small lion, whose tail forms a double twist above his back, is represented as supporting with his back the portion of the stone above him, the two animals being cut in bas-relief into the same stone as the two medallions. The two lions face each other, as do the figures in the medallions. The style of the lions is that of two other lions, massive, seen in Nos. 16, 17.

The ornament on the head of the right-hand medallion (A28*b* of No. 10) must be a diadem, thus pointing out the figure as a King. This diadem does not appear to be Indian, but Persian. The cut and rope-like treatment of the beard also gives the King a Persian or Assyrian appearance. Compare the close-cropped beard rising above the ears with the beard of Kándāpa Rāja (St. Bartholomew?) in No. 7.

The beardless figure (A28*a*) in the left-hand medallion (No. 9) has a fillet ornament round the head, which falls in curls at the back of the head. This fillet was of old the distinctive mark of kings and princes, as seen on Bactrian and Indo-Parthian coins. Moreover, the scanty hair shows that the figure is not a woman.

Medallions on stone, representing historical personages in kingly or princely attire, are so far unknown in other parts of India. Ionic capitals too are rare in India, and unknown in other parts of Southern India. We stand, therefore, before foreign architectural influences. No local tradition attaches to the figures in the two medallions. The stone was formerly in the Cathedral grounds.

The legends of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar place Kándāpa Rāja at Mylapore, as Rāja of Chosha (Chola, Chorā, Coromandel). The similarity of name and the fact that, according to the St. Thomas Christians, St. Thomas built for Kándāpa Rāja a palace in heaven, should make us argue that the two figures represent Gondophares—for whom St. Thomas, according to his *Acta* (of about A.D. 230) built a palace in heaven—and his brother Gad. On the other hand, in the case of our two

sculptures, we would expect the difference of age between the King and his brother to be less marked, and there is also the difficulty that the coins and inscriptions of a King Gondophares and the name Gad have been found so far only in N.W. India. Another supposition is that the two figures represent the King of the unknown place where St. Thomas was killed. The place traditionally is Mylapore. The name of the King was Mazdai (a Persian or Parthian name), and many of the members of his court bore Persian names (Sifur, Mygdonia, etc.). The King's son, Uzanes, another Persian name, was baptized by St. Thomas with the chief personages of the court, the king excepted, and was made a Deacon.

A Jacobite calendar (Cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Vatic. Codicum Mss. Catal.*, II. 266) says: "Tesri (October), 6th day: The Crowning of Thomas the Apostle and of the King of India and Misadus [Mazdai], and of his son John [Johannes, Uzanes] and ten." Cf. Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, D. Nutt, 1905, p. 41. If we drop the conjunction and between 'India' and 'Misadus,' the statement becomes intelligible; and as Mazdai eventually became a Christian, according to some ancient writings about St. Thomas, it would seem that both Mazdai and Uzanes were honoured as saints.

The stone affords an argument for the political history of Mylapore. If the medallions were made at Mylapore by non-Christians, there was at Mylapore a dynasty of Persian or Parthian kings, and St. Thomas may, as tradition says, have been killed at Mylapore, by kings bearing Persian names. If the medallions were made by Christians, they would have been connected by them with St. Thomas—considering too that they were found on a Christian site, which, if we understand aright St. Gregory of Tours (about A.D. 590), reporting the pilgrim Theodore, had a beautiful church; and it would follow that the figures represent Christian Persian kings of the first century of our era: either Gondophares and Gad, or, more plausibly, Mazdai and his son Uzanes.

Had the kings connected with St. Thomas been non-Persian Indian kings, the Christians would not have represented them as Persian.

These medallions, as also the statue of St. Thomas (and of St. Bartholomew?) referred to in Nos. 4-7, furnish us, we think, with a tangible new proof, one of the highest value, for St. Thomas' traditional connection with Mylapore. Another proof lies in the antiquity of the Mylapore Church, as evidenced by the Cross at St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore, which at the lowest limit is of above A.D. 650. Cf. No. 56.

Ionic capitals are rare in India. Do they occur in Southern India elsewhere than at Mylapore or in Christian architecture? "A temple with Ionic pillars, dating from the time of Azes I., cir. 80 B.C., has been discovered at Taxila; but the plan of the

building is not Greek, and the pillars of foreign pattern are merely borrowed ornaments." (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1908, p. 227.) "Mr. Growse found a fragment of sculpture in the Mathurā district, where a niche is supported by columns with Ionic capitals" (*Mathurā*, 3rd ed., p. 171). Cunningham published a plaster fragment of a Roman Ionic capital from the Ahinposh *stūpa* at Jalalabād (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1879, p. 209, pl. XI)." (V. A. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 227 n. 2.)

The Portuguese who first came to Mylapore in 1517 wondered at the beautiful pieces of architecture, "pyramids, towers, and columns," lying in all directions on a large area of the then ruined town of Mylapore; and of the carvings of men, animals, leafage, etc., they said that one could not have done better in silver.

11. Six stones labelled A32, A33, A34, A35, A36, A38, these numbers applying here in the following order:

(From left to right): A35, A32, A38, A36, A34,

A33.

A35: Triangular-shaped top of some decoration, with two Ionic volutes.

A32: Pilaster to be compared with A34 for its peculiar bulging, and with D1 in No. 18.

A33: Corbel (like A57), or top of column; a broken (?) iron peg, not protruding, is stuck in the centre of the portion touching the ground.

A38: Base of pillar with beautiful leaf decorations below; a fine fleur-de-lis in the centre, at the top.

A36: Pilaster with Ionic volutes.

A34: Pilaster reproducing on a reduced scale the form of A32.

These stones belonged apparently, not to the old church, as known and remodelled by the Portuguese, but to some earlier period in its existence. It was visited by John de Montecorviño, the Franciscan Archbishop of Pekin (1291), Marco Polo (1292), Friar John de' Marignolli of Florence, a Franciscan (1350), Nicolo de' Conti (1425-30), and perhaps by Blessed Friar Odoric de Pordenone, a Franciscan, (about 1323), who has a short description of it.

When these exhibits were photographed in 1921, they stood in the south verandah, and there lay near them a stone, not photographed, which seems to have belonged to a *choultry* or pilgrims' rest-house (Pt. III. 3). Such a rest-house is mentioned by Marco Polo in 1292 as existing in the grounds of the Church in 1288. "A very fine miracle," he writes, "occurred there [at Mylapore] in the year of Christ 1288, as I will relate. A certain Baron of that country, having great store of a certain kind of corn that is called rice, had filled up with it all the houses that belonged to the church, and stood round about it. The Christian people in charge of the church were much

distressed by his having thus stuffed their houses with his rice; the pilgrims too had nowhere to lay their heads; and they often begged the pagan Baron to remove his grain, but he would do nothing of the kind. So one night the Saint himself appeared with a fork in his hand, which he set at the Baron's throat, saying: "If thou void not my houses, that my pilgrims may have room, thou shalt die an evil death," and therewithal the Saint pressed him so hard with the fork that he thought himself a dead man. And when morning came, he caused all the houses to be voided of his rice, and told everybody what had befallen him at the Saint's hands. So the Christians were greatly rejoiced at this grand miracle, and rendered thanks to God and to the blessed St. Thomas. Other great miracles do often come to pass there, such as the healing of those who are sick or deformed, or the like, especially such as be Christians. The Christians who have charge of the church have a great number of the Indian Nut trees, whereby they get their living; and they pay to one of those brother kings six groats for each tree every month." Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1874), pp. 339-40.

There was also at that time, attached to the church, a monastery or presbytery of Nestorians, of which, we think, we laid bare the solid granite and laterite foundations, nearly 6 ft. broad at the S.E. corner of the present Cathedral, during some trial excavations in 1923.

12.—Large shallow stone basin (A43), with rope border on the rim (like the rope ornament of the crosses in Nos. 4, 8, 21). The sides of the basin slope down rapidly towards the bottom, which is perforated, the opening, roughly executed, measuring about one foot in diameter. The basin stood in 1921 on a masonry platform, on the S. side of the Cathedral; it had been brought from the grounds of the S. Thomé Boys' Orphanage, attached to St. Bede's High School, in front of the Cathedral, in which grounds the Bishops of Mylapore and the Captains of S. Thomé are said to have lived, the Bishops of Mylapore having acquired their present residence only in the beginning of the 19th century.

When the Portuguese first came to Mylapore, there stood, in front of the then still extant old church near St. Thomas' tomb, two '*pias*' or holy water stoups. Is the basin one of these water-stoups, and was the bottom knocked out to use it for growing ornamental plants in, such being the use to which it was put in 1921? Or is it an ancient baptismal font which met with a similar fate? Baptismal fonts of this size and height are probably known to Christian archaeologists in Europe. The compiler did not, however, see any such in Malabar, during his tour to the Romo-Syrian and Jacobite Churches, in 1924; but he noticed rope-borders round their baptismal fonts.

Considering that the only other stones with a rope-border found thus far at Mylapore are Christian crosses, we believe

ourselves justified in looking upon this stone basin as of Christian provenance. Some time before 1921 the Muhammadans of the mosque in Rosary Church Street applied for it to the Vicar of the Cathedral, to place it near their mosque and use it for their ablutions.

The Rev. S. Jacob, the Armenian priest, was diffident about the purpose of the stone, because of the big hole at the bottom.

On the stone (A30) near the basin may have stood a pillar with Ionic volutes, as shown by the arrangement of pillars and bases of exhibit A55 in No. 13.

13.—Heavy stone receptacle (A55) with two small bulging pillars ending in Ionic volutes at the top. Note the scallop-shell at the top, under the curved curling ribbing. To the horizontal groove, cutting into the thickness of the stone, and half-way up the aperture in the box, there corresponds another horizontal groove (not seen) on the other side, so that a wooden shelf may originally have rested in the grooves. The receptacle could be closed by means of a double folding-door: for a set of four small holes cut into the stone, at either extremity of the aperture, both above and below, shows that there was a folding-door; and, as there is a second set of four holes at the back of the first, we should conclude that there was a second folding-door behind the first. A double receding of the stone, all round the aperture, for an outer folding-door, and across the breadth, above and below, for an inner folding-door, favours the surmise.

At the bottom of the box, in the centre, is carved a beautiful vase or urn, whence issue, right and left, graceful coils of branches and leaves. The shell at the top is not an Indian symbol. We argue that it is a Christian symbol and shows that the box served a religious purpose.

Traces of brick-work round the rough part of the longitudinal sides and at the top prove that the stone was inserted in a wall; this is also proved by the fact that the longitudinal sides have been left rough, except in front. No one remembers, however, that the box was used in the old Cathedral pulled down in 1893; yet, it comes from the Cathedral grounds.

It could not have been used to wash one's hands in, as there is no outlet for the water. Was it a safe? A library? A pre-Portuguese tabernacle? Does the shell denote that it was connected with the things required for baptism? I did not see any such receptacles in Malabar; but the *tabôt* of Abyssinian Churches and the *pitote* of Coptic churches, generally kept closed, are perhaps of this style. Cf. A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 270-271. Is it not an altar, rather? Are not certain ancient altars in our churches in Europe more or less of this style and size? But why the grooves? For a shelf to place the chalice on during part of the Mass? For ancient altars approximating this, cf. Dom Cabrol and Dom

Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, altar at Bagnacavallo (II, Pt. I, col. 63, fig. 1197); at Bagnols-sur-Cère (*ibid.*, col. 67, fig. 1200); at the Basilica of Pammachius, Rome (II, Pt. 2, col. 2867, fig. 2280); at Rheims (III, col. 1620, fig. 2928).

We read in the Roman Breviary, November 9. Lesson 6 : "For as, from the time of St. Peter up to Sylvester, the Pontiffs could not, owing to persecutions, stay in one place, they performed the sacred mysteries wherever necessity drove them, in crypts, or cemeteries, or in the houses of pious persons, on a wooden altar, hollowed out in the shape of a box."

About 1600, in a report by the Bishop of Cochin, we hear of a stone box on the altar in the dome-covered chapel of St. Thomas' tomb, which contained, besides the relics of St. Thomas found in 1521-23, a large number of bones of King Sagamo (Saka?), converted by St. Thomas, and of one of St. Thomas' disciples. These relics were practically intact at Mylapore in 1600, after having been secreted for a time at Cochin. They had never gone to Goa in spite of much that has been written to that effect. After 1600, during several attacks on the town, they were secreted in a Martaban jar in the pavement of the church. They are last heard of in 1683, when the Governor of Goa wrote to Antonio de Sousa, Governor of the Bishopric of S. Thomé, that, as Antonio Coelho, a resident of Madras, was reported to be dying, the relics in his possession ought to be secured and enclosed in a box with three keys, one key to remain with the Governor of the Bishopric, another with the Treasurer who was to keep the box with all secrecy, and the third with Alvaro Carrilho de Valle. Were these relics secreted in some private family, or in a church in Madras? The secret of their whereabouts is now unfortunately lost. Family traditions in Madras and Mylapore might yet give the clue to their present place of concealment.

What happened to the stone box in which the relics were kept in 1600? We do not see why it should not have continued on the altar of the chapel over the tomb till 1893. No one, however, remembers that such was the case, or that the stone box of our No. 13 was placed there. If we were to discover that our No. 13 was used as a reliquary by the Portuguese, we might have to modify our opinion about the Portuguese or pre-Portuguese provenance of other exhibits which we consider to be pre-Portuguese, unless indeed the stone-box formed part of the architecture of the pre-Portuguese Church and was utilised by the Portuguese as a reliquary.

On the other hand, might our No. 13 be the stone found in 1729 near St. Thomas' tomb? "Next, there appeared a square (rectangular?) marble stone, three feet in dimension, at the corners of which had been cut four small square (rectangular?) sepulchres." Cf. our quotation from Friar Paulinus under No. 4(a).

Compare the style of the two Ionic pillars and of their pedestals with the style of similar pillars and pedestals from Mylapore in Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12. Note also the four lotuses.

The lotus, four-petalled, six-petalled, and mostly eight-petalled, is a favourite decoration in the Christian art of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar. Four-petalled, it forms an equal-armed Greek cross; eight-petalled, it combines a Greek cross with a St. Andrew's cross. The eight-petalled lotus has led, it would seem, to the trefoiled or fleur-de-lis extremities of the Latin cross, and is therefore to be found everywhere, somewhat disguised, in the Christian art of the West.

A medal of Constantine the Great (of the first quarter of the fourth century) shows a cross springing from a lotus in a basin of water. Round the medal are the words: *Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, and it is remarkable that this same inscription, in Syriac, is found under a cross in the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam (together with a Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription, similar to another Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription round a cross in the same Church, and to a third one round a cross at St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore, this latter being of about A.D. 650). For a picture of Constantine's medal, see Gresser, *De Cruce Christi*, Ingolstadt, 1605, III. 93. or *Extrait des Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne: Essai sur l'origine et la décadence de la Religion Chrétienne dans l'Inde*, par le Capitaine Wilford, traduit des Recherches Asiatiques [*Asiatick Researches*, 1808, Vol. X] de Calcutta, et annoté par J. Daniello, Paris, B. Duprat, 1847, pp. 141, 142, 143 (*read*: 121, 122, 123), under notes by A. B., and at the end for the engraving. Cf. also my discussion of the medal in *The Catholic Herald of India* Calcutta, Jan. 23, 1924, pp. 63-65.

Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., considers that the fleur-de-lis derives from the lotus, sacred in Egypt as in the East. We have the lotus, I now suggest, in the frescos of the catacombs of Rome of the first half of the first century: for, round a central picture, the central portion of a lotus, radiate eight pictures, each picture forming one of the petals of an eight-petalled lotus.

I have in my possession a photograph of a fresco with eight crosses round a central cross from the Kyanzittha cave, near Pagan, Burma. It was found by Mr. Duroiselle, Archaeological Department, Burma, together with paintings of Mongol soldiers supposed to have belonged to Kublai Khan's expedition against Pagan in 1287, and we know that Christian clans fought under Kublai Khan. The Kritis and Mekrits and the Alani were Christian clans. The Chinese Annals mention 1,000 Alani as forming the body-guard of the Emperor of China in 1272, 1286, and 1309. More than 30,000 Christians (Syrians, Nestorians, Georgians, Alani, and Ruthenians) fought in his army. In 1330, there were 10,000 Russians and Crimeans in the Pekin camp. Cf. P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Le prime Relazioni della S.*

Sede con la Cina, (estratto della *Bib'l. Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa*, t. iv), Firenze, 1923, p. 8. The artist at the Kyanzittha cave tried to reproduce the grain of the wood of the crosses, whence Mr. Duroiselle argued to the Christian character of these crosses. There is more to be said in favour of this argument. The disposition of the eight crosses round a central cross resembles that of eight panels round a central design in the catacombs (1st to 4th century A.D.). Cf. Dom F. Cabrol and Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., *Dict. d'archéol. et de liturgie chrétienne*, fasc. LV(1923), s.v. fresques, figs. facing coll. 2591-92, 2619-20, 2623-24, 2627-28. The disposition of the Pagan fresco and of the frescos in the catacombs is that of the eight petals of a lotus, the smaller crosses at Pagan being on the smaller petals, the greater crosses on the bigger petals. Fr. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2e éd. Chang-hai, Orphelinet de T'ou-sè-wè, 1904, p. 55, fig. 104, shows an arrangement of crosses, like in the Pagan fresco, in the woven horizontal surface of a Chinese bed. In pictures of frescos at the Rāmeśvaram temple, S. India, I have seen a similar arrangement of eight panels or pictures round a central panel or picture.

The eight-petalled or sixteen-petalled lotus is at the back of other phases of Christian art. Many baptisteries in our earliest Churches in the West are octagonal; octagonal are the cruzeiros, or pedestals of open-air crosses, at Mylapore; octagonal again most of the pedestals of open-air crosses standing before the Churches of Malabar, Romo-Syrian or Jacobite. Has it struck Christian archaeologists ere this that this design was consciously modelled on the eight-petalled lotus? The baptismal font in the centre of our ancient octagonal baptisteries occupies the place of the cup of the lotus; so too, the cross emerging from the centre of an octagonal pedestal. In the Far East, the cult of the lotus gave rise to similar applications in architecture. "In Japan, Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 802-816) founded his great monastery, with the rights of sanctuary, on a mountain plain in the heart of a lotus surrounded by eight mountain peaks." (From a letter by Mrs. E. A. Gordon, Kioto, to the compiler, Aug. 19, 1924.) In the West, Constantine the Great, in the first-half of the 4th century, modified to some extent the Christian predilection for round Churches with eight or sixteen sides. "In all his sepulchral buildings he seems to have been haunted by the number twelve, and the notion of doing honour to the Apostles." (Mgr. A. S. Barnes, *The Dublin Review*, July-Sept. 1924, p. 18.)

14.—Octagonal stone cut in the form of a sixteen-petalled lotus. The stone bulges out like a shield to a knob in the centre. The back of the stone is polished smooth, and has a small hole in the centre, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, as if meant to rest on a pivot. Most of the angles of the octagon are

broken; one of the sides is, however, clearly seen, though partly damaged, under the arm of the boy seated on the left. Provenance: Cathedral grounds.

It has been suggested that this stone belonged to an umbrella of state standing over a statue. Another theory, personal to myself, is that it belonged to the pedestal of an open-air stone cross. In Malabar, such pedestals are almost always octagonal, like an eight-petalled lotus. An open-air cross, said to have been made by St. Thomas, still stood in 1600 at Little Mount, Mylapore, and another, likewise ascribed for its artistic beauty to St. Thomas, stood on the top of (Great) St. Thomas Mount, these two places being otherwise connected by local tradition with St. Thomas. As such open-air crosses, some of them marvellously high and massive, and of splendid architecture, are to be found near almost all the old Churches of Malabar Jacobite or Romo-Syrian, it may be argued that, in pre-Portuguese times, there stood one near the Church of St. Thomas' tomb, Mylapore. When the Portuguese first came to settle at Mylapore in 1521-23, there was a tradition that St. Thomas had erected a cross and had predicted that, when the sea would reach it, white men from the West would come to revive the religion he had preached. The arrival of the Portuguese was hailed as the fulfilment of the prophecy, and, as only the Church near the tomb then survived and was near the sea, St. Thomas would have erected a cross near it.

A large number of granite blocks, some carved, and almost all squared, were dug up from or near the site of the old Cathedral, when the present Cathedral was built (1893-97), and it may be surmised that they belonged to a church earlier and of greater magnificence than what the Portuguese found in 1521-23, when they came to repair a shrine which had been abandoned by the pre-Portuguese Christians. Most of these granite blocks had been collected against the wall of the cocoanut garden along the S. Thomé High Road. The greater number of them were removed to the Bishop's Museum in 1923.

15. — Two monolithic pillars (A48a, A48b) at the entrance to the garden of the Bishop of Mylapore; photograph taken from the street.

Each pillar has 16 facettes or flutes, as in the case of certain pillars at the Mārtand temple in Kashmir. V. A. Smith writes of the Mārtand temple, built about A.D. 725-60: "The trefoiled or cusped arch on the doors of the temple and cells is a striking peculiarity of the style. . . . The pillars and pilasters of the portico and temple bear a close resemblance to some of the later forms of the Roman Doric, and have usually sixteen shallow flutes on the shafts, with numerous members in the base and capital." (*Imper. Gazett. of India*, II. 169.)



St. Thomas—the Apostle of India.

The leaf design at the four corners of each pillar, both at foot and top, appears to be rare in India. A similar leaf design is found at the four corners of some other stones, smaller, and not photographed, from the Cathedral grounds, and now in the Bishop's Museum. See Pt. III. 3, Nos. 40, 41, 47. We find this single-leaf decoration at the four corners of the base of the four pillars supporting the ciborium or dais above the main altar at St. Mark's, Venice (5th or 6th century). Cf. Dom F. Cabrol's *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne*, III. col. 1597, fig. 2922, and col. 1603, *s.v.* ciborium.

Apparently the two pillars of the photograph stood formerly in the S. porch of the old Mylapore Cathedral (before 1893): they seem to be the two pillars on the outside of the porch, as seen in a picture of the old Cathedral. Cf. George Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, W. Blackwood, London, 1892, plate facing p. 312.

From the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mylapore (16-17).

16.—Two large stone lions, originally at the Luz Church, and marked B1 (the lion on the left) and B2. They are seated on their haunches. Note the bulging eyes, and the curious treatment of the mane, which looks braided. B1 has a niche in front, and hardly forms a pair with B2. There are no lions in Southern India; yet in the Hindu pagodas the lion is a favourite decoration, as it was already in the time of Aśoka (274-237 B.C.), who placed lions on the capitals of his pillars.

These stones stood in the small yard on the right of the church (sacristy side) at the Luz Church.

17.—Side-view of the same two lions. B1 with the niche in front is on the right. Two of the molars of B1 meet; this is not the case with B2 on the left, for it is not likely that the stone was later chipped off clean on both sides at that place. The bulge on the back of the two lions indicates a twist of the tail; the decoration on the right hip is the final curl and hairy tuft of the tail.

These lions may suitably be compared with similar lions in Persian and Hittite architecture. They are similar to the lions depending from the stone lintel with the two medallions of a Persian King and a Persian Prince in Nos. 9, 10.

From the Church of Madre de Deos, Mylapore (18-20).

18.—Two stones from near the sacristy of Madre de Deos Church. The smaller one (D4) shows within a lotus medallion a lion holding up the left fore-paw; the lion turns his head backwards and shows his teeth. The bigger stone (D1), a pilaster, with a bulb-shaped pillar, from near the same sacristy, must be compared with A32 and A34 of No. 11.

These bulb-shaped pillars make one think of the palm-shaped pillars of Egyptian temples.

19.—Two pillars found near the westernmost of the two wells in the Vicar's private garden at Madre de Deos Church. The stone on the left (D9) has plain eight-petalled lotus medallions; the other stone (D5), broken at the top and below, has designs in the eight-petalled lotus medallions: a revolving flaming sun (?), above; below, some animal (a lizard or chameleon?). The revolving flaming sun is perhaps to be connected with Persian fire-worship.

The designs within the lotus medallions would be worth taking rubbings and photographs of. They are very varied, as the principle seems to have been not to have twice the same design repeated in the medallions of the same pillar. Such a principle was applied to the beams of the stone-railing at Sanchi. Some of the designs (either in D4, D5 or D9) are: two deer sitting; a man standing and beating a drum; two chameleons with claws, head reversed and tongue protruding; a god sitting, etc.

The number of facettes of D5 and D9 was not noted, but is probably 16, as in No. 16.

20.—Sun-dial from Madre de Deos Church. Note the Tamil characters. It was found lying on the ground, turned on the polished face (on the S.W. side of the Presbytery gate which bears the cross and the two peacocks). It must be the work of the Jesuit Fathers, who were the occupants of the garden and of the Church, one for Indian converts, from about 1587 till some time after the suppression of the Society in 1773.

From various places at S. Thomé and Mylapore (21).

21. Exhibits from different parts of San Thomé and Mylapore, numbered in the Bishop's Museum thus:—

	C3			C5		
Top row :	I1	A8	L1	C2	D6	
2nd row from top :	C1	D12	G1	M1	A9	
3rd row from top :	E2			H1		N1
4th row from top :	A29	C4	A17	A11	A12	A13
Bottom row :				Q2	Q5	Q1 Q3 Q4

C3. — Fragment of pillar unearthed on the top of St. Thomas Mount in 1922.

C5. — Fragment of twisted pillar unearthed on the top of St. Thomas Mount in 1922.

I1.—Arabic inscription on head-stone of Muhammadan tomb (S. Thomé). See No. 79 bis.

A8.—Equal-armed cross with trefoil or fleur-de-lis extremities unearthed in the Cathedral grounds (1922).

L1.—Stone (about 2 ft. high) with Maltese cross within rope-border from a garden at S. Thomé.

C2.—Stone (about 2 ft. high) with Maltese cross from the top of St. Thomas Mount, found in 1922.

D6.—Sun-dial from Madre de Deos Church grounds. Mylapore. Jesuit work of between 1587 and 1780.

C1.—Tamil inscription of four lines from the Convent on the top of St. Thomas Mount. See No. 81.

D12.—Stone with nude seated Jain (?) image in a niche. from Madre de Deos Church grounds.

G1.—Two coils, each including an eight-petalled lotus (from a garden at S. Thomé).

M1. Stone showing a man piercing a lion with two swords. also a dog (from a house in Rosary Church Str., S. Thomé).

A9.—Stone from broken edict pillar, inscribed on three sides in Tamil, and found in the cocoanut garden adjoining, and belonging to, the Cathedral. Date: Rājaraḥa I. (A.D. 985–1013). See No. 77.

E2.—Big triangular brick with scroll (from the Boys' Orphanage, S. Thomé).

H1.—Stone cannon-ball, from a garden at S. Thomé.

N1.—Subramaniya with peacock and cobra, from a garden at S. Thomé.

A29.—Fragment of twisted pillar, like A13, from the Cathedral grounds.

C4. Top and right arm of trefoil or fleur-de-lis cross, from the top of St. Thomas Mount.

A17.—Trefoil or fleur-de-lis cross in Saracenic-arched niche; same design on both sides of the stone. From the Cathedral grounds.

A11.—Lower limb of incised cross, from the Bishop's garden.

A12.—Upper part of a cross, from the Cathedral grounds.

A13. Fragment of twisted pillar, like A29, from the Cathedral grounds.

Q2, Q5, R1, S2, Q1, Q3, Q4.—Iron cannon-balls from S. Thomé and the foot of St. Thomas Mount.

3. *In the Cathedral Grounds, S. Thomé (22–24) .*

22.—A sun-dial.

Fr. A. A. Pinto, the Vicar of the Cathedral, wrote for me the following note about this sun-dial: "Local tradition has it that this sun-dial was made by the monks who lived at the Luz Church. There it stood for many years. Next it was near the Mylapore Post-Office, where it remained only a few years. Thence it was brought to the North-West corner of the Cathedral Compound, whence it was taken to be placed in front of the S. Thomé Post-Office. There it remained till 1915, when the road was broadened and it had to be removed. In 1916 I had it fixed where it now stands."

As the Luz Church belonged to the Franciscans in olden

times, the sun-dial is probably a piece of Franciscan work. Though there is at the Luz Church a Franciscan inscription dated 1516, it appears that the Franciscans did not come to settle at Mylapore before 1540. The Luz Church may be even later, as St. Francis Xavier in 1545 does not refer to any other church but that near the tomb. If Franciscans had been in Mylapore in 1516, they would have taken possession of the church near the tomb, that church being then vacant, rather than build a church of their own a great distance off. Besides, there were no Portuguese settlers at Mylapore yet in 1516.

23.—Fluted monolithic granite pilaster of Christian provenance, as shown by a winged angel-head on the capital, and by another at the origin of the shaft; below the latter angel, at the bulging of the pillar, a design of leaves. The hair of the angels appears to stand on end, or to be brushed straight up backwards. Rope-like border round the top and round the ring under the shaft.

At the foot of the pilaster shown in its entirety, the photograph shows part of the shaft of a similar pilaster broken into four parts (numbered 1, 2, 3, in Arabic numbers cut into the stone). Iron pegs protruding from the bottom of two of these blocks show that it was intended to re-erect the pilaster, after it got broken. The four pieces juxtaposed would make the second pilaster a perfect match to the former. Brickwork visible on the edge, left rough, of the two pilasters proves that they were once worked into a brick wall.

The picture of the old Cathedral in George Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, W. Blackwood, London, 1892, plate facing p. 312, suggests, perhaps, that the pilasters stood in the south porch, fixed in the wall of the nave. Old residents of Mylapore told me, however, that these two pilasters stood in the north portico. When the old Cathedral was broken down in 1893, one of the pilasters was broken.

The Rev. S. Jacob, an Armenian priest of Madras, gave it as his opinion that these pilasters resemble Armenian work. The leaf decorations at the base show, I think, that they are not European work of the Portuguese period. Moreover, the oldest Portuguese Churches still standing at Mylapore have nowhere such beautiful and expensive stone carving. These pilasters must have belonged to the pre-Portuguese Church extant near the tomb in 1521–23, or to an earlier Church on the same site.

24.—Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes, showing the Portuguese arms: the Five Wounds of Christ and the Seven Castles. In the picture showing the old Cathedral (G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 312) this coat of arms is seen above the south porch of

the Church. A similar coat of arms is seen from the street on the façade of the S. Thomé Boys' Orphanage, in front of the Cathedral. Local tradition connects this second coat of arms with the residence of the former Portuguese Captains of S. Thomé, which would have stood in the grounds of the Boys' Orphanage.

Note the cross with trefoiled extremities on the top of the chapel enclosing the Grotto. It is in the orthodox style of the crosses of Mylapore and Malabar, so much so that locally such crosses are called 'St. Thomas crosses.' This style of cross was followed for the crosses on the gates of the new Cathedral. Right of the Grotto is seen the Priory or Presbytery, to which is attached the Secretariate of the Diocese; left of the Grotto is the Priory kitchen and a line of outhouses.

4. *At the Cathedral, S. Thomé (25-29).*

25.—Old wooden statues; ivory crucifixes; ivory statuettes (10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). The Infant Jesus in the centre (16 and 20) holds the index of the right hand on his mouth. We may compare with this a beautiful bronze statuette of a child from Taxila (height 5"). The child is beautifully draped, has curly hair hanging down to the shoulders, and holds the index of the right hand on his mouth. On his head a triangular peaked cap, or perhaps a niche, holding a vessel. One wonders whether it might be Christian. Cf. *The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ancient India*, Cambridge University Press, 1922, Pl. XXXII, No. 86, and p. 647. Statuettes of the Infant Jesus, as at Mylapore, may also be found in Malabar.—Photograph taken in the Cathedral sacristy.

26.—Silver plate in the Cathedral sacristy. No. 5 shows another ivory statuette of the Infant Jesus, holding up the right hand in blessing, and the left hand down.

27.—Front portion of a brass casket, in the form of a reliquary. The *repoussé* work shows leafage and two double-headed crested birds. Such emblematic birds are a favourite device on the façades of Romo-Syrian and Jacobite Churches in Malabar. A double-headed eagle-monster (*gaṇḍa bheruṇḍa*), holding up elephants in its beaks and claws, the *rukḥ*, appears on the coins of Achyuta Rāya (A.D. 1530-42) of the second Vijayanagar dynasty. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catal. of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 322, 324 (No. VI. 1). A double-headed eagle, holding the sun and the moon in his claws, forms part of the arms of the Hermits of St. Augustine. As the Augustinians had a monastery at Mylapore and many of the Mylapore Bishops were Augustinians, this double-headed eagle is seen on the altars of several churches, *e.g.* at St. Rita's Church, and at St. Thomas Mount.

Note the lizard on the lock, and the animals (dogs?) supporting the box.

The back of the box ought also to have been photographed: it shows St. Thomas laying his finger in the wound of Our Lord's side.

28.—One of the sides of the same casket. The birds in the lower portion appear to be peacocks; those in the upper portion, in spite of their elongated bodies, ought to be peacocks also, judging from the crest on their head.

29.—The lid of the same casket. The two pair of birds, with heads intertwined, might be peacocks again.

These peacocks appear to be very appropriate for a place called Mayilapur, or 'Peacock-Town,' which has such curious legends of peacocks connected with St. Thomas, and where we find that the cross was worshipped by peacocks in pre-Portuguese art.

I did not discover any tradition connected with the use of this casket. It does not seem to be the China casket in which the Portuguese placed the few bones found in the tomb reputed to be St. Thomas'. All I learned was that the present Bishop of Mylapore, Mgr. Theotónio Emmanoel Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, used to distribute from it money to the poor on Maundy Thursday.

5. *At St. Rita's Church, S. Thomé (30-32).*

30.—Façade of St. Rita's Church, and east side, as seen from the S. Thomé High Road. The Church was served in olden times by the Augustinians, as its name shows, St. Rita being an Augustinian saint. There is above the walled-up door, facing the road, a Portuguese inscription showing that the Vicar, Fre Gaspar dos Reis, a native of S. Thomé, finished the church in 1740; another inscription, Armenian, which is to be seen on the same side, below the projection made by the cornice of the lower portion of the façade wall, says: "In memory of the Armenian nation. In the year of the Saviour 1729." The inscription must commemorate the beginning of the work on the Church or convent. The Armenian who supplied the funds may have been the wealthy Petrus Uschan, who in 1726 built the Marmalong Bridge and the portico, steps and walls leading up to the Church on St. Thomas Mount.

The story that St. Francis Xavier lived here during his stay at Mylapore is worthless. He lived with the priest in the house attached to the Church of St. Thomas' tomb.

31.—Interior of St. Rita's Church. Note the Augustinian arms, a double-headed eagle, on the three altars. Above the main altar, a wooden(?) statue of Our Lady and Child; St. Rita, now on the Gospel side, was formerly in the centre;

the niche, in which stands the S. Heart, is a late addition, made by Mgr. Theotonio Emm. Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, after removing part of the wooden reredos. Above the arch near the side altars, a small statue of St. Rita. There is also a large oil-painting of St. Rita hanging on the wall, left side. It represents the Saint amid angels, two Nuns of her Order kneeling beside her.

32.—Old wooden statues of St. Rita, St. Augustine, and Our Lady of Dolours; also three beautifully carved ivory crucifixes.

6. *At the Church of the Holy Rosary, S. Thomé* (33-35).

33.—Façade of the Church of the H. Rosary, in Rosary Street. It is an old Dominican Church, near which the Dominicans must have had a small monastery. The year 1635, in old style letters, on the façade, gives the date of the building of the Church.

34.—Gilt wooden reredos of the main altar.

On the bulging portion of the altar table, the arms of the Dominican Order.

Above and below the set of two pillars on either side of the larger niche, the four Evangelists, seated, with a book on their knees, a star above their head, and their traditional symbolic representation; they are in this order: *a* $\frac{a}{b}$; (a) St. John symbolised by an eagle; (b) St. Matthew, by a man; (c) St. Mark, by a lion, (d) St. Luke, by an ox.

Round the niche containing a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, the 15 mysteries of the Rosary, in the following order:—

15		<i>Joyful mysteries</i> : 1. the Annunciation ; 2. the
		Visitation ; 3. the Nativity of Our Lord ;
13	14	4. the Presentation in the Temple ; 5. the
11	12	finding of Jesus in the Temple ; <i>Sorrowful</i>
		<i>mysteries</i> : 6. The Agony of Jesus in the
9	10	Garden ; 7. the Scourging ; 8. the Crowning
7	8	with thorns ; 9. the carrying of the Cross ;
5	6	10. the Crucifixion ; <i>Glorious mysteries</i> : 11.
3	4	the Resurrection of Jesus ; 12. the Ascension
		of Jesus ; 13. the Descent of the Holy Ghost
1	2	on the Apostles ; 14. the Assumption of the
		Bl. Virgin ; 15. Her Coronation in Heaven.

Between the two Evangelists at the top, is a figure with a halo, astride on a horse and followed by a man with naked bust. The hair of the rider hangs down to his shoulders; his right hand holds a sword, with which he seems to be cutting a piece of cloth. Is it St. Martin of Tours? In 1921, the Nuns of

St. Thomas' Convent, who renovated the gilding of the reredos, called him St. Martin.

The small statue in the uppermost niche represents St. Francis of Assisi, and it is perhaps significant that in the old Franciscan Church of the Luz there is a statue of St. Dominic.

Above this uppermost niche there is, in a beaded oval, a cross of peculiar shape, which appears to be special to the order of St. Dominic.

35.—A low-relief carving on stone in the sacristy, showing the Madonna and Child. The letters NSDR mean: 'Nossa Senhora do Rosario,' 'Our Lady of the Rosary.' At the foot, a date: 1635 which is identical with the date on the façade of the Church.

7. *At the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mylapore (36-38).*

36.—Decorative masonry work above the East gate of the Southern arm of the transept of the Church. Note the scallop-shell, as in our No. 13.

The Luz Church is an old Franciscan Church. By the side of the gate shown in No. 36, there is, fixed in the wall of the nave, outside, an inscription with the date 1516, about which I have written in my article on *St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore. Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends (Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S., Vol. XIX. 1923), p. 157, n. 1* :—

"An inscription at the Luz Church, Mylapore, runs thus :—*Fre Pedro da Atougia Reli' Observ' de S. Franc' Edificou esta Igreja de Nossa Senh^{ra} da Luz em 1516.* This means: 'Friar Pedro da Atougia, an Observantine Religious of St. Francis, built this Church of Our Lady of Light in 1516.' Cf. a photograph in *Report of the fourth Centenary Celebrations, The Luz Church, Mylapore, 6th August, 1916*. Madras, Good Pastor Press, Broadway.

"A wonderful inscription, if correct. Its correctness is rejected by Col. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I. 289-290,¹ and I think rightly so. A Church at the Luz emplacement in 1516 would mean a Christian community there at that date, or even earlier, with a Missionary in attendance. But why should the Christians not have turned into a church the ruined Church² near the tomb rather than build a new one? Why was the Church near the tomb left in ruins³ till 1521-23? Simply because there were no Christians yet. The first Portuguese visitors to Mylapore in 1514, 1517, 1519, 1521-23, are ominously

¹ I think there is also an excellent reproduction of the inscription in Col. Love's book, *loc. cit.*

² Still in tolerable condition.

³ Say, rather, unoccupied.

silent about the Luz Church, and about Franciscans at Mylapore. So is St. Francis Xavier in 1545. The Franciscans do not appear to have settled at Mylapore before 1540. This is not the place to work this out more fully. Besides, *Nossa Senhora da Luz* is such a common title that the legend of the mariners attracted by a mysterious light must be taken as a popular explanation of the title invented *post factum*. Fr. Francisco de Souza, S.J., in his *Oriente Conquistado*,¹ II. C.I. D.I. § 24, gives a similar story for a Church of N.S. da Luz of Goa, and that story would seem to have been carried to Mylapore."²

I may add that some stucco work in the vaulted ceiling of the Church, before the sanctuary, now lends authority to the popular story of the mariners and the light.

	2			popular story of the mariners and the light.
7		6		It represents a sun (1), with six stars
	1			round it, two of which (2, 3) have a triple
5		4		tail or ray, the others (4, 5, 6, 7) having
	3			only one ray of light.

The reference for Frei Pedro de Atougia given by C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pt. III, Bombay, 1888, p. 98, to *Lendas da Índia* [by Correa], II. 721, 78, 87, leads to nothing; his other reference to *Inst. V. Gama*, II. 275, I have not been able to look up.

37.—Gilt carved wooden reredoses in the Church.

The reredos of the main altar covers the entire wall behind it, to the top of the masonry vault. In the smaller niche, at the top, there is a clothed statue of the Infant Jesus holding the orb of the world, surmounted by a cross; below it, some Armenian characters, which the Rev. S. Jacob, the Armenian priest of Armenian Str., Madras, deciphered in 1923, when we visited the Church together; they mention the name of Petrus Usean, the great benefactor of religious institutions. The statue of the Madonna and Child in the bigger niche is entirely gilt, and protected by a movable glazed frame. On either side of the reredos, there is a wooden bracket for a statue; the left bracket holds a Pietà; the right bracket, a statue of St. Michael triumphing over the dragon, and holding a sword and a pair of scales. The centre of the altar table has the Franciscan emblems: the arm of St. Francis of Assisi and of Our Lord intertwined: an emblem which is also seen with the Five Wounds in the painted stucco work on the vaulted ceiling of the sanctuary. On the ground, before the altar, and placed there for the occasion, our photograph shows a large ivory crucifix, artistically carved.

On the side altar (Gospel side): left, a statue of Our Lord, seated, after the Flagellation; right, St. Dominic. St. Dominic

¹ Lisbon, 1710, p. 35.

² In the same way as certain stories connected with Our Lady of Bandel, Hugli, Bengal, seem to have been transferred to it from Mylapore.

is vested in a cope, holds a book in his left hand, and a rosary round his neck. He wears a beard and a big tonsure. On his forehead, he has a five-pointed star. Formerly, he had a (silver?) nimbus round his head, as is seen by the hole on the top of the head. What did he formerly hold in his right hand?

On the side altar (Epistle side): left, a statue of St. Clare (?); right, a statue of St. Francis of Assisi; in the centre, an ivory crucifix.

The two side altars, perfectly similar in every detail, have an esutcheon in the centre with the Five Wounds.

In 1921, the side altar on the left had in the niche a wooden statue of St. Anthony of Padua; the side altar on the right had small statues of the S. Heart (centre) and of St. Joseph. The Vicar, Fr. L. Soma, was bent on improvements, on a new statue of the S. Heart and of St. Joseph, and with the Rs. 100 which I paid him for a folio French-Tamil MS. dictionary, which he had bought for one anna at a sale of books, he made the changes revealed by our photograph of 1923. The dictionary, a volume of some 800 pages, in two columns, the work of a good copyist, was apparently composed by Fr. Natalis de Bourzes, S.J., of the Carnatic Mission, in the first quarter of the 18th century, and is now in the Indian Academy Library, St. Mary's College, Kurseong. Above the arch, in front of the sanctuary, a painting represents a scene of the life of St. Francis of Assisi. The Saint appears to be blessing five of his companions.

On the walls, on either side of the nave, before the sanctuary, are eight Armenian paintings, on cloth, representing Apostles and the scene of their death. Their names are written below in Armenian, in gilt letters on a red background. The subjects represented are: 1. St. Peter; 2. St. Philip; 3. St. John; 4. St. James the Greater; 5. St. Matthew the Apostle; 6. St. James of Alpheus, or the Less; 7. St. Paul; 8. St. Matthias.¹ These paintings are more artistic than those at St. Thomas Mount, but smaller. Nails in the walls show that the collection contained formerly twelve, if not fourteen, paintings. We have fourteen at St. Thomas Mount. They appear to be 18th century work, and may have been a gift of Petrus Uschan. These tableaux were photographed in 1923, in sets of two, by the Archaeological Department, but apparently without success, as no photographs of them were sent.

38.—Gilt carved wooden reredos in the sacristy. In the centre, a painting on glass (?) of Our Lady of Dolours, pierced with one sword; lower, a wooden statue of the Pietà; on the left, a wooden statue of a female figure, with hands joined

¹ The information about the names of the Apostles was sent me lately by the Rev. S. Jacob, Armenian Str., Madras.

(Our Lady ?); on the right, a wooden statue of St. Benedict of Palermo, with face painted black, and curly negro hair.

The Roman Martyrology mentions St. Benedict of Palermo on April 4: "At Palermo, of St. Benedict of St. Philadelphus, Confessor, surnamed the Black on account of his dark complexion, of the Order of Minors, who, famous for his miracles and virtues, rested in the Lord on the eve of the Nones of April (April 4), and was placed among the Saints by Pope Pius VII."

In the sacristy I was shown, painted on wood, another picture of Our Lady of Sorrows pierced with one sword.

8. *Two Jain images, Mylapore (39-40.)*

39.--Male *digambara* (sky-clad) statue surmounted by the hood of a five-headed snake.

40.--Ditto, without hood.

Nos. 39 and 40 are probably Jain statues. The Jains were formerly represented strongly on the Coromandel coast and in Southern India. These statues are in a garden, called Pulcate grammani, at the junction of Muthugrammani Street and the street going to Madre de Deos Church.

9. *At the Church of Madre de Deos, Mylapore (41-48).*

41. Gate leading into the grounds of Madre de Deos Church (in front of the Convent of the Indian Nuns). Above the opening of the gate, a design formed by two concentric ovals, within which are seen four winged angel-heads; above this: the date 1748. The last figure is, however, somewhat doubtful; it might be a 6.

In 1746-48 the Jesuit Fathers of the Malabar or Cochin Province served the Church. The Jesuit Fathers were the occupants of the garden and of the Church from about 1587 to some time after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.

The two pillars nearest the opening of the gate are of granite. Note the style of the base of the pillars, similar to A30 in No. 12, and to the base of two pillars in No. 13.

The figure standing near the gate is the compiler of these notes.

42.—Entrance to the Vicar's private garden, near the Presbytery. On the stone lintel: three eight-petalled lotus rosaces on either side of two peacocks worshipping a cross botonnée on a calvary. These were recovered in 1921 by the writer from the multiple coatings of whitewash which had entirely obliterated them from view. It was an important discovery. When the Portuguese first came to Mylapore

(1521-23) to repair the crumbling Church near St. Thomas' tomb, there were numerous designs of crosses and peacocks both within and without the Church, chiefly round a small tower outside, the foundations of which touched the tomb of St. Thomas. That the peacock, finest of birds, should have been chosen to honour the cross, will appear simple enough; it was a common Christian device in the West from the earliest centuries; but the emblem has, perhaps, a special significance at Mylapore, the name of which means 'Peacock-Town'; moreover, as we have said above, there are some curious legends connecting the peacock with the story of St. Thomas' martyrdom.

No other similar emblem has been found yet at Mylapore, in spite of a diligent search. It may be surmised that this stone, as also several others with carvings of flowers, used as lintels in Madre de Deos Church, was found by the Jesuit Fathers and set up for its beauty and apologetic value. The stone is probably pre-Portuguese. At any rate, the emblem is a local, pre-Portuguese emblem. It is very common in our Malabar Churches. At the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam, for instance, we have it for one of the two crosses with the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription (cf. G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India op. cit.*, plate facing inner title);¹ also on the arch at the top of the staircase leading up to the Church; also on the wall of the sanctuary, where, on the outside, two peacocks worship a cross in the shape of a *chakra*² or 'wheel of the law.'

Our photograph also shows, in front of the two pillars of the gateway, the tops of two stone brackets; another set of two such brackets had been worked in the masonry seats in front of the gateway. These four brackets were removed in 1923 to the Bishop's Museum, where they are labelled D7a, D7b, D10a, D10b. They have reef-knots among the designs on the sides.

43.—Detail of the cross with the two peacocks, as seen in No. 42. Photographed from an estampage. As the photographer had slightly sharpened the outlines of the designs before operating with his camera for No. 42, it was thought proper to have also a photograph from an estampage. There can hardly be any doubt but the birds are peacocks. Note the steps of the calvary, apparently four. An Armenian gentleman calls the cross an Armenian cross. Are Armenians equally familiar with the worshipping peacocks?

44.—Massive wooden gate half-way up the nave of Madre de Deos Church; the portion in front of it with its façade

¹ Cf. also a beautiful picture of this cross and its two peacocks, prepared by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Register*, Colombo, Vol. IX, 1923-24, facing p. 189.

² Eight-spoked

on the street must be a later addition. The two pillars and the arch round the gate are of granite. The decorations in the little squares of the door are lotuses, many-petalled, of two types. Fr. M. L. Ribeiro is buried in front of the gate (died: May 8, 1853).

45.—Altar and carved wooden reredos of Madre de Deos Church. The gilt statue in the niche is of wood. The garland of yellow flowers round Our Lady's arm is one of those which Indians put round the neck of those whom they wish to honour.

This is an old Church built by the Jesuits on ground bought by them. Cf. Col. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, for a letter to that effect written at the time of the suppression of the Society. The monogram of the Society, I.H.S., is to be seen above the main altar.

Fr. R. de Nobili, S.J., the great Madura Missionary, the nephew of Bl. Robert Bellarmino, is said to lie buried within the Church. The exact spot is not known, as there is no inscription. Are we sure he was not buried in St. John's Church, which in 1566 was made over to the Jesuit College by the Bishop of Cochin? Cf. F. de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, II. C. II. D. I. §4. The site of St. John's Church is not now known.

At the gate of the transept, on the south side, there is a granite stone used as lintel, the lower face of which has rosaces carved on it. The jambs of the five entrances to the older portion of the Church and the lintels are of granite.

An old stone statue on the cupola above the sanctuary, outside, *sub dio*, is surmounted by a masonry covering. Either this statue or that of Our Lady on the main altar was formerly celebrated. I was told that there is a book in Tamil about the miracles wrought in this Church.

In Fr. Poiré's *La Triple Couronne*, which I have not seen, there is a passage on Our Lady of Mylapore which I take to refer to this Church.

No date appears anywhere on the Church.

46.—The Stations of the Cross (1-7), painted on wood. This work, somewhat rough, was probably executed locally.

47.—Ditto (8-14.)

48.—Reliquary in the form of a cross, containing the following relics, as shown by the inscriptions over them:—

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 1. Capillus B. Mariae V. (= a hair of the Bl. V. M.). | |
| 2 3 6 4 5 | 2. S. Philippi, Ap. | 3. S. Fr. Xavier [<i>sic</i>]. |
| 7 | 4. S. Laurentii, M. | 5. S. Andreae, Ap. |
| 8 | | |
| 9 | 6. Relic of the H. Cross. | 7. S. Bonaventurae, E.C. |
| 10 | 8. S. Sebastiani, M. | 9. S. Sylvestri, Papae... |
| 11 | 10. S. Leonis, Papae.... | 11. S. Benedicti, Ab. |

Several of the semi-precious stones have fallen out or have otherwise disappeared.

There are several sainted Popes of the name of Leo; Leo I. Rome, Apr. 11; Leo II, Rome, June 28; Leo III, Rome, June 12; Leo IV, Rome, July 17; Leo IX, Rome, Apr. 19. As none of these died a martyr, and my notes add doubtfully [Confessor], we cannot determine to whom the relics belong.

The Martyrology mentions only one St. Bonaventure, an 'Episcopus Cardinalis,' of the Order of Minors, July 14.

There is only one sainted Pope of the name of Silvester; his feast falls on December 31.

10. *At Little Mount, Saidapet (49-56).*

49.—Three crosses from Little Mount, to which we shall refer as *a. b. c.* (from left to right). Little Mount is just across the Marmalong Bridge, on the way from Mylapore to St. Thomas Mount.

(*a*) An Armenian inscription of 4 lines, at the foot of the big flight of steps leading up to the façade of Little Mount Church. On either side of, and above, the vertical bar of the cross there are two or three letters; those on the right had peeled off in 1921, but might still have been made out by one knowing Armenian, as they showed whiter than the surrounding surface. Thanks to a sketch made of the characters some years ago by Fr. J. Panjikaren, M.A., Ernakulam, which he gave me in Malabar in February, 1924, I now hear from Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, of Calcutta (Aug. 29, 1924) that the letters on the left are an abbreviated form of Jesus; those on the right, of Christ.

The second line of the inscription is not blurred in the original. The blurring on the photograph is due to the overlapping at this place of the two sheets of paper used for the estampage.

(<i>l. 1</i>) (<i>H</i>) <i>ais e tapa(y)n</i>	(<i>Translation</i>): This is the
(<i>l. 2</i>) <i>Khujay Davuthi</i>	tomb of the Khuja Margar,
(<i>l. 3</i>) <i>ordi Khujay Margor</i>	the son of the Khuja David
(<i>l. 4</i>) <i>ayin thvin reh zh b</i>	In the year 1112.

I take the transliteration and translation from a memorial addressed by the Rev. A. S. Nunes, Vicar of the Little Mount Church, Guindy, Saidapet, (26th Nov. 1920), to the Governor of Madras (p. 10). Both the transliteration and translation had been communicated by Dr. Hultsch, to the Governor of Madras, and by the latter (15th Nov. 1898) to the Chaplain of Little Mount Church. At p. 10, the Armenian date is given as equivalent to A.D. 1763. At p. 8, we have: "This date corresponds to A.D. 1763, the year 1 of the Armenian Era having, according to the learned authors of *L' Art de vérifier les dates*, begun on Tuesday, 9th July, A.D. 552." The date above

is twice wrong. It should be A.D. 1663, as in J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 169, No. 884.

J. J. Cotton (*ibid.*) translates as above, writing *Khujah* for *Khuja*. He adds: "*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume VI, Part II, April 1900, contains a facsimile of this inscription with the translation: 'This is the grave of Khujah David, the son of Khojah Margar.' The proper reading of the text, according to Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, is as given above. This is the oldest Armenian tombstone in Madras. It is at the foot of the steps leading to the Church and in shape and appearance resembles a milestone."

A copy of the inscription had been submitted first to Professor Hubschmann of Strassburg. He got the date 1112 (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), *i.e.*, A.D. 1663, but translated: "This is the tomb of Khōja David, son of Khōja Margārē." See *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 89. Cf. V. Rangacharya, *A topographical list of the inscriptions in the Madras Presidency* (collected till 1915), Madras, Vol. I (1919), p. 409, No. 772 (A. 93 of 1898).

(b) The cross in the centre, photographed from an estampage is cut in the rock near the perennial spring on the top of Little Mount. Local legend says that it was made by St. Thomas. It is now exposed to the air, but in a letter of Fr. G. Tachard, S.J. (*Lettres d'édifiantes et curieuses*, Paris, 1781, Vol. 12; letter of 1711) we are told that there was above it in 1711 a small chapel, called Chapel of the Resurrection. That chapel, if I mistake not, had been erected by order of Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, S.J., the Visitor of the Jesuit Missions, who visited Mylapore in 1598, and who also ordered to erect the dome above the perennial spring.

(c) A cross and calvary, cut in low-relief on the rock over the entrance of the cave where St. Thomas is believed to have lived or to have hidden himself from his persecutors. In 1599, this cross is referred to by a Jesuit Father as old, which would show that, however fresh it still looks to-day, it is pre-Portuguese, and that the cave was connected with St. Thomas by the pre-Portuguese Christians. A beautiful open-air cross, still existing at Little Mount in 1599 and about 1612, and attributed to St. Thomas, proves the same. In 1599, when the pilgrims went down into the cave, they first touched the cross at the entrance and then kissed their hand or touched their forehead to bless themselves.

50.—Stone with a haloed, bearded figure of St. Thomas, holding a carpenter's rule in his left hand; below: a Portuguese inscription which reads thus:

(l. 1) ESTE BALVAR
(l. 2) TE ST FES AN
(l. 3) T GLZ DE TA
(l. 4) IDE A SVA CV
(l. 5) STA NO AÑO
(l. 6) DE 1612

(Translation): This bulwark
of S. T. [St. Thomas?] did
Antonio Gonçalvez de Taide
[de Ataide] make at his own
expense in the year 1612.

Julian James Cotton, C.S., in his *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Mountments in Madras*, Madras, 1905, p. 169, translates: "This statue of St. Thomas did Antonio Gonsalves de Athaide make at his own cost in the year 1612." And he adds: "The figure represents St. Thomas raising his right hand in the attitude of benediction and holding in his left hand a carpenter's square."

We do not approve of this translation. *Balvarte* (the R in I. 1 looks like a B, of which we have examples in other Mylapore inscriptions) could mean 'statue' only in a figurative sense; but would the simple fact of having paid for the carving of a rude representation of a saint have been thought worth commemorating?

The stone must refer to the re-erection of the Church and house of the Jesuit Fathers at Little Mount: indeed, before 1612, it had been destroyed or badly damaged by the Indian inhabitants of Mylapore. Else, we should suppose that the stone commemorates the erection of a St. Thomas bastion at S. Thomé and, as the S. Thomé Fort did not even enclose the Madre de Deos Church, much less Little Mount beyond the Adyar, we should say that the stone was brought to Little Mount after the demolishing of the Fort. Our first supposition is natural enough: a Church erected on a rock might aptly have been called a bulwark of St. Thomas's. The stone must originally have been on the outer wall of the Church entrance: the portion from the wall, into which the stone is now fixed (Gospel or right side of the Church), up to the present façade is a later addition.

G. Milne Rae (*The Syrian Church in India*, London, 1892, p. 48) says of the author of the *Acta* of St. Thomas: "He introduces St. Thomas, not as a fisherman, but as a carpenter: a representation which seems to have captivated the imagination of later generations in the Church, so that, whenever the story of St. Thomas has been subjected to artistic treatment, the apostle is invariably represented—as, for example, in Raphael's fine picture in Rome, on the Indo-Portuguese coins that bear the apostle's name, and on the slab in the Goanese Roman Catholic Church at the Little Mount, near Madras—with a carpenter's rule in his hand."

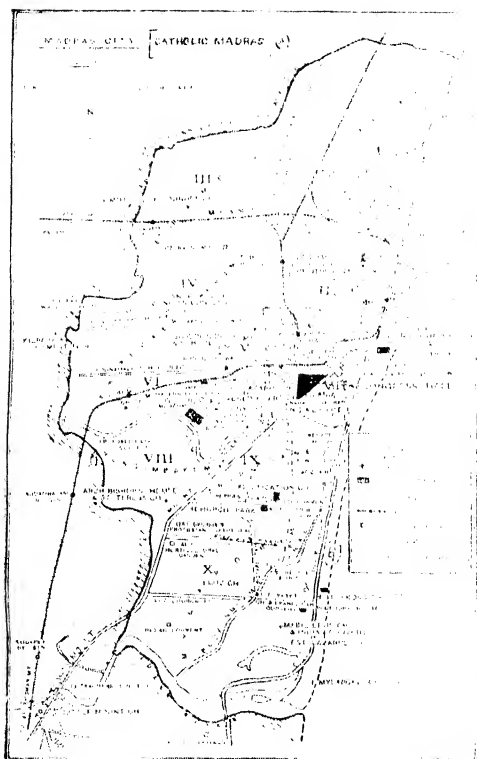
11. *At the foot of St. Thomas Mount (51-53).*

51.—Carved wood decorations above the entrance door of the house of Mr. Moses, Silver Street. The carvings show:

Top row: a crown with a double-headed bird on either side.

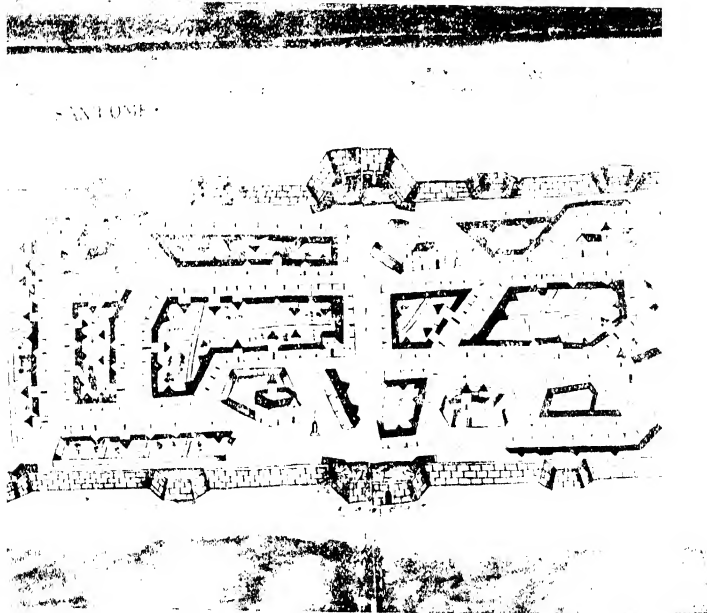
Second row from top: a heart pierced with an arrow, and an angel and parrot-beaked bird on either side.

Third row from top: a lamb (*Agnus Dei*) lying down, on a lotus (?), with a lion and a scroll of leaves and flowers on either side.



A.—Madras with its Catholic institutions (1921).

B.—S. Thomé and Mylapore with its Catholic institutions (1921).



S. Thomé. Plan of the Portuguese Fort, about 1635. After P. B. de Resende.

Bottom row: on either side a vase with leaves and flowers, flanked by two birds.

Below, three many-petalled lotuses with brass knobs in the centre.

52.—Carved wood decorations above the door of one of the rooms at Mr. Moses', Silver Street. The carvings show: (top row), a heart pierced by a sword, and flanked on either side by a parrot-beaked bird; (lower row): a lamb kneeling, flanked on either side by a winged lion.

These carvings are probably Armenian work of the 17th or 18th century. The house is typical of an old-time Christian house. Many of the wooden pillars are beautifully carved.

In the garden there is a well, with a cross on a calvary worked out in relief by means of the bricks along the side, and the opinion, as voiced by Mrs. Moses, is that a cross in a well brings luck. Another well, along the street, at the back of the house, has also a cross along the sides. This well was made, more than 50 years ago, by a Christian, one Jagannāth Nayaker. By far the most interesting well of the kind is one in the house nearest the porch at the foot of St. Thomas Mount, No. 42, Main Rd., right, as one faces the porch. There we have a well with 20 rings of brickwork, with 2 crosses, on calvaries of 3 steps, per ring, the pairs of crosses being disposed alternately N. and S., E. and W. The idea seems to have been to make the water blessed and wholesome by its contact with the crosses. Another well with a cross is at 'The Palms,' Main Road, St. Thomas Mount. At S. Thomé, too, we find such wells: two in the garden of St. Thomas Convent, and at least one in the cocoanut garden near, and belonging to, the Cathedral. At Kovalong, 17 miles from S. Thomé, there are three wells with crosses, one of which, made 5 years ago by Father Marianandam, was made in conscious imitation of the ancient practice.

We may surmise that, as less than a century had elapsed between the visit of Nicoló de' Conti (1525-30), when there were still about 1,000 Nestorian Christians at Mylapore, and the arrival of the first Portuguese settlers (1521-23), the wells of the pre-Portuguese Christians were still entire and had crosses. The Portuguese would have continued the custom, and it might be possible to trace pre-Portuguese Christian settlements in India and the Farther East by means of their wells. I must add, however, that I did not find the custom in Malabar, where the laterite nature of the soil would discourage it.

53.—Chapel of Our Lady of Help, at the west end of Silver Street, in a grassy plain or *maidān*, and facing eastwards. Within stone's throw, in the same *maidān*, there is a similar chapel, with its façade northwards, bearing the date 1769, but in disrepair.

The Chapel of 1764 was built by the fishermen of Rayapuram.¹ Such chapels were still more numerous formerly at the foot of St. Thomas Mount. They are often erected by a portion of the Christian community, by a special caste, etc., for prayers in common. The two in question are less needed now, owing to the proximity of St. Patrick's Church, which has a resident priest. The *Catholic Directory* of 1924 mentions still two other small Catholic chapels in the neighbourhood of the Mount: St. Anthony's and St. Sebastian's.

12. At St. Thomas Mount (54-76).

54.—Brick-paved road, with granite steps at intervals, flanked by a double wall, and leading to the Church of the Expectation, on the top of St. Thomas Mount.

Along the road there are two octagonal *cruzeiros* (Tamil: *cruzadis*), with a cross on the top, and a cross on a granite slab, on the side turned towards the road. The custom still exists of pouring oil on these slabs which gives them a pitch-black appearance. A man along the right side of the wall shows the position of the uppermost *cruzeiro*; the other *cruzeiro* is on the left side of the road, close to the foot of the hill.

Above the portico, at the entrance to the road, there is the following inscription on a slab:—

Portuguese Mission Hill.

Church built by the Portuguese, 1547.

Do. Portico *do.* 1707.

Do. Steps *do.* 1726.

No. of *Do.* 134.

Area of the Hill: Acres 75·25.

Height *Do.* Ft. 250.

17th December 1920.

A. Sing & Sons.

The steps were built by Petrus Uscan in 1726, and he left a certain sum, administered by the Administrator-General, with the proceeds of which the walls are white-washed, and the road is repaired every year. In olden times it was not uncommon to see pilgrims, even women, climbing up on their knees the whole distance from the foot of the hill to the top.

The following lines by Mesroby J. Seth about 'Petrus Uscan,' son of Khojah Woskan, and grandson of Khojah Pogose [= Paul] of Julfa, deserve to be embodied here, as a tribute to his memory from us Catholics, whom he benefited so largely in Madras and at Mylapore:—

¹ Information given either by the Chaplain of the Convent of the Holy Apostles or by Fr. Cabral of St. Patrick's Church (1921). My notes say: "One of the two Chapels (O.L. of Grace) is now in ruins."

“He died at Madras in 1751, prior to the erection of the present Armenian Church, and his mortal remains were deposited in the Churchyard of Vepery of that City, with a tombstone bearing the following inscription in Latin, and which reads thus:—

Elatus famâ in auras interque nubila caput condens, hic ingressus solo jacet discordiarum conciliator, jurgiorumque placator. Armeniorum fautor columenque firmum, indigentium praesidium fervidumque tutamen, in publica damna detrimentaque resarciendo impendiosus, largusque refector, in divina, aedesque sacras propagando haud perparce strenuus impensor Petrus Uscan de Coja Pogus, Armenus, cuius cor Julfae. Annos natus 70, e vita cecessit¹ 15 Januarii 1751.²

“This pious, upright, and humble Armenian merchant of Madras was strongly attached to the English, which is evident from the fact of his being one of the Councillors of the Hon'ble East India Company of that city. It is recorded of this famous personage that, on the occasion of the native king's visit to Madras, he received the king with great *éclat*, and moreover entertained him for some days, when he had all the principal streets through which the king [P. 9] had to pass draped in silks. The king, while greatly appreciating the loyalty of the Armenian merchant, earnestly requested his host to ask a favour in return, which would be granted then and there. The Khojah complied with the request of his royal guest, and prayed him to confer on him the sole monopoly of the import trade into Madras, and from thence into the interior. This request was willingly granted him by the king, and he thus amassed considerable riches. He, however, sustained heavy losses in the troublous days when the French took Madras from the English, and destroyed all the houses that were near the Fort, as 33 houses belonging to him were levelled with the ground, besides other houses that he had in the Fort. The French, moreover, seized all that he had in the Fort, and carried the same to Pondicherry. Shortly afterwards their General sent a message to him (who had taken refuge in a Danish town close to Madras), whereby he gave him permission to go and place himself under the protection of the French Government, and then take possession of all his property, which otherwise would be confiscated by them. He afforded at this juncture a striking proof of his attachment and loyalty to the British nation, by declining to accept this favourable proposal on principle. He sent an

¹ Sic.

² After comparing the text with J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 96, No. 527.

(Translation): Raised on high by his renown, his head hidden in the clouds, here lies, sunk beneath the sod, one who reconciled discord and appeased strife, the strong support and pillar of the Armenians, the protector and warm defender of the poor, a man generous and liberal in repairing the loss and damage suffered by the public, one who spent his money lavishly and without stint to promote the worship of God and sacred buildings, Petrus Uscan, [grandson] of Coja Pogus, an Armenian, whose heart is at Julfa. Aged 70, he departed this life on January 15, 1751.

appropriate reply, couched in verse and sarcastic language, in which he said that whatever riches he possessed he had earned the same in British territory, to whose benign Government he wished always to remain loyal. As regards his property, which the French threatened to confiscate, he asked them to distribute the proceeds of the same amongst the poor, if it pleased them, as he never thought that the treasury of the renowned French nation would be so sadly in need of funds to cover deficits.¹

"In spite of all these heavy financial losses, he left at his death in 1751 the large sum of seven lacs of rupees in cash alone. He made out his last will and testament in 1750, of which I have a copy, and in which he bequeathed large sums for various places of pilgrimage of several nations, and also for the establishing of charitable and literary institutions at Julfa,² where he was born.

"This notable merchant was not only gifted with a noble and magnanimous spirit, but was of a generous disposition, and evinced great interest in erecting places for the public good. He constructed in 1725³ a long bridge of many arches over the river Adiar that passes through the hills of "St. Thomas," in the vicinity of Madras, and the village of Mamlan, over which he is said to have spent the sum of 30,000 *Madras hoons* (each *hoon* being equivalent to Rs. 3½), and he, moreover, placed a large sum in the British treasury, with the annual interest accruing on the same to meet the necessary repairs.⁴ There is another hill, about six miles from Madras, said to be the supposed site of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, on the top of which a Christian Church has long been in existence, and which is frequently visited by the devout. In 1726, our religious and public-spirited Khojah Petrus caused 160 broad steps⁵ to be made of stone at his own expense from the foot of the hill to the summit, with spacious resting-places at intervals, over which he spent a considerable amount.

"A life-size oil painting of this highly patriotic Armenian gentleman, executed at Madras in 1737, is to be seen to this day at our Holy Cathedral⁶ at Julfa in Ispahan, where a few years ago the writer of these lines had the pleasure of seeing the same, and of which the following is a minute description :—

¹ Much of the information in this paragraph is based apparently on the oral traditions of Armenian families, and would require close checking. Col. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* might be consulted.

² A suburb of Ispahan, which has a large Armenian colony.

³ 1726.

⁴ An enormous stone, at the entrance to the bridge, on the Madras side, records in three languages (Latin, Armenian, and Arabic), the erection of this bridge by Petrus Uscan. To be noted are the crosses on four sides of each of the four tall pillars at the entrance and exit of the bridge. Catholic tradition says that he built the bridge to make Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount more accessible to the pilgrims. The trilingual inscription is not in J. J. Cotton's book. For the Latin portion see No. 274.

⁵ 134, according to the inscription above the portico.

⁶ All Saviour's.—J. J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*

The noble Khojah is dressed in the old Armenian costume, such as used to be worn by the Armenians in the good old days, and with a pen in his hand writes those words in Armenian, *i.e.* 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,' which is a conclusive proof of his highly religious and godly character. On one side of the painting there is to be seen the figure of a heart, neatly painted, beneath which is a metrical verse in the Armenian language, composed by Khojah Petrus himself, of which the following is a translation :—

'My heart longs for home, where, should it not be able to go, then I desire that, when my last day comes, my heart be sent to my native town, so that I, Petrus Woskan, shall have a grave there.'

"The above lines bear ample testimony to his patriotism, which knew no bounds, so much so that he desired that his heart even should be taken to the land of his birth for interment. It is a popularly accepted tradition in Julfa that, after his death, the heart was brought from Madras enclosed in a golden box and buried there (at Julfa), in accordance with the wishes of the patriotic Khojah Petrus." Cf. M. J. Seth, in *List of tombs or monuments in Bengal of historical or archaeological interest* [by Edw. S. Wenger], 1895, App. F, pp. 8-9.

Uskan "had bought the ground where he lies buried,¹ and built a Chapel upon it to Our Lady of Miracles, making the Capuchin Father Severini his executor. After his death the Madras Government put the Danish missionaries in possession of the Church and premises." (J. J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*) The Catholics of Madras will not forget this enormity until it is righted.

55.—Main altar, wooden reredos, cross with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription of about A D. 650, picture of St. Thomas' martyrdom.

Note the Augustinian arms on the bulging part of the altar table. The cross and the picture are explained in the next two numbers. Above the picture there is a cross in a double circle; round the smaller circle are some Armenian letters, in which appears the name of Petrus Uskan. He may have had the reredos put up. He is probably the donor too of the 14 Armenian paintings in the Church.

Round the arch before the sanctuary we have the title of the Church: 'Nossa Senhora da Expectação,' 'Our Lady of the Expectation.'

The statues of the S. Heart and of St. Thomas, near the main altar, are modern. On the scroll held by St. Thomas, we read: *Eamus et nos ut moriamur cum eo.* (Let us also go that we may die with him.) (St. John, XI, 16.)

Near the Church there is a small convent of Nuns, the Sanatorium of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, the Convent

¹ Churchyard of St. Matthias, Vepery.

of the Holy Apostles. Here they come from their different convents of Southern India to recuperate their health. The height of the place, the invigorating breeze and the exhilarating view of the sea, the plains and the hills, make of the place a delightful retreat. There was one great drawback: not a drop of water was to be had on the hill. In 1923, Lady Willingdon had a system of reservoirs put up along the slope, into which water is pumped up from a well at the foot of the hill. The Nuns take care of the Church and sacristy. Photographs of some of the interesting things on St. Thomas Mount can be obtained at the convent.

56.—Altar-cross stone with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription of about A.D. 650.

This stone was found in 1547 by the Portuguese on the site where the church on the top of St. Thomas Mount now stands. Shortly after their arrival at Mylapore in 1521-23, the Portuguese had erected on the Mount a small chapel, which could contain only eight or nine persons. There had stood on the site, in pre-Portuguese times, a chapel or church, which, say the Portuguese, had previously been destroyed four or five times. In 1547, wishing to enlarge their chapel, the Portuguese laid bare the foundations of this pre-Portuguese shrine, as it was their intention to utilise the old foundations for the new shrine. During the work, they found in the foundations, lying on its carved face, the stone with the cross and inscription which is now above the altar. The idea which gained ground in course of time was that St. Thomas Mount was the identical place to which the four soldiers of Mazdai led St. Thomas out of the town, and where they speared him. Some red spots on the stone were interpreted as the marks of St. Thomas' blood. It was said also that St. Thomas had made that cross himself, and that he died praying before it, or embracing it.

In 1561, on December 18, at the feast of Our Lady's Expectation, when the feast of St. Thomas was celebrated at the Mount by anticipation, so as to draw the whole Christian community to the church at the tomb on St. Thomas' feast of December 21, the stone above the altar began to sweat during the Gospel. This was interpreted as a great wonder, as a confirmation that, indeed, St. Thomas had made the cross, and, as the liquid dripping from the stone was slightly reddish, it was thought that St. Thomas had shed his blood on the stone. The sweating occurred many times after that, puzzling the clergy not less than the laity, and leading to prognostications favourable or unfavourable. Those writers, however, are mistaken who say that the phenomenon was observed only on December 18, during the Mass, though with intervals of years. We have many accounts of the sweating between 1561 and about 1700, whence it appears that at times it took place on other days, that it was observed early in the morning, before any one had been admitted into

the Church, and that simultaneously stone crosses at Little Mount or at the Church near the tomb also sweated.

Not one of the pictures of this Mylapore cross published hitherto was a faithful reproduction. In *The Indian Athenaeum*, Vol. I. No. 2 (Aug. 1923), p. 73, I published for the first time a photograph and a description of it. *The Journ. and Proc. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, 1923, p. 207, gives a pen-sketch of it by Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J. (1579). The cross is to be compared with; (1 and 2) two others from Kottayam. Travancore (see photographs in *The Indian Athenaeum*, op. cit., pp. 67-85); (3) another at Kadamattam, Travancore, about which an article by Mr. A. S. Ramanātha Ayyar of the Travancore Archaeological Survey, Trivandrum, has appeared in *The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IX, (1923-24); (4) another at Anuradhapura, Ceylon, which I have discussed and intend publishing; (5) that on the Si-ngan-fu stèle; (6-8) three other crosses from China in L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et svastika en Chine*, 2e ed., 1904, pp. 152-153; (9) a cross with leaves and a calvary with three steps depicted in a treatise of geography possessed by a Jat (Punjab), cf. *Asiatick Researches*, X, (1808), p. 124; (10) a cross on a calvary with three steps on a Kosum coin; (11) and crosses on Nepal coins (cf. V. A. Smith, *Catal. of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, pl. XX, No. 5; pl. XXVIII, No. 8).

Note: the dove pecking the top of the cross; pearls, somewhat indistinct, round the inner arch passing above the dove, which are swallowed by a dolphin seated on either side on the capital of the pillar; the Persepolitan (?) appearance of the two pillars; fleur-de-lis or triple-button extremities of the four limbs of the cross; the triple step of the calvary; leaf decorations above the calvary, turning upwards and downwards. Most of these peculiarities are to be found in one of the two crosses at the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam. The leaf decorations above the calvary occur in most of the other crosses (2-9) referred to above. The inscription, identical with that of the two Kottayam crosses, is in Sassanian-Pahlvi or Old Persian. Part of it appears also on the Kadamattam cross.

Dr. A. C. Burnell read the Mylapore inscription thus:

(l. 1) *Yin rjyâ mn vn drd-i dnmn*

(l. 2) *Mûn amn msiha af alhâ-i mdm af rs'd-i (or rhhî) aj asar bokht.*

His translation was: "(1) In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering of this (one); (2) (He) who (is) the true Christ, and God above and guide ever pure."

Dr. C. W. West read as follows:—

1. *Mûn âmen meshikhâ-i avakshâ-i mudam afrâs aj khâr-bukht.* 2. *Sûldâ-i min van va dard-i denman*, and translated: "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this."

Or: 1. *Mân ham-ich Mëshikhâ-i arakshây-i madam-afrâsh-ich kâhr bûkto*

2. *Sûr-zay mân bun dardo dēna.*

(He) whom the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (has) saved. (is) offering the plea whose origin (was) the agony of this."

Dr. Martin Haug, who says that the inscription dates from about A.D. 650 and contains archaic forms of the 5th century, translates thus, "(He) who believes in the Messiah and God on high and also in the Holy Ghost, is in (redeemed through) the grace of Him who bore the pain of the cross."

Dr. A. C. Burnell, M.C.S., was the first in 1873 to decipher the inscription, which dates from about the ninth century A.D. There is a facsimile of it in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, page 174." Cf. J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 170, No. 888.

Dr. Burnell's study is in *Ind. Antiq.*, III. 308; Dr. E. W. West published his findings in *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 174.¹

May we hope that, with this clear photograph of the inscription, Sassanian-Pahlvi scholars will reach greater unanimity in deciphering and translating. Rubbings of the stone could be had by applying to the Director General of Archaeology, Simla. For rubbings of the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscriptions of Kottayam and Kadamattam, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore, should be approached.²

We must insist that the dolphins on either side of the cross at Mylapore, at the Valliapalli Church, Kottayam, and, according to me, also at Kadamattam (Travancore), is a distinctly Christian emblem. This point escaped Fr. L. Gaillard, S.J. He argued to the Christian character of certain Chinese vases from the occurrence on them of the symbol of the cross. (Cf. *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2e éd., Chang-hai, 1905, p. 193, fig. 182, p. 194, fig. 183). Now, his figure 182 twice shows the cross worshipped by a dolphin on either side. The treatment of these dolphins has become so hieratic already in this figure that it will not strike the unpractised eye. Less distinct are the two dolphins near the upper and lower cross of his figure 183. The two upper animals look like snails; the two lower are each reduced to an eye and a few strokes besides. But the crosses are distinctive, and distinctly Christian too are the rams' heads, one in the centre, and two on the sides. Moreover, the three

¹ I find that my friend, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, has collected five other translations, one by Mgr. de Harlez, and four by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, from Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume, 1914. Cf. *The Ceylon Antiquary*, IX. 190, n. 7.

² I hear from Mgr. A. M. Teixeira, Vicar-General of the Mylapore Diocese, that Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay lately spent more than two hours, studying the inscription of St. Thomas Mount. Only a good rubbing will ever satisfy the epigraphist.

circles under an angle, on the knob at the top of the vase, may be taken as a symbol of the Trinity. Going a step further, I should say that the design on either side of the central ram's head is again a dolphin. And, if these vases show symbolism originally Christian, the argument for the Christian origin of a number of other Chinese vessels with crosses, apparently chalices, shown by Fr. Gaillard (figs. 139-143), is considerably strengthened.

That there was a pre-Portuguese Church on the Mount is clear from the discovery, on the top of the Mount, of the stone with the cross, an altar-stone, as in Malabar. Even now, no private houses are allowed on the hill by the Mission, on an area of 75·25 acres. A Church there in olden times must have meant that a priest lived close by. There was probably a small community of Christians at the foot of the hill. Certain texts show that the last stand of the Christians, before they were driven out of Mylapore, *i.e.*, before 1500, was on St. Thomas Mount. It is a natural strategic position. In pre-Portuguese times, it had a light-house. Certain lithic remains of pillars and crosses lately found on the site of the Sisters' Convent bear out further our contention of a pre-Portuguese Church, and why would a Church have been built at that height, where not a drop of water can be had, unless tradition connected the Mount somehow with St. Thomas?

The only medieval traveller who mentions two Churches at Mylapore is Friar John de' Marignolli, about A.D. 1350. It is not clear whether the second Church was at Little Mount or at St. Thomas Mount; but, as foundations of a pre-Portuguese Church at Little Mount are never mentioned by the Portuguese, it is more likely that the second Church referred to was that of St. Thomas Mount. We may quote here the whole of de' Marignolli's account, as an example of the fixity of the legends which one may pick up yet at Mylapore.

[*P.* 374] "The third province of India is called Maabar,¹ and the Church of St. Thomas, which he built with his own hands is there,² besides another which he built by the agency of workmen. These he paid with certain very great stones which I have seen there,³ and with a log cut down on Adam's Mount in Seyllan,⁴ which he caused to be sawn up, and from its sawdust other trees were sown.⁵ Now that log, huge as it was, was cut down by two slaves of his and drawn to the sea side by the Saint's own girdle. When the log reached the sea, he said

¹ Not Malabar, but Coromandel.

² The Church near the tomb.

³ St. Thomas Mount is strewn with boulders of all sizes.

⁴ Adam's Peak, Ceylon.

⁵ The legends picked up by the Portuguese in and before 1521-23 generally say that he built the Church at the tomb with the log and paid the workmen with the sand of the sea-shore or the shavings from the log, both turning into rice or into gold.

to it, 'Go now and tarry for us in the haven of the city of Mirapolis.' It arrived there accordingly, whereupon [*P.* 375] the king of that place with his whole army endeavoured to draw it ashore, but ten thousand men were not able to make it stir. Then St. Thomas the Apostle himself came on the ground, riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, and a mantle of peacocks' feathers, and attended by those two slaves and by two great lions, just as he is painted,¹ and called out, 'Touch not the log, for it is mine!' 'How,' quoth the king, 'dost thou make it out to be thine?' So the Apostle, loosing the cord wherewith he was girt, ordered his slaves to tie it to the log and draw it ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the king was converted, and bestowed upon the Saint as much land as he could ride round upon his ass.² So during the day-time he used to go on building his churches³ in the city, but at night he retired to a distance of three Italian miles, where there were numberless peacocks⁴ . . . and thus being shot in the side with an arrow such as is called *freccia*,⁵ (so that his wound was like that in the side of Christ into which he had thrust his hand),⁶ he lay there before his oratory⁷ from the hour of complines, continuing throughout the night to preach, whilst all his blessed blood was welling from his side, and in the morning he gave up his soul to God. The priests gathered up the earth with which his blood was mingled, and buried it with him.⁸ By means of this I experienced a

¹ No doubt, in India: but I have found nowhere, even in Malabar, pictures of this sort. P. J. Thoma, in *A Hindu tradition on St. Thomas*, (see bibliography), states that peacock feathers are the chief adornment in the Murgankali, a mystery-play of the St. Thomas Christians, containing an account of St. Thomas' doings. In a religious dance in Japan, called the butterfly-dance, the dancers wear what looks rather like a mantle of peacock-feathers. (Cf. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*, Tokyo, Waseda University Library, p. 204 (where see the 'butterfly' mantle).

² We might conclude from this that the Churches at Mylapore owned a large tract of land in A.D. 1350, the gift of former Rājas or wealthy Christians.

³ The expression would imply even more than two.

⁴ "There is a hiatus here, though not indicated as such in the copies. Marignolli probably meant to relate, as Polo does (III. 22), how the Saint being engaged in prayer in the middle of the peafowl, a native aiming at one of them shot him." *Note by H. Yule*. The legend of the peacocks is still connected with Little Mount, the distance of which from the Church of the tomb is about three miles.

⁵ The Italian word *freccia*=flèche. "I do not know why the word is introduced," is Yule's reflection.

⁶ The parallel was probably made by the narrators at Mylapore.

⁷ This word would make us doubt whether the 'oratory' was the second Church mentioned above. The cave of Little Mount was, according to the legends, St. Thomas' retreat, and the place where he was first wounded. His going to die at St. Thomas Mount may not have been thought of till after the finding there of the altar cross in 1547.

⁸ A remarkable statement. In 1521-23, after digging through several layers of concrete and movable earth, and after lifting up two granite stones covering the brick-made tomb, the Portuguese found at a depth of

distinct miracle twice over in my person, which I shall relate elsewhere.¹

[P. 376] "Standing miracles are, however, to be seen there, in respect of the opening of the sea, and of the peacocks.²

"Moreover, whatever quantity of that earth be removed from the grave one day, just as much is replaced spontaneously against the next.³ And when this earth is taken in a potion it cures diseases, and in this manner open miracles are wrought both among Christians and among Tartars⁴ and Pagans. [P. 377.]

"That king also gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steelyard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no [P. 378] one dares take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death. I spent four days there;⁵ there is an excellent pearl fishery at the place. . . .

[P. 363] "I do not remember to have seen [in Ceylon] any

16 palms: a lance-head stuck on a portion of the wooden shaft, fragments of bones, and a vessel containing reddish earth, which they thought had been bedewed with the Saint's blood. They were not aware of de' Marignolli's statement, and the Nestorian priests in charge of the Church of the tomb in 1350 could have known only by tradition about the existence in the tomb of the vessel containing "the earth with which his blood was mingled." Possibly, tradition did not mention the vessel itself.

¹ "He does not in this work." H. Yule. P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., makes the same reflection in his *Le Prime Relazioni della S. Sede con la Cina . . . e l'Itinerario orientale di Fr. G. de' Marignolli . . .* (estratto dalla *Bibl. Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa . . .*, t. IV), p. 39 n. 6.

² These two standing miracles may have been so familiar to people in Europe at the time that Marignolli did not think it necessary to explain. About the opening of the sea, a phenomenon very obscure to us now, see the marvellous statement made before the Pope at Rome about 1122 by a Patriarch of the Indies, who had come from the place where St. Thomas was buried. Cf. my *St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore. Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends*, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S.*, Vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 153-236.

³ The tomb must have been closed; the earth would have been taken from near the grave.

⁴ Either the Muhammadans of India, thus called, or—not less likely—the Chinese visiting the coast in their ships or settled there.

⁵ de' Marignolli spent four days at Mylapore; hence the privilege of the public steelyard was that of the Christians at Mylapore. The Christians of Quilon and Cranganore had a similar privilege at this time, and if of them it was said in 1604 that they were the descendants of the ancient kings, we might argue for Mylapore that its Christians belonged to the race of the ancient kings of Coromandel. It would follow that in St. Thomas' time there was a Persian community at Mylapore. This is, besides, substantiated by the two medallions of a Persian King and Persian Prince, and by the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription round the altar cross of St. Thomas Mount. Syrian writings mention about A.D. 363 a Persian monk, called Zâdoê, as the head of the monastery of St. Thomas in India. Cf. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, p. 306. Zâdoê was "prêtre et solitaire, chef du monastère de Saint-Thomas dans le pays de l'Inde, dont le siège est fixé sous le pays des Qatrayê, à Ceylon, l'île noire." Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J. (*The Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, 190n. 24) takes the Qatrayê for Persians. I am by no means satisfied that the word translated by 'Ceylon' might not be Chola, Coromandel, Mylapore. Some Syrian scholar should settle this point.

other trees.¹ such as pears, apples, or figs, or vines, unless it were some that bore leaves only and no grapes. There is an exception, however, at the fine² church of St. Thomas the Apostle, at the place where he was Bishop.³ They have there a little vinery which I saw, and which supplies a small quantity of wine. It is related that when he first went thither he used to carry about with him a little wine for masses (as I did myself for the space of nearly two years); and when that was done, he went to Paradise,⁴ into which he found his way by the help of Angels, and carried away with him some of the grapes, the stones of which he sowed. From these grew the vines which I saw at that place, and from them he made the wine of which he stood in need. Elsewhere there are vines, indeed, but they bear no grapes, as I know by experience.⁵

“Whether [Christ] used unfermented or fermented bread [at the Last Supper] is a question which I may here dismiss. However, it is said by the Patriarch of St. Thomas that, as their traditions have it pretty plausibly and beautifully, Christ consecrated at the supper unfermented bread; *quod probatur . . . tamen hec questio alibi terminatur . . .*”⁶

“Thomas of Jerusalem, of Juda, converted the Parthians, the Medes and the Yndians; he was killed at Mirapolis, of Upper Yndia; his blood is still seen there. . . .⁷ Bartholomew was of the tribe of Ysachar, and he converted many peoples of the Yndians.”⁸

57.—Painting on wood representing the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

St. Thomas is seen praying before a cross among boulders, while an Indian pierces him from behind with a lance. The painter appears to have followed the belief that the cross above the altar at St. Thomas Mount was carved by St. Thomas, or that at any rate he died praying before it.

In an account of the sweating of the cross of 1695, written by an eye-witness, there is an allusion to a painting, near the

¹ He had mentioned, for Ceylon, figs (plantains), *nargil* (coconuts), *amburan* (mangoes), *chakerabuche* (jack-fruits).

² Remark this epithet.

³ Mylapore.

⁴ Ceylon.

⁵ Cf. Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, 1866, II, pp. 374-378; 363.—There is a vinery at the Convent of Indian nuns near Madre de Deos Church, Mylapore. Col. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, s.v. vines, gives instances of grapes grown at Mylapore in the 18th century.

⁶ Not in Yule: taken from Fr. G. Golubovich, *op. cit.*, p. 48. This Patriarch of St. Thomas may have been met by our traveller at Mylapore or in Malabar, the title of Patriarch being assumed by a Bishop or the chief Bishop there. Germann thinks that he could have met him only in Mesopotamia, at Mosul, or Bagdad, which he also visited. We hear of a Katholikos at Rōmogryis in 1143, which may be Deogil or Daulatabad (India).

⁷ Where was that blood shown? At the Little Mount?

⁸ Fr. G. Golubovich, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

altar, representing St. Thomas' martyrdom. The picture still seen above the altar is apparently the same. Cf. F. de Souza, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, I. C. 2, D. 1, § 39.

58.—Painting on wood, representing Our Lady and Child.

In 1921, the writer was told by Mother St. Alban of the Convent of the Holy Apostles, that this picture, which was supposed to have been painted by St. Luke, had been found, according to popular rumour, in St. Thomas' tomb; according to others, it had been found in a tomb along the path followed by pilgrims from the foot of St. Thomas Mount to the top.

There may be some similarity between the picture and that attributed to St. Luke at S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; but many pictures of the kind, representing the Madonna in a similar attitude, and painted on wood, are to be found in the Malabar Churches, and are also ascribed to St. Luke. Many of the pictures to be found in Armenian Churches in India are painted on wood.

The picture could not have been found in St. Thomas' tomb. We have a large number of accounts of the opening of the tomb in 1521-23 and we know exactly what was found. The picture is not mentioned. Neither must we easily believe that it was found in some other tomb; for, unless it was specially protected, it could not have escaped the ravages of that ubiquitous Indian pest, the white ants.

The story of the finding of this picture in a tomb may be only an echo of another story found in the Portuguese historians. When Our Lord was born, one of the three Wise Men, a king from Ceylon, passed through Quilon on his way to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. There was then at Quilon an Indian Sybil, who asked the king to bring back to her a picture of the Mother and Child. The king complied with her request, and she was later buried with the picture.¹

Be that as it may, the picture at the Mount is one of the oldest, and, therefore, one of the most venerable Christian paintings to be had in India. It is mentioned in 1558, and under strange circumstances.

A renegade Portuguese had gone to the king of Vijayanagar, then living at Chandragiri, and had represented that the Franks (*Firingis*) of S. Thomé were immensely rich. If he wished to bring them to book for past misdemeanours, he could easily exact from them a fine of a million cruzados. At last, the king set out with his army and his elephants. The Portuguese, suspecting his intentions, were in the greatest alarm. Some were for embarking on their ships with all their movable property and be off. Others were for attacking him, in spite of their inferior numbers. Others said that, to placate him, it

¹ Cf. S. G. Perera, S.J., *The Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, 184-186.

would be sufficient to go and meet him, and tell him that, in view of his auspicious visit, they had decorated the town the best way they could with carpets, banners, and rushes in the streets. This plan rallied the greater number. But the king was not so easily pacified. He settled down with his army in a big plain near the town, summoned all the European and Christian inhabitants to his presence, had all their furniture brought to his camp, and sent his soldiers to dig up the floors of the houses in search of treasure. So little was found that the king took pity. He imposed a fine of 50,000 cruzados to be paid there and then, another 50,000 cruzados having to be paid within a limited time. Until the fine was paid, some of the chief inhabitants would be his hostages at the capital. The inhabitants could not but submit. Their furniture was returned; but a complaint reached the king that a silver spoon was missing. What shows the strict discipline of the Vijayanagar army is that, before the sun set that day, the spoon was found back, lying on the ground. Meanwhile, seeing the king's disappointment, the renegade had fled towards Negapatam. He was overtaken, brought back, and trampled to death by the king's elephants. Thereupon, the king returned to his capital with his army and his hostages; but, to the great dismay of the Mylaporeans, he took away with him the China casket in which the relics found in St. Thomas' tomb in 1521-23 were religiously kept, and a picture of the Madonna from St. Thomas Mount. The first night after his return to Chandragiri, his queen had a dream, in which the lady of the picture intimated to her that the casket and the picture must be restored forthwith: else, great misfortune would befall the king and his house. The next day, the king hastened to comply with the queen's wishes. The picture was carried back with all honour in one of the royal palanquins. As for the China casket, one of the Portuguese hostages was told to take it, and ride back with it, seated on a white ox, all the distance to Mylapore. Forty years later, the Bishop of Cochin, on a visit to Mylapore, met some of those who had seen this man riding into Mylapore, seated on his white ox, and holding the precious casket under his arm. To the good Bishop and to Father de Queyros, S.J., the author of a voluminous work, *Conquista de Ceylão*, do we owe our knowledge of these dramatic events. The Bishop's letter is part of the many materials about St. Thomas and S. Thomé which we have collected for publication.

Mother St. Alban related to me in 1921 that in her time the silver frame put round the picture on great festivities was one day stolen; but the thieves were so sorely tried by sickness and other misfortunes that they had the frame sent back to the Church through a third party.

59.—Carved wooden pulpit.

This pulpit is in the style of Armenian carving, and was

presented by an Armenian, whose name in Armenian is on the wooden support. Note: eight-petalled and six-petalled lotus designs; winged angel-heads; a mermaid angel, like a *Nāginī*, with a cross above the head, equal-armed crosses with trefoil extremities.

In Malabar mermaids and mermen are seen on the façade of many churches, holding a ship with their hands above their head.

60.—Oil-painting on cloth, representing St. Peter, and in the background the form of his death.

There are 14 such paintings in the Church, probably the work and gift of Armenians. There was a similar set of 14(?) paintings, at the Church of Our Lady of Light (*Luz*), Mylapore, but only eight are now extant. Those at the Luz Church are smaller, but more artistic. The pictures at St. Thomas Mount are arranged along the walls in the following order:—

Left. Right.

2	1	1. St. Peter; 2. St. Paul; 3. St. Jude
		or Thaddaeus; 4. St. Matthias;
4	3	5. St. Andrew; 6. St. Thomas;
		7. Our Lord; 8. St. John; 9.
6	5	St. Philip; 10. St. Simon; 11.
		St. James the Greater; 12. St.
8	7	Bartholomew; 13. St. Matthew;
		14. St. James the Less.
10	9	
12	11	
14	13	

We took photographs of all these pictures (1923). As No. 7 (Our Lord) is missing in the collection of the Archaeological Survey Department, the photographer must have been unsuccessful for this picture, which is considerably damaged.

Note the emblems held by the Apostles: (1) St. Peter holds the keys and a cross; (2) St. Paul, a book and a sword; (3) St. Thaddaeus, a book and a club; (4) St. Matthew, a book and a carpenter's rule (?); (5) St. Andrew, a book and a St. Andrew's cross; (6) St. Thomas, a book and a lance; (8) St. John, a poisoned chalice; (9) St. Philip, a book and a cross; (10) St. Simon, a book and a saw; (11) St. James the Greater, a pilgrim's staff, a gourd and a scrip; (12) St. Bartholomew, a book and some other object; (13) St. Matthias, a book and a hatchet; (14) St. James the Less, a book and a beam.

Ten of the 13 Apostles shown in our collection have a book. Hence the argument at Nos. 5 and 7 that the two figures holding a book on the same stone are Apostles, and that the second figure should be St. Bartholomew.

The background of the pictures shows the form of death of the Apostles, and it is by means of these scenes that the Nuns, ignorant of Armenian, were able to write correctly on the pictures the English names of the Saints.

61.—St. Paul, with a book and a sword.

62.—St. Thaddæus or Jude, with a book and a club.

63.—St. Matthias, with a book and a hatchet.

64.—St. Andrew, with a book and a St. Andrew's cross.

65.—St. Thomas. In the scene of St. Thomas' martyrdom, we see that he is speared by four soldiers at the foot of a mount; the king who orders the execution (Mazdai?) is seated on a camel (a Persian idea, tallying with the Persian name of Mazdai?) under an umbrella of state.

66.—St. John, with a poisoned chalice.

67.—St. Philip, with a book and a cross.

68.—St. Simon, with a book and a saw.

69.—St. James the Less, with a book and a beam.

70.—St. Bartholomew, with a book under his right arm, and some other object in his right hand. As he was flayed alive, he is often represented as holding his own skin.

71.—St. Matthew, with a book and a carpenter's rule, the reason for which latter is not known to the compiler.

72.—St. James the Greater, with a pilgrim's staff, a gourd and a scrip. He is considered to be the Apostle of Spain, specially venerated at Compostella. To the Christians in Europe the three great places of pilgrimage in ancient times were Jerusalem, Rome, and Compostella.

The Sisters are very much concerned about the preservation of these pictures. They want expert advice, and a benefactor who will give them the wherewithal to act upon it. (Letter of Sister Marie des Chérubins to the writer, Aug. 29, 1924.)

73.—Big wooden chest (front), in the sacristy: showing gilt arabesques and two fanciful animals, with the mane and tail of a lion, a wild boar's tusks and antlers. The style of the work shows that the chest comes from the Farther East, presumably Burma, Siam, or Cambodia.

74.—One of the sides of the same chest, showing two male figures kneeling; apish faces; peaked caps; the figure on the left appears to hold, between his hands, a snake; the other, a plant. The other side of the box is identical; the back is plain.

75.—Portion of a pre-historic graveyard on the S. W. slope of St. Thomas Mount, discovered by the writer in 1923.

The photograph shows 4 or 5 concentric squares of stones laid on the ground. The person on the left (1) is Mr. I. J. Kanaka, who superintended the excavations round the Cathedral;

the figure in the centre (2) is the author ; the figure on the right (3) is one of the workmen. Nos. 2 and 3 stand at two of the extremities of the square. Present on the occasion was Mr. L. A. Cammiade, Presidency Magistrate, Pantheon Road, Egmore, who is seen on photograph No. 76.

We dug in the centre of the square, hoping to find a burial chamber ; but, meeting with rocks, and the afternoon being extremely hot, we gave up the attempt, hoping to return some other day with more men. The occasion did not present itself again.

76.—Double alignment of stones within the pre-historic graveyard.

The photograph shows the full length of the alignment ; on either side there are four or five rows of stones. The breadth between the two lines of the alignment at the top of the slope is marked by the writer (bare-headed) and the person nearest to him, Mr. L. A. Cammiade.

This discovery of ours must be different from what we find in Rob. Sewell's *Archæological Survey of India*. *Lists of Antiquarian Remains of S. India*, Madras, Vol. 1 (1882), p. 176 : "There is a double ring of stones surrounding a mount near St. Thomas Mount, but the cromlech has disappeared. *Madras Journal*, XIII. Pt. II. 51."

B.—Inscriptions.

1. *In the Museum, Bishop's House, S. Thomé (77-81).*

From the Cathedral Grounds (77-79).

77.—Fragmentary inscription from three sides of a pillar edict, found in the cocoanut garden contiguous with, and belonging to, the Cathedral (A9).

- (l. 1) *Taṭi* [gai] *pā* [di] *yum*.....
- (l. 2) *Naḍuṇ* = Kollamum [Ka]—
- (l. 3) *liṅgamum en-diṣai-pugaḷ-ta*—
- (l. 4) [ra] *īla-maṇḍalamum Irattapāḍi* [ē]
- (l. 5) *l-arai-ilakkamum ti* [n] *-diṣal-ve*—
- (l. 6) *nri-landāṟ* = *kon* [du] *taṇṇ-e*—
- (l. 7) *lil vaṭar-ūḷiy-uḷ* = *ellā-yā*....
- (l. 8) *toḷud-eḷa-viḷamgu yānde Śeliṇarai* *t* [tā]—
- (l. 9) *ku-kol-Śrī-ko-Rājarājakē* [sa] *ripa* [nma] *rkk* = *iyā*.

Our inscription (No. 216 of 1923 of the Epigraphical Department) contains only a part of the historical introduction of the Chola King Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985), with which hundreds of inscriptions open. Mr. H. Krishna Śastri, the Government Epigraphist, Fernhill, Nilgiris, favoured me on September 10th, 1924 (D.O. No. 203-I/961 894), with the introduction of an inscription of Rājarāja I. from the Tanjore temple, published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 2 sqq.

“1. Hail! Prosperity! This (is) the edict (*śāsana*) of Rājarāja, (*alias*) Rajakēsari-varman, which is cherished by the multitude of the diadems of (*i.e.*, which is obeyed by) the crowd of all the princes.¹

“2. On the twentieth day of the twenty-sixth year (of the reign) of Kō-Rājakēsari-varman, *alias* Śrī-Rājarājadēva, who, —while (his) heart rejoiced that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife,—in his life of growing strength, during which having been pleased to cut the vessal (*kalam*) (in) the hall (at) Kāndaḷūr,² he conquered by

¹ This *Anustubh* verse is quoted, with three misreadings, in Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, p. 40, note 2. Similar verses are found on the seals of the two Leyden grants; see Dr. Burgess's *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 and 224.

² This expression, which was mistranslated in Vol. I, seems to refer to some incident in the king's early life, perhaps to some feat, by which he showed the great strength of his arm. In an inscription of the 12th year of his reign, which was published in Volume I (No. 146) காரந்தலூர் ஸ்ரீ காலகலமறுத்த is the only epithet, which precedes the name of the king as a kind of *biruda*.

his army, which was victorious in great battles, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅga-pāḍi, Taḍigai-pāḍi, Nuḷamba-piḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kālingam, Ira-maṇḍalam, (the conquest of which) gave fame (i.e., made (him) famous) (in) the eight directions, and the seven and a half *lakshas* of Iratta-pāḍi,—deprived the Śeriyas (i.e., the Pāṇdyas) of their splendour, while (he) was resplendent (to such a degree) that (he) was worthy to be worshipped everywhere;—having been pleased to make gifts (in) the royal bathing-hall (*tiru-maṇḍanaśālai*) to the east (of the hall) of Irumadi-Śōran within the Taṇjāvūr palace (*kōyil*), the lord (*udaiyār*) Śri-Rājarājadēva vouchsafed to say:—‘Let the gifts made by us, those made by, (our) elder sister,¹ those made by our wives, and those made by other donors to the lord (*udaiyār*) of the sacred stone-temple (*tirukkarraḷi*), (called) Śri-Rājarājē-vara, which we caused to be built (at) Taṇjāvūr, (a city) in Taṇjāvūr-kūrram (a subdivision) of Pāṇdyakulāśani-vaḷanāḍu. —be engraved on stone on the sacred shrine (*śrī-vimāna*)!’ (Accordingly, these gifts) were engraved (as follows):—

78.—Parts of two different tomb-inscriptions. The one to the right of the beholder is entered as A15 in Pt. III. 3.

These two stones were worked into the four or five steps leading up from the west side to the sun-dial in the Cathedral grounds. A15 lay with its face exposed; to remove it, we had to dismantle the step above; the result was that the first stone we disturbed was the other stone on the photograph, which lay on its inscribed face. After that we dismantled all the steps, but without discovering any other inscriptions.

In A15 we have the first line and the end of the lines, but not the bottom lines; in the other stone we have the beginning of the lines, but neither the upper nor the lower part.

Reading of the stone on the right (A15):—

(l. 1) [AQVI	1] AZ:	IOA	(Remarks): In l. 3,
(l. 2) [NNA]	MARI		for <i>molher</i> (wife), there
(l. 3) [A MOLHER			may have been some other
	QV] E:	FOI	word, like <i>filha</i> (daughter);
(l. 4) [DE].....	[G]EL: VA		l. 6, <i>faleso</i> , for <i>faleceo</i> =
(l. 5) [SCONCELL]	OS: DA		died.
(l. 6)	[F] [A] LESO:		
(l. 7)	: DE:		
(l. 8)			

¹ அக்கன் seems to be used for அக்கை just as அம்மன் for அம்மை. The elder sister referred to is Kundavaiyār, the queen of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar; see the introduction to No. 6. The gifts, which were made by herself, the king's wives and others, are recorded in various other inscriptions of the Taṇjāvūr temple.

Reading of the stone on the left :—

(l. 1)	×	×	(Remarks) : Perhaps an H or IE in l. 1.
(l. 2)	DEV	×	D is like a O.
(l. 3)	DEIX		D is like a O : DEIXOV
(l. 4)	ESTA		(= he, she left).
(l. 5)	NFR		F rather than E.
(l. 6)	AS	×	An eight-petalled lotus after AS ; next, like a T.
(l. 7)	PAR		PAR may belong to PARDAOS.
(l. 8)	O		Perhaps the top of 8.

79.—Six strips of Portuguese tomb-inscriptions, numbered in Pt. III. 3 (from left to right) : A25. A18. A24, A20, A19, A21a (and A21b, which consists of 4 lines broken off from A21a). Tentative reading :

	A25	A18	A24	A20	A19	A21a
(l. 1)	R	|A|S	ao	[P]A	×	A
(l. 2)	F1	MO	d	AT	A	S
(l. 3)	|R|Z	RI	a	LH	R	R
(l. 4)	C	|AZ|		G		Ê
(l. 5)	R	OL		EB		N
(l. 6)	PO	V|Z|		V		R
(l. 7)	(8-petalled lotus)	A[P]		|N|		T
(l. 8)		9DO		OR		A

The vertical and horizontal lines round the borders of A25 show that we have the top line and the end of the lines ; in A19 we have the end of the lines ; in A21a, we have the top line and the beginning of the lines. Each strip belongs to a different inscription. When these stones were removed in 1921, they stood upright on the path leading from the Cathedral grounds to the Priory. They had been fixed in the ground, three on each side of the path.

From No. 7, 380-81, S. Thomé High Rd. (79 bis).

79 bis.—Inscription on the curved top of the headstone of a Muhammadan grave (II). Inscription No. 219 of 1923 of the Epigraphical Department.

(l. 1) كل من عليها فان

(l. 2) ويبقى وجه ربك

(l. 3) ذو الجلال والاكرام

(Translation) : Every creature which liveth on the earth is subject to decay : but the glorious and honourable countenance of thy Lord shall remain for ever. (Qur'ān. Ch. IV ; translation by Sale).

(Script) : Naskh.

From the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mylapore (80).

80.—Four strips of Portuguese tomb-inscriptions from the Luz Church, Mylapore. They are entered in Pt. III. 3 thus :—
From left to right : B3. B4. B5. B6.

Tentative reading :—

	B3 (68½" × 6")	B4 (30" × 5")	B5 (26" × 5")	B6 (52½" × 5½")
(l. 1)	Q[I]	S	× S _x ×	GA
(l. 2)	S[I]	P	|T|	T
(l. 3)	T[O]	|19]	S	DA
(l. 4)	NC	[F]	O	D|E|
(l. 5)	HC			FI
(l. 6)	|F|O			N
(l. 7)	AN			EL
(l. 8)	EL			M
(l. 9)	S & E			O
(l. 10)	RA			Z ×
(l. 11)	AF			N
(l. 12)	OT			SA
(l. 13)	AN			H
(l. 14)	VF			
(l. 15)	O ×			

B6 has the beginning of the lines ; B3 has the first line and the last ; in B5 the S is inverted twice. The different strips belong to different inscriptions.

From St. Thomas Mount (81).

81.—Fragmentary inscription of four lines, Tamil, on a stone found in the smaller staircase near the Sisters' dining-room, Convent of the Holy Apostles, St. Thomas Mount.

(l. 1) . . . *kāku-kadamai-*

(l. 2) *yum nell-āyaṅga-*

(l. 3) *lum Tirumayilāppi-*

(l. 4) *l Tiruppūmbāvai.*

(Translation) : All taxes (paid) in specie and revenue (paid) in paddy, Tiruppūmbāvai at Tirumayilāppu...

Note the spelling : Mayilāppu[ram] for Mylapore, or 'Peacock-Town.'

2. *In the Cathedral grounds, S. Thomé (82-83).*

82.—Inscription of Vasco Roiz, in the S. verandah of the Cathedral.

On Febr. 1, 1923, during the excavations round the Cathedral carried out by the Archæological Department, Southern Circle, we began a trench from W. to E., on the S. side of the Cathedral, along the verandah, and, in front of where must

have been the S. portico of the former Cathedral, we found, at a depth of about 3 ft., a Portuguese inscription to Vasco Roiz.

- (l. 1) AQIIAZVA
- (l. 2) SCOROIZC
- (l. 3) AVALEIRO
- (l. 4) DACASAD
- (l. 5) ELREINOS
- (l. 6) OSÑORQV
- (l. 7) EFEZESTAC
- (l. 8) APELLAETO
- (l. 9) DAESTAER
- (l. 10) ONTARIAO
- (l. 11) LONGODA
- (l. 12) [R]VA

That is: *Agi jaz Va/sco Roiz C/avaleiro da Casa d/el Rei Nos/o Sñor, qv/e fez esta c/apella e to da esta fr/ontaria [a]o/longo da [r]va.*

(Translation): Here lies Vasco Roiz, Knight of the King our Lord's household, who made this Chapel and the whole of this façade along the street.

'Roiz' is short for 'Rodriguez.' In l. 12. only the top of the letters of the last word appears, as the stone is chipped off below. VA could be made out with tolerably certainty, and, as the inscription did not continue beyond, only the letter R could have preceded, thus making RVA, 'street.' The façade alluded to was probably the West façade, or the front of the Church, which was at the West end, facing the present San Thomé High Road.

We have not been able yet to make any search for the history of Vasco Roiz. When did he die? There is no coat of arms. The work referred to must be the rebuilding of the Church found and repaired a first time in 1521-23 by the Portuguese. Before A.D. 1600 it was several times enlarged and improved. We think, therefore, that the inscription is anterior to A.D. 1600.

In February 1924, this heavy stone lay in the South verandah of the Church. We suggest that it be placed in the floor or against the wall of that verandah, nearest to the place where it was found.

83.—Fragmentary Tamil inscription of 8 lines on a stone found at the Cathedral, North-West end of the verandah, on the top line of the granite foundations of walls projecting from the verandah into the garden.

When I visited Mylapore last in February, 1924, the stone was still lying near the place of the find. It ought to go to the Bishop's Museum and receive an appropriate number.

- (l. 1) *ladēva-chchaduppēdimāṅgalattu-Ma*.....
- (l. 2) *rukku vittā nilam-ā [va*]du eṅgalūr kīlkaḷa*...
- (l. 3) *valppattā vāvai oṇṇum idan kīlai-kkā*.....
- (l. 4) *raiyaṁ = iḷichchi in-nīlattāl vanda ṣillirai ṣō*...
- (l. 5) ..,.... *śuram-udaṇṇār-kōyilil Kūttāḍundēvarku oru-
ṣandikku*.....
- (l. 6) *mēl-varambukku mērkum tenpārṅkellai ki*.....
- (l. 7) *ḷai utpattā nilam ulmēd oḷiv-iṇṇi ti*.....

(l. 8)[t] *tāḍundēvaṟku oru sandi tiruv-amir-dupadi*..

(*Translation*): This is the land given forat
[*ladēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*. One *vāvai* (plot?) of the
land east of our village. After remitting the tax (on this land),
the *ṣillirai*, *so* accruing on this land for one service
to Kūttāḍundēvar in the temple of Śuramuḍaiyār
to the west of the western ridge the southern boundary
. the land enclosed (within these boundaries) without
excluding the mounds contained (in it) for offerings
during one service to [Kū]ttāḍundēva.

According to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras,¹ this inscription is a fragment in Tamil, and it seems to register a tax-free gift of land for burning at night a lamp before the image of Kuttaduvar (Natarāja) in the temple of Suramuḍaiyar. Palaeographically, this inscription may be assigned to the 11th century A.D."

A later communication from the Government Epigraphist for India, Fernhill, Nilgiris,² says that Mr. Venkoba Rao, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, pronounces the inscription to belong to Vikrama Chōla's time (12th century),³ and "that the gift was to the Hindu god Natarāja, whose shrine is always to be seen in a Śiva temple."

The stone was not found at its original site, as is shown by its fragmentary condition, the parts above and below, as well as right and left, being wanting. All we can gather is that the foundations in which the stone was inserted are of a date later than the inscription. To argue, as was done at the time of the discovery in *The Madras Mail*, that, if the stone was dug up from any depth, it would indicate an original Śaiva temple, on the ruins of which the Portuguese Church of modern S. Thomé was erected, is to show a lamentable ignorance of what Marco Polo and even earlier writers have written about the St. Thomas shrine. The Church was doubtless in existence in Vikrama Chōla's time. Besides, the line of foundations was intact on three sides, and the stone was found on the top row, 2nd from the N.-W. corner, not more than one foot below the present ground level. We have not inquired further into the history of Kūttāḍundēva, Natarāja, Śuramuḍaiyar, and ' *ladēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*.' The first Portuguese historians say, however, that St. Thomas built his 'house', meaning his Church, on the site where a *jogī* had his temple. If that were true, the ground might yield carvings and inscriptions one thousand years older than No. 83.

¹ Cf. his D.O. No. 536, of June 19, 1923, to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Kotagiri.

² Cf. his D.O. letter No. 203/I—550, dated July 18, 1923, to the Officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India

³ *Circa* A.D. 1118.

The Muhammadans of Covalong, 18 miles South of S. Thomé, venerate one Tameemul Ansari, the story of whose relics has some affinity with that of St. Thomas' log. (Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 19, 1923, pp. 231-233.) Their story does not move us. These Muslims may be apostate Christians who had a Church of St. Thomas at Covalong, and who perverted their traditions of Mylapore.

We have a statement in Fernão Mendes Pinto which is worth recording. He says that, while traversing¹ the lands of Timplan, in Burma, he was told that a certain John, a disciple of Thomas Modaliar, who had been killed at Digum (Dagon, near Rangoon ?), likewise suffered martyrdom at the Court of the King of Calaminam, a country which Mendes Pinto and others place in Burma.² Sometimes we find in the first Portuguese historians that the Hindus of Mylapore referred to St. Thomas as Thomas Mudaliar.

Father B. Burthey, S.J., of the Madura Mission, identified with St. Thomas the name of Nadattigam Buddha, a name which he thought he read in an inscription of a temple at Udaypur, Malwa, the inscription being, according to him, of A.D. 1060. It appeared in *J.A.S.B.*, IX (1840), pp. 545-548 (see also VII, 1056). The text of the inscription was badly copied, he insisted, and often gives no sense. Even so, three Sanskritists whom I have consulted have no faith in Fr. Burthey, and an English gentleman of Bhopal, who knows Udaypur, does not trust him either. In 1860, Fr. Burthey interpreted the whole inscription—a long one—consistently in terms of Christian tenets, discovering in it the Krittra (Christians), the Sabaeans, Pope Nicholas, the name of an Indian Bishop named Zacharias, and mention of a hair of Our Lady sent by the Pope to the Udaypur Church. Baron Textor de Ravisi, who believed in Fr. Burthey, tried in vain till 1900 to obtain photographs and rubbings of the inscription, and to interest Orientalists in the matter. If Fr. Burthey were right, the Udaypur inscription should rival the Si-ngan-fu stèle.

3. *At the Cathedral, S. Thomé* (84-115).

Tamil inscription of Vikrama Chōla, about A.D. 1118 (84).

84.—From the nave; Gospel side; under the pews, near the windows. An incomplete Tamil inscription of five lines, never mentioned before.

Transliterated and translated by M. R. Ry. G. Venkoba Rao, Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.

¹ Before 1550 ?

² No reference given for Mendez Pinto by Padre Antonio Thomaz da Silva Leitão e Castro, in his *Os livros Indianos e o Martyrio de S. Thomé*, Lisbon, 1882, p. 26. I have not traced the passage yet in Mendez Pinto.

- (l. 1)—*ga Jayamādu* [vi] *rumbaltannirupadamalar* —
 (l. 2)—*alivarāiya* [i] [na] *dātti irusudara*!a—
 (l. 3)—*k[o]* *ndaśō* [amaṇḍalattu *kulo*—
 (l. 4)—*mēlpār* [k*] *kellai vēli tō* [a] [ttuk—
 (l. 5)—*m tenpā* [i] [kke—

The translator wrote: "This is a fragment of, perhaps, comparatively a big inscription. The first two lines are part of the historical introduction of King Vikrama Chōla (A.D. 1118), the text and translation of which are given in full in pp. 187 and 188 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, pt. 2. The translation of the portion in lines 3-5 is roughly as follows:—

"In Kulo... (a sub-division) of [Jayan*] *kondaśōlaman-dalam*. The western boundary is ——— It is east of the outer garden land... The southern boundary ———"

Questioned again about the date and nature of the inscription, Mr. G. Venkoba Rao wrote (15-16 June, 1921). "As regards the five lines of writing on the stone in the S. Thomé Cathedral, I may state that it is only a fragmentary inscription. These five lines do not run continuously. The stone should have formed part of a big structure on which the inscription was completely engraved."

The translation of the historical introduction to Vikrama Chōla's inscriptions (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 187-188) runs thus. We italicise the words found in ll. 1 and 2 of our fragment in the Cathedral.

"Hail! Prosperity! While the goddess with the lotus (i.e., Lakshmi) wedded (the King), while the goddess of the earth prospered, while the goddess of speech was resplendent, *while the goddess of victory loved (him) and while* (all other) kings bore (on their heads) *his two lotus feet*, (he) put on the jewelled crown by established right; while (his) sceptre went and made all regions prosper, the cruel Kali (age) was driven away and righteousness flourished. (He) despatched mountains of rut (i.e., elephants) to subdue Kalinga, *his discus wandered (as far as) the circular mountain* surrounding (the earth) (and his) single parasol cast its shade *up to the two luminaries* (i.e., the sun and the moon). Having performed the anointment of victory, (he) was pleased to take his seat on the throne of heroes, together with (his Queen) Mukkokkilanadigal."

If the inscription were concerned with the boundaries of the Church lands, we should have here a proof, earlier by 174 years than Marco Polo's testimony, concerning the Church near St. Thomas' tomb. In 1521-23, the Portuguese disturbed the tomb of a king, said to be King Sagamo (Śāka of the Śālivāhaṇa era?), for the sake of making a sacristy. This tomb was on the epistle side of the Church, without, near St. Thomas' tomb, and certain texts say that there was a big inscription at the head of the King's tomb. Gouvea's *Jornada* (de Glen's French translation, 1609, p. 389) says that the cross at St. Thomas

Mount sweated on December 18, 1581, and also on the first Sunday of Advent of the same year. On that occasion, or on both (?), "certain ancient stones on which are engraved certain letters and characters which they cannot read, at the Church below, where lies the body of the glorious Apostle, wept in the same manner." Was our inscription part of these stones?

In A.D. 1122, almost contemporaneously with King Vikrama Chōla, a Patriarch of the Indies is said to have come to Constantinople and Rome from the town where St. Thomas lay buried. He astonished the Pope and the Cardinals with the wonderful things he related about St. Thomas. Cf. my *St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore. Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends in Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*. Vol. XIX, 1923, No. 5, pp. 153-236. Might not the Vatican Archives contain information on this Patriarch and his stupendous utterances?

Coats of arms and inscriptions of 6 Bishops of Mylapore (85-91).

85.—From the nave, near the transept: central of three on the Gospel side.

Under a coat of arms displaying in the centre the Five Wounds of Christ:

- (l. 1) AQVI · IAS · D · F · PAVL
- (l. 2) O · DA ESTRELLA
- (l. 3) FRADE · DA · 3^a · ORD
- (l. 4) Ë · DA · PEÑ · 3^o · B^{PO} · D
- (l. 5) E MELIAPOR · [E · DE · S]
- (l. 6) VA RELIGIAÕ · GOV
- (l. 7) ERNOV · 2 · ANN [OS]
- (l. 8) E · 7 · MEZ · MORREV
- (l. 9) · 9 · DE IANR^o · D · 16 [37]
- (l. 10) [NA] IDADE · [DE . . . ANNOS]

(*Translation*): Here lies Dom Frei Paulo da Estrella, Brother of the Third Order of Penance, third Bishop of Meliapor and of his Religion; governed 2 years and 7 months; died on the 9th of January 16 [37], aged . . . years.

Father Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth writes in his *Mitras Lusitanas*, Lisbon edn., Vol. I, p. 178: "Dom Frei Paulo da Estrella, born at Lisbon; a Franciscan of the Third Order; consecrated in 1631; left for his diocese, which he governed during 2 years and 7 months; died on the 9th of January 1637. He preached in the languages of Indostan to the Indians of his diocese."

Some of the data in C. C. de Nazareth's notes seem to have been derived from this tombstone. The portions within [] are tentative or supplemented from *Mitras Lusitanas*. *E de sua religião governov* might mean that he was the 3rd Bishop of his Order, in which case he was an Augustinian, since the first

two Bishops of Mylapore were Augustinians, or that "of his religious spirit (religiously) he governed."

Could an Augustinian Bishop have been a secular tertiary of the Franciscan order?

Instead of '7 mez,' a contraction for '7 mezes' (?), it is perhaps possible to read '1 mez.' The entire last line is tentative.

C. C. de Nazareth's *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pte. III, Bombay, 1888, p. 96, says of this Bishop that he preached "in the language of Indostão to the Indians of his diocese," and refers us to *Hist. dos estab. scient... de Portugal*, I. 257; *Inst. V. Gama*, II. 249.

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, op. cit., p. 113, No. 623) says, in connection with the epitaph to Bishop D. Gaspar Affonso: "There is another tombstone of an earlier Bishop next to this slab, but the writing is effaced." He refers to No. 85, which thanks to a good rubbing we could restore almost entirely.

86.—From the nave, near transept; first of three, nearest to the central passage of the Cathedral, on the Gospel side.

Under a coat of arms:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (l. 1) <i>Sepultura do Il-</i> | |
| (l. 2) <i>lmo Snor D · Gaspar</i> | (Translation): Grave of the |
| (l. 3) <i>Affonso da comp</i> | Most Illustrious Lord Dom |
| (l. 4) <i>de Jesus quarto B</i> | Gaspar Affonso, of the Company |
| (l. 5) <i>de Meliapor. Foi</i> | of Jesus, fourth Bishop of |
| (l. 6) <i>Sagrado aos 2 : de</i> | Meliapor. He was consecrated |
| (l. 7) <i>Agosto de 1693 · Fa</i> | on the 2nd of August 1693. |
| (l. 8) <i>leceo aos 24 : de No</i> | Died on the 24th of November |
| (l. 9) <i>uembro de</i> | 1708. |
| (l. 10) <i>1708.</i> | |

His full name was: Dom Gaspar Affonso Alvares. See No. 87 for another stone recording his name. J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 113, No. 624), says: "The name of Dom Gaspar occurs frequently in records with reference to his correspondence with the Government of Fort St. George over the jurisdiction of his See."

87.—In front of the baptistery chapel, on the ground. Above an empty escutcheon: D. D. GASPAR ALPHON/SVS. EPISCOP MELIAPV/RENSIS. ANNO 1695/.

(Translation): His Lordship Dom Gaspar Alphonsus, Bishop of Meliapur. Year 1695.

Not in J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*. What does this stone commemorate? The Bishop's taking possession of his See? He was consecrated at Goa on the 2nd of August 1693, but seems to have arrived at Mylapore in 1694. He died only in 1708. Cf. Padre Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*. Lisbon edn, Vol. I, pp. 180-181.

88.—From the nave, near the transept; left of three, near the windows, on the Gospel side.

Under a coat of arms displaying a star, a Bishop's mitre and crosier :—

(l. 1) IOSEPH

(l. 2) SOC^{us} IESV

(l. 3) EPS. MAILS.

(l. 4) CONSAC.

(l. 5) DIE XXIV MARTII

(l. 6) 1726

(l. 7) SVPREMV̄ DIĒ

(l. 8) EXPLEVIT DIE

(l. 9) XV MARTII 1744

(Translation): Joseph of the Society of Jesus, consecrated Bishop of Mailapor, on the XXIVth of March 1726; ended his last day on the XVth of March 1744.

His full name was Dom Joseph Pinheiro.—*Consac* should be *consec* (consecratus), a mistake due to the Portuguese *sagrado*.—Note the interlaced letters *pre* in l. 7; *di* in l. 8; *ar* in l. 9.

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 113, No. 626 : "Dom José Pinheiro succeeded Bishop Manoel Sanches Golao, a secular, and died at the advanced age of 74."

89.—From the nave, near the transept, central of three on the Epistle side.

Under Augustinian coat of arms :—

(l. 1) SEPVLTVRA

(l. 2) do Ex^{mo} R^{mo} Senhor

(l. 3) D. F. Ant^o. da Encarnação

(l. 4) Rel^{va}. de S^{ta}. Augustinho

(l. 5) Sagrouce

(l. 6) Bispo de Meliapor

(l. 7) em o Con^{to}. de N^a. S^a. da Graça

(l. 8) de Goa aos 22 de Janr^o. de

(l. 9) 1747, tomou posse do Bisp^{do}.

(l. 10) aos 14 de Mayo de 1750, e

(l. 11) faleceu aos 22 de Septem^{br}.

(l. 12) bro de 1752.

(Translation): Grave of the Most Excellent [and] Most Reverend Lord Dom Frei Antonio da Encarnação, a Religious of St. Augustine. He was consecrated Bishop of Meliapor in the Convent of Our Lady of Grace of Goa on the 22nd of January 1747, took possession of the Bishopric on the 14th of May of 1750, and died on the 22nd of September, 1752.

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 113, No. 627.

90.—From the nave, near transept; third of three, near the windows, Epistle side.

Under Augustinian coat of arms :—

(l. 1) SEPULTURA

(l. 2) Do Excelentissimo e R^{mo}

(l. 3) Senhor

(l. 4) Dom Fre Bernardo

(l. 5) De Santo Caetano

(Translation): Grave of the Most Excellent and Most Reverend Lord Dom Fre Bernardo of St. Cajetan, a

- (l. 6) *Religioso Eremita* Religious, Hermit of St.
 (l. 7) *De Santo Agostinho* Augustine, [and] Bishop of
 (l. 8) *Bispo de Maliapur* Maliapur. Died on the
 (l. 9) *Faleceo aos Quatro de* fourth of November 1780.
 (l. 10) *Novembro de 1780*

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 114, No. 631.

91.—From the nave, near the transept; first of three, nearest the central passage of the Cathedral, Epistle side.

Under Augustinian coat of arms:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (l. 1) HIC JACET | |
| (l. 2) EXMUS AC RMUS DOMINUS | (Translation): Here |
| (l. 3) DNUS | lies the Most Excellent |
| (l. 4) EMMANUEL A JESU | and Most Reverend Lord |
| (l. 5) MARIA JOSEPH | Dom Emmanuel of Je- |
| (l. 6) ORDINIS EREMITARUM | sus Mary Joseph, of the |
| (l. 7) S. AUGUSTINI | Order of Hermits of St. |
| (l. 8) QUI | Augustine, who, elected |
| (l. 9) ELECTUS EPISCO | Bishop of Meliapor on the |
| (l. 10) PUS MELIAPORENSIS | 29th of January of the |
| (l. 11) DIE 29 JANUARI ANNI | year 1787, and consecra- |
| (l. 12) 1787 | ted on the 13th of April of |
| (l. 13) ET CONSECRATUS | the year 1788, died on |
| (l. 14) DIE 13 APRILIS ANNI 1788 | the 13th of January of |
| (l. 15) OBIT | the year 1800, not having |
| (l. 16) DIE 13 JANUARI ANNI 1800 | completed yet the 52nd |
| (l. 17) 52 ÆTATIS ANNO NON- | year of his age. May he |
| (l. 18) DUM EXPLETO. | rest in peace. |
| (l. 19) REQUIESCAT IN PACE | |

"Dom Bernardo de San Caetano was succeeded by Fre Manoel de Jesus Maria José, the Prior of the Augustinian Convent of Goa." J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 114, No. 634.

Other dated inscriptions (92-104).

92.—From the nave.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (l. 1) AQVI : IAS R | |
| (l. 2) VI VAS · DE SE | |
| (l. 3) QVEIRA · N | |
| (l. 4) ATVRAL DE | |
| (l. 5) GVIMARA- | (Translation): Here lies Rui |
| (l. 6) IS · FALECE | Vas de Sequeira, a native of |
| (l. 7) O A ONZE DE | Guimaraes; died on the 11th |
| (l. 8) SETENBRO | of September of the year 1557. |
| (l. 9) DE : 1557 AN | |
| (l. 10) OS | |
| (l. 11) | PA |
| (l. 12) | 80 F |

The two last lines, occurring after a big open space intended for further inscriptions, must indicate the amount paid to the Church for the privilege of being buried in it. We read tentatively: PA [GOV] 80 F [ANÕES]. (= He paid 80 fanões).

The first letter of l. 11 is perhaps an R; but, as nothing precedes the letter and nothing follows the A, we obtain no sense; in l. 12, the last letter should be an F: for from 2 other inscriptions (those of Jorge Pereira de Chaos, 1593, and of Pero Dias d'Ariosa, undated), we gather that the fee was 8 *pardaos* and from another, that of Antonio da Cunha Soares, it appears that some paid 80 fanões or fanams. A thousand fanams of Cochin were worth Rs. 16 in 1552; 30 fanams in Ceylon were worth 1 *pardao* in 1554; in 1563 the fanam was worth 30 reis. and would buy 6, 7, or 8 fowls. It was a very small gold or silver coin. Cf. Mgr. S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*. Coimbra, 1919, I. 386.

Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*. 1905. p. 111. No. 608.

93.—From the nave; Gospel side.

- (l. 1) SEPVLTVRA
- (l. 2) DE LVIS RIBR°
- (l. 3) TÂGEDOR
- (l. 4) Q FOI DO O
- (l. 5) RGÃO DES
- (l. 6) TA SÇTA C
- (l. 7) ASA · E DE SE
- (l. 8) VS HERDR^{os}
- (l. 9) FALECEO :
- (l. 10) AOS XVI ·
- (l. 11) DAGOSTO
- (l. 12) DE 1581

(Translation): Grave of Luis Ribeiro, who was the organist of this Holy House, and of his heirs. He died on the XVth of August 1581.

Not in J. J. Cotton. It is interesting to note that the Church near St. Thomas' tomb was still called 'St. Thomas' house,' and that at this early date it had an organ.

94.—From the nave; third line of tombstones from the transept, Epistle side; the first of three; nearest the central passage.

Under a blank or obliterated escutcheon :—

- (l. 1) SEPVLTVR
- (l. 2) A DE IORGE
- (l. 3) PR^a DE CHÁ
- (l. 4) OS · E DE SEV
- (l. 5) S ERDR^{os} ·
- (l. 6) NATVRAL DE
- (l. 7) ARIFANA
- (l. 8) DE SOVSA · F^{ra}
- (l. 9) 593 · AÑOS

(Translation): Grave of Jorge Pereira de Chãos and of his heirs; a native of Arifana de Sousa F^{ra}.

Year [1]593. Paid 8 *pardaos*.

A blank; next, at the bottom :—

- (l. 10) PAG · 8 · PÑOS

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 111. No. 609 inserts an E after *Arifana* (l. 7), which is not there: he reads *Freitas* instead of *F^{ta}* (l. 8), and omits l. 10.—Meaning of 'Arifana de Sousa F^{ta}'? F^{ta} might stand for *feita*, made. (i.e., tomb made in 1593). Arifana de Sousa is not to be found in the map of Portugal and Spain of Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, 1911. "Arifana is a village near Porto." (J. J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*)

95.—From the nave; Gospel side.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (l. 1) DE ANDRE | |
| (l. 2) CARDOSO | |
| (l. 3) E M ^a · BARBV | (Translation): [Grave] of |
| (l. 4) DA · SVA MO | Andre Cardoso and Maria Bar- |
| (l. 5) LHER · A QVÊ | buda, his wife, whom may God |
| (l. 6) ÑS · PERDOE | pardon; she died on the 7th |
| (l. 7) AQL FALECE | of December [1] 597. |
| (l. 8) O · A · 7 · DE DEZR ^o . | |
| (l. 9) DE · 597 · | |

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 111, No. 610) begins with 'Sepultura,' which appears never to have been on the inscription, since the horizontal and vertical lines enclosing the inscription are complete all round the stone; the horizontal top line is just above our l. 1.

96.—From the nave; third line of tombstones from the transept; one of three; near the window; Epistle side.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (l. 1) S ^a DE LVIS DA | |
| (l. 2) MOTA · E SEVS · | (Translation): Grave of Luis |
| (l. 3) ERDEIROS · NA | da Mota and of his heirs; a |
| (l. 4) TVRAL DE SÂ | native of Santarem. 1603. |
| (l. 5) TAREM 1603 · | |

Below, an escutcheon with 5 fleurs-de-lis.

"Santarem is a town on the Tagus near Lisbon, and was once the seat of the Court." Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 112, No. 616.

97.—From the nave; Epistle side.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| (l. 1) SEPVLTVR | |
| (l. 2) A DE ALVA | |
| (l. 3) RO DO CAZ | (Translation): Grave of |
| (l. 4) AL. QVE MO | Alvaro do Cazal, who died on |
| (l. 5) REO AOS 8. | the 8th of July 1605. |
| (l. 6) DE IVLHO DE | |
| (l. 7) 1605. | |

Not in J. J. Cotton.

98.—From the nave; under the organ-loft, on the ground:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (l. 1) CASA MORA | |
| (l. 2) DA DO [C]ORPO DE | (Translation): Dwel- |
| (l. 3) SIMAÕ [DA] COST ^a | ling-place of the body of |

- (l. 4) RIBRO · N[A]TVRAL · Simão da Costa Ribeiro,
 (l. 5) DA NO[.]JA · FALE a native of (the?) No[.]ja ;
 (l. 6) CEO · N[A] ERA · DE died in the year 1606.
 (l. 7) 1606 [A]NOS ·

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 112, No. 618) read :—“Casa de Dom Simão Ribeiro faleceu 1606,” which shows that about 1905 he saw only the left side of the stone, which is broken in the centre. It speaks well for those who put in the other portion of the stone at a later date.

No[.]a might stand for Noya or Nora. Noya is a river in Spain; Nora, a small coastline town, near Santiago de Compostella.

99.—From the nave; fourth line of inscriptions from the transept: Epistle side: second of a line of three: incomplete.

- [VI]
 (l. 1) GUAIRO GE
 (l. 2) RAL QUE FO
 (l. 3) I DESTA CI (Translation): . . . who was
 (l. 4) DADE E DE [Vi]car General of this City
 (l. 5) TODA A COS and of the whole Fishery coast ;
 (l. 6) TA DA PESCA died in the year 1635.
 (l. 7) RIA · FALECE
 (l. 8) O NA ERA D
 (l. 9) E 1635 AÑOS

The G (twice, l. 1) is peculiar: so too the U (ll. 1, 2); Q (l. 2) is inverted. J. J. Cotton missed the words ‘[Vi]guairo geral’ in his *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 112, No. 620.

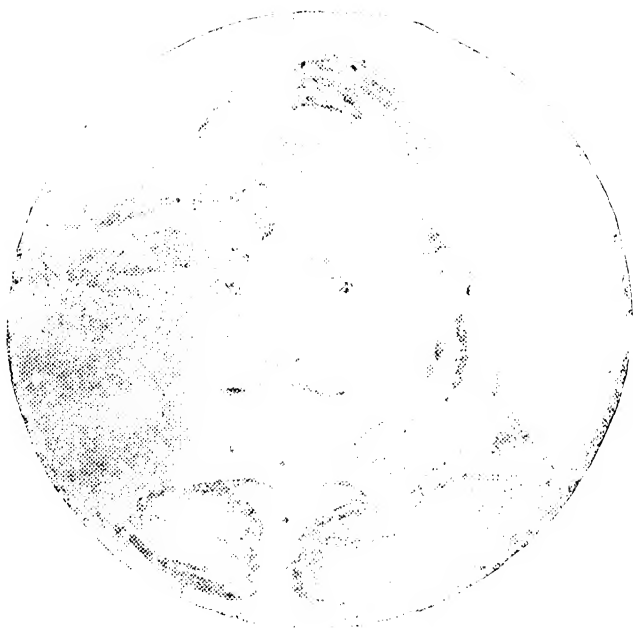
“Mr. J. H. Boyle, of the Madras Civil Service, wrote an interesting account of the Paravars of la Pêcherie in the ‘Calcutta Review’ for 1874, No. CXV.” J. J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*

100.—From the nave; Epistle side:

- (l. 1) ESTA SE
 (l. 2) PVLTVR
 (l. 3) A HE DE
 (l. 4) SALVAD (Translation): This grave is
 (l. 5) OR DE CO [that] of Salvador de Cois
 (l. 6) IS E DE SE (Gois?) and of his heirs; in
 (l. 7) VS ERDE the year [1] 642.
 (l. 8) IROS NA
 (l. 9) ERA DE
 (l. 10) 642

J. J. Cotton’s *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 112, No. 621, writes: de Cois.—Some *r*’s in this inscription look like *b*’s (ll. 2, 5), though others are formed regularly.

101.—From the nave; fifth line of tombstones from the transept; Epistle side; first of three, nearest the central passage



Pope Paul V., who erected the Diocese of Mylapore on January 9, 1606.
cf. p. 91, No. 154.



Dom Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro, O.St. Augustin; 1st Bishop of Mylapore (1606-1614); 6th Bishop of Cochín; 9th Archbishop of Goa (1625, d. November 7, 1629).

Under a skull and cross-bones :

(l. 1) AQVI, IAZ, IOA	(Translation): Here
(l. 2) Õ LOPE ^s DE FARIA, NA	lies Joaõ Lopes de
(l. 3) TVRAL DE BELEM.	Faria, a native of
(l. 4) NOS ARABALDES DE LIS	Belem, in the suburbs
(l. 5) BOA. FILHO LEGITIMO	of Lisboa [= Lisbon] :
(l. 6) DE PEDRO LOPES E DE =	legitimate son of Pedro
(l. 7) LEONARDA DE FA =	Lopes and of Leonarda
(l. 8) RIA, E DE SVA MV =	de Faria ; and [here
(l. 9) LHER ANNA DA CV =	too is the grave] of his
(l. 10) NHA TEIXERA,	wife Anna da Cunha
(l. 11) E DE SEVS ERDEIROS.	Teixera, and of their
(l. 12) ANNO DE 1698.	heirs. In the year
	1698.

An interesting specimen of interlaced lettering, which became fashionable in Portuguese inscriptions at this period at Mylapore. Two other such examples, of 1696 and 1703, are to be seen in the Descanço Church, Mylapore ; another, in the Cathedral is of 1695.

“ Belem, formerly called Restello, is the port from which Vasco da Gama set sail for India. Da Gama, Camoens, and Charles II.'s Queen Catherine of Braganza lie buried there. The name Belem is the same as Bethlehem.” Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 112, No. 623.

102.—From the nave ; Gospel side.

W. C. / Died 3rd Dec^r 1795 / Aged 7 Weeks.

103.—From the nave ; Epistle side.

Here rest the / Remains of Ritta / Maria Terherbruggen / Departed this Life on the 23rd Febr^y 1803. / Aged 22 Years 4 Months and 23 Dayss. .

Not in J. J. Cotton.—The name is Dutch.—‘ Dayss ’ (*sic*).

104.—From the nave.

(l. 1) SACRED

(l. 2) TO THE MEMORY OF

(l. 3) ELIZABETH ASKIN

(l. 4) WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 16TH JULY 1812 AGED
42 YEARS

(l. 5) A SINCERE AND AFFECTIONATE WIFE THE

(l. 6) FRIEND OF THE WIDOW, THE ORPHAN, AND THE
NEEDY

(l. 7) ALSO OF PETER LATONG HER BROTHER WHO DE-
PARTED THIS

(l. 8) LIFE 12TH APRIL 1800 AGED 35 YEARS MARY
SMITH THEIR

(l. 9) SISTER WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 19TH APRIL 1811
AGED 44 YEARS

(l. 10) AND LEONORA HUNTER THE

(l. 11) ADOPTED DAUGHTER OF ELIZABETH ASKIN
 (l. 12) WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 25TH MAY 1812 AGED
 23 YEARS

(l. 13) THIS TRIBUTE IS PAID BY AN AFFECTIONATE
 (l. 14) HUSBAND BROTHER AND FRIEND.

(l. 15) MARY DIED 18TH NOV^r 1814 AGED 15 YEARS
 (l. 16) BENJ^m ROEBUCK ASKIN DIED 24TH
 (l. 17) SEPT^r 1815 AGED 10 M^{os} 9 DAYS

Undated Inscriptions with Coats-of-Arms (105-109).

105.—From the nave; fourth line of tombstones from the transept; Epistle side; near the central passage of the Church.

Under a coat-of-arms, an incomplete inscription, the left half of the stone having disappeared.

(l. 1)	[AQVI IA] Z · O PE	
(l. 2)	[PE] RO : PR ^A	
(l. 3)	[VIGA] [I]R ^O GER	[Translation] :
(l. 4)	[AL E GOVERN] ADOR · Q	[Here lies]
(l. 5)	[VE FOI DEST] E · BISP	Father [Pe]ro
(l. 6)	[ADO COMIS] SARIO	[= Peter] Pereira
(l. 7)	VTA · CD	(?), who was
(l. 8)	O · EM · 3	Vicar General
(l. 9)	× 4. ×	and Governor
(l. 10)	× SE ×	of this Diocese
(l. 11)	× EE ×	Commissary....

Not in J. J. Cotton.—The × show letters not read, or which did not come out on the estampage; the parts restored, within [], are most of them very doubtful.

Remarks: (l. 1), there may have been a letter after P^E; (l. 4), the A of ADOR forms part of the D, which explains the tilted position of the D; (l. 7), the V of VTA does not seem to be an N on the rubbing; the letter D seems to have an E inserted; (l. 8) the O belongs perhaps to FALECEO (= died); (l. 9), after 4, there appears something like an A, belonging perhaps to ANNOS; (l. 10), the letter before SE is probably an A, and the letter after SE appears to be a V; (l. 11), the letter before EE is perhaps a P, or an S, or an F.

In l. 2, RO may belong to a family name, like RIBEIRO, and PR may belong, say, to PR[1][MEIRO VIGA]IRO GER [AL].... (= first Vicar General).

106.—From the nave; third line of tombstones from the transept; Gospel side; first of three, nearest the central passage.

Under an escutcheon with a coat of arms, an incomplete inscription.

(l. 1) SEPVLTV

(l. 2) RA DE DOMI

(l. 3) NGOS DE BIV

(l. 4) AR DAZEVED

(l. 5) [O . . .]

(Translation): Grave of Domingos [= Dominic] de Bivar d' Azevedo . . .

Not in J. J. Cotton.—Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo was the 20th Viceroy of India (Dec. 15, 1612). "He governed 4 years minus 28 days; returned to the kingdom; died in prison in the Castle, where he was two years; was buried at S. Roque, at Lisbon." Cf. Manoel Xavier, S.J., *Compendio Vniuersal de todos os Viso-reys* . . . , Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917, p. 72. He was the brother of Blessed Ignatius de Azevedo, S.J., who with 39 companions was martyred on his way to Brazil.

One Luis de Azevedo is mentioned by Balbi as at Mylapore in 1582. Balbi mentions on the same occasion the Church of St. Thomas, served by a Vicar appointed by the Archbishop of Goa—this was evidently the Church at the tomb; the Capuchin Church of St. Francis; the Jesuit Church of the Mother of God; the Jesuit Church of St. John the Baptist, then newly restored, of which Father Luis Ferreira was Rector; the Church of Our Lady of Light, served by the priests of St. Thomas (S. Thomé ?); Our Lady of the Mount; the Church of the Cross; the Church of the Misericordia; the Church of St. Lazarus, outside the town; besides these, there were "many others, well served." The Captain of S. Thomé was called Diegopusogna, and we get such other names of Portuguese gentlemen as "Antonio di Rizenda, Varterigo, Albor Mendil and Ferdinando Mendil."

107.—From the nave; fifth line of tombstones from the transept; central in a line of three; Epistle side.

Under an escutcheon, with a heraldic design mostly effaced, is an inscription, of which most of the right portion is obliterated; moreover, a strip of the stone appears to have been cut off longitudinally from the right side; the lower portion is also missing. Our restorations within [] of missing portions are tentative.

(l. 1) SEPVL [TVRA DE FR]

(l. 2) ANCIS [CO DE SOV]

(l. 3) ZA· PE [REIRA FIL]

(l. 4) HO DE A[NTONIO]

(l. 5) DE. SOV [ZA PERE]

(l. 6) IRA· E·D [E MARIA L]

(l. 7) VIZA [.]

(l. 8) NATV [RAL DESTA]

(l. 9) CIDAD E [DE SVA MO]

(l. 10) LHER DONA M^[A]

(l. 11) TAVEIRA· FAL

(l. 12) [ECEO]

(Translation): Grave of Francisco de Souza Pereira, son of Antonio (?) de Souza Pereira and of [Maria ?] Luiza [. . .]; a native of this city; and of his wife Dona Maria (?) Taveira; he died . . .

Not in J. J. Cotton.

108.—From the nave, Gospel side.

Under a coat of arms.

(l. 1) A

(l. 2) S· DE GASP

(l. 3) AR· TAVAR

(l. 4) ES· NATV

(l. 5) RAL· DE BO

(l. 6) TAO

(Translation): The grave
(sepultura) of Gaspar Tavares,
a native of Botao.

One Pero Tavares played an important part in bringing Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva and his two companions to Akbar's Court in 1579-80. Tavares, a merchant, had gone to Fatehpur Sikri (near Agra) from Bengal (1577?). Cf. H. Jossion, S.J., *La Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Bruges, 1921 Vol. I. 49-50. He is probably the founder of Hugli as a Portuguese settlement in Bengal.

109.—From the nave; second line of tombstones from the transept: Epistle side.

An escutcheon, without inscription. Probably there was an inscription below.

Other undated Inscriptions (110-115).

110.—From the nave; Epistle side.

(l. 1) SEPVTVRA DE P

(l. 2) ERO DIAS DAR

(l. 3) IOSA E DE SVA

(l. 4) MOLHER ISAB

(l. 5) EL DE PAIVA E DE

(l. 6) SEVS ERDEIRO

(l. 7) S NATVRAL DE

(l. 8) ARIOSA E DE B

(l. 9) ARSELOS

A big blank; next at the
bottom:—

(l. 10) OS

(l. 11) PAGOV 8 PARDA

(Translation): Grave
of Pero [= Peter] Dias d'
Ariosa and of his wife
Isabel de Paiva, and of
their heirs, native of
Ariosa and of Barselos.
He paid 8 pardaos.

“Barcellos is a town in the province of Minho, of which the capital is Braga. At the foot of this slab are the words “Pagou 8 Pardaos,” signifying that the deceased paid for his internment. Possibly this Dona Paiva may be connected with Madam Hieronyma Paiva or Pavia, the Portuguese Jewess whose name is associated with Elihu Yale's (see No. 661).” (Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 111, No. 614, who read wrongly ‘Dias da Rosa.’ Paiva is an extremely common name

J. J. Cotton ascribes the inscription to the 16th century.

111.—From the nave ; Epistle side.

- (l. 1) AQVI IAS
 (l. 2) MESTRE IO
 (l. 3) AM DE VIDA
 (l. 4) RVA NATV (Translation): Here lies
 (l. 5) RAL DE PA Master Joam de Vidarua, a
 (l. 6) RIS native of Paris. He paid to
 A big blank ; then at the Church [8] p[ar]d[ā]os.
 the bottom :—
 (l. 7) DOS.
 (l. 8) PAGO A IGR^A [8] P

After RIS (l. 6), an eight-petalled lotus.

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 112. No. 619. says : " Compare a similar epitaph at Cochin, ' Mestre de Capela da Se, 1634.' He may have been the choirmaster. He paid 8 pardãos for his tomb, the pardão being an Indian coin worth three tostoons and three vintems, *i.e.*, about 12 annas. The curious will find a long note on pardão in the Supplement to Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*. The pardão is a Portuguese corruption of the Sanskrit *pratāp*, 'splendour, majesty,' and was no doubt taken from the legend on some of the coins to which the name was applied, *e.g.*, that of the Rājā of Ikkeri in Canara, Sri Pratāpa Krishnarāya."—*Mestre* may mean many things : a schoolmaster, an M.A., a master-builder, etc. There were pardaos of gold (6 tangas=360 réis), and of silver (5 tangas=300 réis). When the gold pardao went out of use, the silver pardao was worth 6 tangas or half a rupee, and the copper pardao was worth 5 tangas or 300 réis. Cf. Mgr. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, II. 175.—Where did J. J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, get the date 1613 from for this inscription ?

112.—From the nave ; Epistle side.

- (l. 1) SEPVLTV
 (l. 2) VRA·DE·XP
 (l. 3) ÂO FRZ E (Translation): Grave of
 (l. 4) RICHE GV Christovão Fernandez Enriche
 (l. 5) AN NATV Guan, a native of Ponarha ;
 (l. 6) RAL DE P [here] lie his mother, Maria
 (l. 7) ONARHA Fernandez, and his daughter,
 (l. 8) IAS SVA Maria Fernandez.
 (l. 9) MAI M^A FRZ E
 (l. 10) SVA F^A M^A FRZ

Not in J. J. Cotton. The R in l. 2 is a clear B, a form also seen in other inscriptions of Mylapore, *e.g.*, one of 1612 at the Little Mount, beginning with 'Este balvarte,' where the *r* of *balvarte* is a *b* rather than an *r*. The HA in Ponarha (l. 7) is tentative ; it appears to be too far off from 'Ponar' to be part of it. I cannot find Ponarha or Ponar in Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, 1911. Might HA be HE for E, 'and' ?

113.—From the nave : Epistle side.

- (l. 1) ESTA
- (l. 2) MORA
- (l. 3) DA HE
- (l. 4) DE AM
- (l. 5) TONIO
- (l. 6) PENTE
- (l. 7) ADO HE
- (l. 8) NATVR
- (l. 9) AL·DE CO
- (l. 10) VCHIN

(Translation) : This resting-place is [that] of Antonio [= Antonio] Penteado. He is a native of Couchin [= Cochin].

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 111, No. 613, ascribes this inscription to the 16th century.—Cochin is still commonly pronounced 'Cuchin' in Malabar. Varthema (A.D. 1510) writes 'Cucin.' Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 174.

114.—From the nave ; Gospel side.

- (l. 1) IAS·AQL·CO
- (l. 2) IA·MARTIN
- (l. 3) HO·COM·SVA
- (l. 4) MOLHER·MAR
- (l. 5) TA·TOSCA
- (l. 6) NA·E·SEV FO
- (l. 7) DIOGO·MIZ·

(Translation) : Here lies Coja [= Khwāja] Martinho [= Martin] with his wife Marta [Martha] Toscana and their son Diogo [= James] Martinez [? = Martins].

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 111, No. 611, attributes this inscription to the 16th century, which is not unlikely, and adds the appropriate remark : "The occurrence of the title Coja on this epitaph is of interest. Among Europeans the appellation is one generally given to Armenians, as Coja Petrus Uscan."

The name Martha Toscana may be compared with the story of Maria Toscana in the life of St. Francis Xavier. Examined at Cochin, on July 27, 1616, during a process for the canonisation of St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Thomas de Gamboa, S.J., born at 'Meliapor', and son of Ignatius de Gamboa and Theodosia de Goês,¹ said "he was 24 years old. . . : he had heard in the said city of, Meliapor, from trustworthy persons, about the miracle there wrought by Xavier, and it was the common talk and story among serious and reliable persons, and he, the witness, also heard it from the woman to whom it happened, who was of noble and honourable extraction, and an inhabitant of the said city ; and he related that, when, a little girl, she was lying seriously ill, and the doctors despaired of saving her, and she was not only near death, but actually breathing her last, Xavier happened to pass on the road, and the servants and her mother called him in and showed him the girl, begging him to recite the gospel on the said girl, then almost dead. The said Father Xavier answered to the bystanders that the girl would not die

¹ Compare this name with our No. 100 of 1642.

of that illness; he recited the gospel and made the most holy sign of the cross on her head, and forthwith, that very instant, the said girl was restored to health and at once recovered.” Cf. *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Madrid, II. 486. The name of the girl is nowhere given in the *Monumenta Xaveriana*, but her name in other accounts is Maria Toscana, who, according to A. Brou, S.J. (*S. Fr. Xavier*, Paris, 1912, I. 420), had died two years before 1616. See also Brou, I. 336. Cros (*S. François de Xavier*, Paris, 1900, II. 410) places the story at Malaca; but L. Michel, S.J., *Vie de S. François Xavier*, Tournai [1908], p. 172, places it under Mylapore, and refers to Fr. Manoel Barradas, S.J. (*Extraits du proc. apost.*, f. 5a).

115.—From the nave: Gospel side.

- (l. 1) NESTA CALH
- (l. 2) ETA SEGVRA
- (l. 3) LIVRE DE CO
- (l. 4) RENTES E MA
- (l. 5) RES ABAXO
- (l. 6) DESTA PEDR
- (l. 7) A DVRAIAZ
- (l. 8) MARIA DE LI
- (l. 9) NHARES

(Translation): In this safe creek, free from tides and seas, lies under this hard stone Maria de Linhares.

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 111, No. 612, ascribes the inscription to the 16th century and makes this reflection: "She may have been drowned at sea." There is no need of taking thus literally what may be a poetic conceit.

4. *At the house of Mr. Dhanakōḷi Rāju, Victoria Works, S. Thomé High Rd. (116-117).*

116—On a stone marked X, an inscription, fragmentary:—

- (l. 1) .. Śundiraṇ [kūḷi] 870....
- (l. 2) .. 2 kūḷi 350 Vellarippa....
- (l. 3) .. dayāṇ kūḷi [400] Komma....
- (l. 4) .. ṇṇūṟru-aṇṇjukku [Mahē]....
- (l. 5) .. eṇkaḷaṇṇjukku in....
- (l. 6) .. ṇayāl urayarāśarattu.

(Translation): the land of Śundiraṇ (measuring) 870 kūḷi.... 350; the land of Vellarippa.... dayāṇ, (measuring) 400; ninety-five of.... Komma; eight kaḷaṇṇu of Mahē.... this....

117.—On a stone marked Y, an inscription, fragmentary:—

- (l. 1) .. āṇam-paṇṇi sandi [ra*] dittar-arul....
- (l. 2) ṇ irubatt-oru-kaḷaṇṇiḷ u[d]ai....
- (l. 3) ṇ-kaḷaṇṇum tiru-ilambi [r] ai....
- (l. 4) dai = kkaikkondō [ṇ]....
- (l. 5) mudaliyār Śundarakalal mērchi....
- (l. 6) āṇḍ-oṇṇukku iḍum tiruchche....

(Translation): Having granted as long as the Moon and the Sun *kaḷañju*, out of the twenty-one *kaḷañju* *tiruvīlampirai* (sacred young moon) we received. *Mudaliyār Sundara-kaḷal mērci* giving for the sacred every year.

5. *At Rahmat Bāgh, S. Thomé High Road (117 bis).*

117 bis.—On a slab of slate near a tomb in front of Rahmat Bāgh, within the sandy stretch between the bungalow and the beach. No. 223 of 1923 of the Epigraphical Department.

- (l. 1) هو الغفور الرحيم
 (l. 2) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (l. 3) اللهم صل على محمد و على آل محمد و بارك و سلم
 (l. 4) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (l. 5) وفات حضرت سيد شاه
 (l. 6) فخر الدين قادري ملتاني
 (l. 7) قدس سره بتاريخ يازدهم
 (l. 8) ذىحجه سنة 1110 هجرى *

(Transliteration):

- (l. 1) *Huwa 'l-ghafūru r-rahīm*
 (l. 2) *La ilāha illa'llāh Muhammad rasūla l-lāh*
 (l. 3) *Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Muhammadin wa 'alā āli Muhammadin wa bārik wa sallim*
 (l. 4) *Bismillāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm*
 (l. 5) *Wafāt Hazrat Sayyid Shāh*
 (l. 6) *Fakhrū 'd-dīn Qādirī Multānī*
 (l. 7) *Quddisa sirru-hū batārīkh Yāzdahum*
 (l. 8) *Zī-Hijja sann 1110 Hijrī.*

(Translation):

He is the most Merciful and Compassionate.

There is no god but God: Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.

O God! bless Muḥammad and his descendants; and grant divine favour to him and assoil him.

In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate.

The death of Hazrat Sayyid Shāh Fakhrū 'd-dīn Qādirī of Multan—may his grave be hallowed—occurred on the 11th of Zī-Hijja, 1110H. (1698 A.D.)

(Script): Nasta'liq.

(Language): Arabic and Persian mixed.

In 1923, when I discovered the stone, it was erect at the head of the tomb; in January, 1924, when the men of the Epigraphic Department, Madras, came to take a rubbing of it, I conducted them to the place, and the stone was no longer to be

seen. On inquiry, we discovered that the owner of the house, fearing further visits, had had the stone buried in the sand at the head of the tomb. We unearthed it.

6. *At Messrs. W. E. Smith & Co.'s, Chemists,
Rosary Church Str., San Thomé (118).*

118.—Photograph of estampage of two lines of Sanskrit in Grantha characters, on a stone forming the threshold of one of the inner rooms. I was told in 1921 at the shop that, three years before, while repairs were made in the house, the stone had been placed where it now is, and that other inscribed stones were built up in various parts of the building. Alone the contractor, Mr. Thulusingha Mudaliyar, Mount Rd., Madras, might know what had become of them.

Transliterated and translated by Mr. Venkoba Rao.

(l. 1) [dhatayā santa] . . .

(l. 2) prāsādādi cha sarvam śrī śi|va| go|r| mayilā
[pu]

(Translation): —all structures including the central shrine to the glorious Śiva and Pārvati at Mayilāpu . . .

The same Epigraphist wrote (15 16-6-1921) "that the record which mentions 'Mayilā [pur]' may, by judging from the characters, be placed in the 12th century A.D. The place is called: (1) 'Mayilai' in the sacred hymns of the Vaishnava and Saiva saints of the 7th century A.D.; (2) 'Mailappil' in inscription No. 189 of 1912 of the Pallava king Kampavarman (10th century A.D.); and (3) 'Mayilappil' in No. 261 of 1910 of the Chola King Rājārāja I (984-1013). It takes its name from the Tamil word 'Mayil,' a peacock. A Puranic legend connected with the place is given in *South Indian Shrines*, by Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar, p. 18."

Compare with these spellings: Maliarpha. Manarpha or Manaliarpha of Ptolemy (about A.D. 140), the Mahlūph of Mar Solomon of Bassora (about 1222), the Mirapolis of Oderic of Pordenone (1324-25), the Molephattan of Bishop Jordan de Séverac (1330), the Meilan of Amr, son of Matthew (1340), the Mirapor of the Catalan map (1375), the Malepur or Malpuria of Nicolò de' Conti (1425-30), the Meliapor of the Nestorian Bishops of Malabar (1504): nearly all forms occurring in Mgr. Medlycott's *India and the Aposile Thomas*, pp. 38, 94, 95, 96, 97, 125n. We might perhaps identify with Mylapore the Maliah or Malia of Al-Biruni, about 1030 (cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Malabar and Ceylon), especially as Assemani says that the Arabs gave to Mylapore the name Meila (Meilan?). Interpretations of the name of Mylapore other than 'Peacock-Town' are hereby sufficiently set aside. The Portuguese were right therefore, when in 1523, on the authority of the inhabitants of the place, they explained Mylapore as meaning 'Peacock-Town.'

7. *At the San Thomé High School, near St. Rita's Church,
S. Thomé High Rd. (119).*

119.—Photograph of an estampage of two lines of Tamil characters, on the top step of the staircase leading to the second floor of the building.

Mr. Venkoba Rao makes it out thus:—

(l. 1) *utprāḍa Nēmināthasvāmik [ku]*—

(l. 2) *kkuḍuttōm ivai Paḷandīparā*

(Translation): including (all these) we gave to (god) Nēmināthasvāmi. This (is the signature of) Paḷandīparā.

8. *At the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mylapore (120–122).*

120.—Before the gate of the Church façade, on the left, an inscription under a coat of arms.

(l. 1) ESTA · SEPVITVRA · HE ·

(l. 2) DE DONA MARIA · RA

(l. 3) BELA MOLHER QVE FO

(l. 4) I DE MIGEL DE SOVZA

(l. 5) PI[MI]NTEL · AONDE E

(l. 6) STA SEPVLTADO · S

(l. 7) EV · FILHO VASCO FER

(l. 8) NAÕ DE S. PIMINTEL ·

(l. 9) QVE FALECEO EM 31 ·

(l. 10) DE MARCO DE 1637 · A

(l. 11) NNOS · E SVA NETA · DO

(l. 12) NA MARIA DE CASTRO

(l. 13) Q[VE] FALECEO · NA MES

(l. 14) MA ERA · Ê IO DE MARCO ·

(Translation): This grave is (that) of Dona Maria Rabela, who was the wife of Migel [= Michael] de Souza Pimintel: here [too] is buried her son, Vasco Fernão de S[ouza] Pimintel, who died on the 31st of March 1637, and her grand-daughter Dona Maria de Castro, who died the same year, on the 10th of March.

“There is in the Franciscan Church of Cochin a tombstone to the memory of Vasco Fernandez Pimentel, Governor of Cochin, from 1564 to 1567. From the occurrence of the name Vasco upon that inscription, it was for a long time regarded as recording Vasco da Gama's death, which occurred at Cochin on Christmas day, 1524. A de Castro was Portuguese Viceroy of India in 1604 and another in 1662.” Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 116, No. 639

121.—The top of an epitaph, showing a clergyman's biretta, and two keys crossed and joined by a string (the emblem of a priest's power to absolve from sin). The grave is that of Padre Paulo de Sâ, a native of Goa, who died in August 1715. Cf. for the Inscription No. 206.

On the right, before the gate of the façade of the Church.

122.—In the nave of the Church, on the ground, left, under the organ-loft, near the baptismal font: inscription partly Latin, partly Armenian.

- (*l.* 1) HIC UNA CUM SUIB TERRÆ
 (*l.* 2) MANDATA IN LOCO SOMNI
 (*l.* 3) PROLIS QUIESCIT DOMINA
 (*l.* 4) MARIA STEPHANA RAIHAEL.
 (*l.* 5) UXOR DOMINI EDOUARDI RA :
 (*l.* 6) : PHAEL ARMENIENSIS ; DECES
 (*l.* 7) = SIT E VITA DIE TERTIÂ DE =
 (*l.* 8) CIMA MENSIS AUGUSTI
 (*l.* 9) ANNI 1790 CËTATIS SUE
 (*l.* 10) VERO ANNO TRIGESIMO
 (*l.* 11) QUARTO
 (*l.* 12) ANIMA EJUS REQUIESCAT
 (*l.* 13) IN PACE. AMEN.

- (*l.* 14) Ի ՏԱՊԱՆԻ ԱՍՏ ԱՄՓՈՓԻ.
 (*l.* 15) ՄԱՐՄԻՆ ՏԵԿՆՈՅ ԲԱՐԵՊԱՇՏԻ.
 (*l.* 16) ԱՆՈՒՆ ՍՈՐԱ ՄԱՐԻԱՄ ԿՈԶԻ.
 (*l.* 17) ԵՒ ԿԻՆ ՀԵՒՎԱՐԴԻ ՌԱՔԱՅԵԼԻ.
 (*l.* 18) ԵՒ Ե ԴԻՈՏՐ ՍՏԵՓԱՆ ՄԱՆՈՒԵԼԻ.
 (*l.* 19) ԵՐ 34 ԱՄԱՅ ՀԱՄԱԿԻ.
 (*l.* 20) ՀԱՆԳԵԱՒ ԱՌ ՏԵՐՆ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆԻ.
 (*l.* 21) Ի ՅՕԳՕՍՏՈՍ ՏԱՍՆԵՐԵՔԻ.
 (*l.* 22) ԵՒ Ի ՅԱՄԻ ՏԵԱՌԻՆ 1790 Ի :

(*Translation of the Latin*): Here lies buried together with her own in the spot where sleeps her offspring, Mrs. Maria Stephana Raihael [Raphael], the wife of Mr. Edward Raphael, Armenian. She departed this life on the 13th of August 1790, in the 34th year of her age. May her soul rest in peace. Amen.

(*Translation of the Armenian*):

- (*l.* 14) In this tomb lies interred
 (*l.* 15) the body of a pious lady,
 (*l.* 16) whose name was Mariam,
 (*l.* 17) and the wife of Edward Raphael,
 (*l.* 18) and the daughter of Stephen Manuel.
 (*l.* 19) She was 34 years of age.
 (*l.* 20) Died in the Lord of all
 (*l.* 21) on the thirteenth of August
 (*l.* 22) and in the year of the Lord 1790.

This Armenian inscription of nine lines is in Armenian metrical verse and is composed in the ancient or classical Armenian language. Edward Raphael Qaramean, the husband of the lady who lies buried in the Luz Church, was a very wealthy Roman Catholic Armenian merchant of Madras, and the father-in-law of Samuel Mackertich Moorat, who with his wife Anna lies buried in the "Moorat Chapel," at the R.C. Cathedral in Armenian Street, Madras.

Both these merchant princes of Madras are mentioned in Mesroby J. Seth's *History of the Armenians in India* (p. 148-150), and in the history of the *Society of Mekhithar* by the same author.

"The eldest son of Edward Raphael, called Alexander Raphael, was the Sheriff of London for 1829, and he sat in the House of Commons as a Catholic Tory for St. Albans. These two wealthy Catholic Armenians founded at Venice in 1835 a college which is known as the "Raphael-Moorat College." It continues to do useful work in educating Armenian youths under the auspices of the Mekhitharist Fathers of "St. Lazarus." Their services to the cause of national education are faithfully chronicled by Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S., the well-known classical Armenian scholar and historian, in his recently published learned work on the "Society of Mekhithar". Mr. Mesroby J. Seth is an enthusiastic admirer of the saintly Mekhithar, the illustrious author of the Renaissance of Armenian letters in the first-half of the 18th century. Catholic Armenians have always been great benefactors of their nation. To be counted among them are Mekhithar, Edward Raphael and Samuel Moorat." (*Note by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq.*)

See our No. 215 for another member of the family, Mrs. Raphael Qaramean (*d.* July 22, 1784), and No. 208 for the inscription to one Joseph Gregory Mackertich. Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 242, for Catherine Moorat (+1785); p. 108, for Edward Alfred Emile Moorat (+1822); p. 108, for Edward Samuel Moorat (+1837); p. 107, for Samuel Mucartish Moorat(+1816).

9. *At Madre de Deos Church, Mylapore (123).*

123.—Within the Church, on the ground; Epistle side.
Under a coat of arms:—

- (l. 1) **CHRISTIANE LECTOR**
- (l. 2) Hoc dudum solido marmore
- (l. 3) Vbi deprecatio legentis sit semper, illi,
- (l. 4) Dominam MARGARITAM Barreta
- (l. 5) Subjacere, Scito;
- (l. 6) Ciuitate Columbensi Ortam,
- (l. 7) Emanuelis Vas Barreto, &
- (l. 8) Ioannæ Gomes de Macedo Gniatam;

- (l. 9) Antonii de Fonceca Homem Coniugem.
- (l. 10) QVÆ
- (l. 11) Obiit quinto Idus Ianuarii, anno Domini
- (l. 12) M.DC.LXXXI.
- (l. 13) Viduitatis suae primo: Ætatis que.
- (l. 14) XLII.

(*Translation*): Christian Reader, know that, under this hard marble, where may the reader always pray for her, lies Dona Margarita Barreta, born in the City of Colombo, the daughter of Emanuel Vas Barreto & of Joanna Gomes de Macedo, the wife of Antony de Fonceca Homem. She died on the 5th before the Ides of January [= 9th January], A.D. M.DC.LXXXI [= 1681], in the first year of her widowhood and the 42nd of her age.

Colombo had been taken by the Dutch in 1658.

Note the feminine ending in 'Barreta' corresponding to a masculine ending in 'Barreto.'

Not in J. J. Cotton.

N.B.—HOW AND WHERE TO GET COPIES OF THESE PHOTOGRAPHS.

Copies of 118 numbers of the photographs exhibited can be bought from the office of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Kotagiri, India ; others (Nos. 77, 79 bis, 81, 82, 83, 116, 117, 117 bis) can be bought from the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, India.

Kotagiri Office marks of Photographs.

N.B.—Each set of two columns shows the consecutive numbers of the photographs exhibited and the office mark ; 1 26 means that the photograph is one of 26, not included yet in the Kotagiri list for the year 1921-22 ; 1 22, that it is one of 22, not included in their list for the year 1923-24. When ordering a photograph marked 1 26 or 1 22, quote our serial number with the title of this hand-book, as copies of this hand-book will be deposited in the Kotagiri Office.

1	1/26	22	G. 257	43	G. 267	64	1/22	84	1/26	105	1 26
2	G. 250	23	G. 262	44	G. 337	65	1/22	85	G. 278	106	G. 280
3	G. 255	24	G. 256	45	G. 338	66	1/22	86	G. 281	107	1 26
4	G. 251	25	G. 328	46	1 22	67	1/22	87	G. 279	108	1 26
5	G. 252	26	G. 329	47	1/22	68	1/22	88	G. 282	109	G. 287
6	G. 336	27	G. 330	48	G. 339	69	1/22	89	G. 283	110	1 26
7	G. 253	28	G. 331	49	G. 274	70	1/22	90	G. 284	111	1/26
8	G. 254	29	G. 332	50	G. 275	71	1/22	91	G. 285	112	1/26
9	G. 259	30	G. 340	51	G. 355	72	1/22	92	1 26	113	1 26
10	G. 258	31	G. 341	52	G. 356	73	1/22	93	1 26	114	1/26
11	G. 260	32	G. 342	53	G. 350	74	1/22	94	G. 276	115	1 26
12	G. 263	33	G. 343	54	G. 351	75	1/22	95	1/26	116	—
13	G. 261	34	G. 344	55	G. 352	76	1/22	96	G. 277	117	—
14	G. 264	35	G. 345	56	G. 353	77	—	97	1 26	117 bis	—
15	G. 249	36	G. 346	57	1/22	78	1/26	98	1/26	118	1 26
16	G. 273	37	G. 347	58	1/22	79	1/26	99	1/26	119	1 26
17	G. 335	38	G. 348	59	G. 354	79 bis	—	100	1/26	120	G. 272
18	G. 268	39	G. 119	60	1/22	80	1/26	101	G. 280	121	G. 271
19	G. 269	40	C. 118	61	1/22	81	—	102	1/26	122	G. 349
20	1/22	41	G. 265	62	1/22	82	G. 333	103	1/26	123	G. 270
21	G. 334	42	G. 266	63	1/22	83	—	104	1/26		

Madras Office Marks.

Nos. of our Exhibits.	Office Nos. of Inscriptions.	Office Nos. of Photographs.
77	216 of 1923	740
79 bis	219 of 1923	D. 757
81	218 of 1923	741
82	217 of 1923	742
83	215 of 1923	743
116	220 of 1923	745
117	221 of 1923	744
117 bis	223 of 1923	D. 763

No. 82 was estampaged and photographed by both the Archaeological and the Epigraphical Department.

PART II.—OTHER INSCRIPTIONS AND POINTS OF INTEREST AT S. THOMÉ AND MYLAPORE.¹

1. *In the Museum, Bishop's House, S. Thomé (124-125).*

*From the Boys' Orphanage, near St. Bede's High School,
S. Thomé High Road (124).*

124.—A fragment of Portuguese inscriptions (E1):

(l. 1) O	(l. 3) IRO
(l. 2) CEO	(l. 1) OS

*From Mr. D. Dhanakôti Rājū's, Victoria Works, S. Thomé
High Road (125).*

125.—A fragment of Portuguese inscription (O1): worked into a scroll at both ends. Tentative reading.

.... I IAZ....	[Aqy]i iaz	Here lies....
....FR ^a D....	....Fr ^a D....	....Francisca D....
....CAPIT....	....Capi[tão]....	....Captain....
....STA. I ...	...[e]sta. i....	....this....

2. *At the beach, near Bishop's House, S. Thomé (126).*

126.—At the end of the road, near Bishop's House, which abuts on the beach, there is a masonry pillar with a pole sticking out from the middle. This is often called the 'Dutch flag-staff.' A serious misnomer. Granted that it be a flagstaff, it could never have been Dutch, since the Dutch never were in possession of the town of S. Thomé. Near the pillar can be seen in the sand portions of brick walls. It is suggested that excavations here would lay bare the sea-line of the fortifications of S. Thomé, built by the Portuguese about 1624, and dismantled by the English in 1675.

¹ For the sake of an index of our inscriptions, our numbering of the inscriptions continues the numbering adopted in Part I, as some of our inscriptions are recorded there.

Whenever J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, is not mentioned under any of our inscriptions, it must be understood that the inscription is not in his list. Our list includes all the inscriptions of the S. Thomé and Mylapore Churches.

The Armenian inscriptions were copied by the Rev. S. Jacob, of the Armenian Church, Armenian Church Str., Madras, and translated by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq., 19, Lindsay Str., Calcutta, who also passed them through the press.

We regret, however, that we did not receive all the Armenian inscriptions from Mylapore.

3. *In the Cathedral grounds, S. Thomé (127-129).*

127.—Under the sun-dial :

Brought to this place in 1916. Fixed by / Major G. Clarke./

This sun-dial stands along the south wall enclosing the Cathedral compound, near the street leading to the beach. Cf. our No. 22. It stood formerly in the middle of the street, near the present San Thomé Post Office, *i.e.*, between the Cathedral and the Post Office, where people went to consult it.

128.—Near the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes, a stone showing the date of the erection of the Grotto :

7-10-1917.

129.—At the Cathedral Poor School, there are fragments of tombstones (Portuguese) at each entrance, partly worked into the building.

The top step of one of the entrances shows the following characters : AT(O).

A.

The sides of the stone along O and A. form a clean edge.

The top step at the other entrance shows traces of a coat-of-arms and of characters.

4. *In the Cathedral, S. Thomé (130-161).**Old undated Inscriptions (130-131).*

130.—Nave; fifth line of tombstones from the transept, left side; central stone in a line of three.

SEPVTLTVR/A DE BRAS / GLZ E DE SE/VS
ERDEIR/OS./

(Translation) : Grave of Bras [= Blasius] Gonsalvez and of his heirs.

131.—Nave, third line of tombstones from the transept, left side; third of three, near the windows.

AQVI IAS A'NTON/IO DA C'VNHA SOAR/ES
PG/80. T./

(Translation) : Here lies Antonio da Cunha Soares. Paid 80 Tangas.

There is some doubt about the letter after 80. If a T, it means probably Tangas; if an F, it might mean Fanams. J. J. Cotton reads: "P.C. 80 F." (Cf. *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 112, No. 615) and makes the inscription belong to the 16th century, though it gives no definite date.

Dated Inscriptions (132-152).

132.—Nave; on a brass tablet affixed to the transept wall, left side.

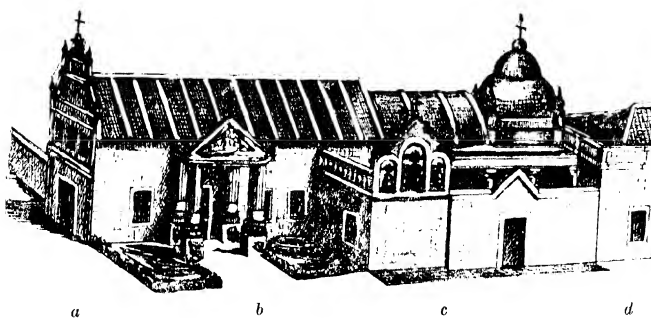
1896.—*Hic, / spectabili referente veteri traditione, corpus est humatum B. Thomae, Apostoli, / qui cum diceretur Didymus et*



S. Thomé.—The Old Cathedral, pulled down in 1892.

West.

East.



S. Thomé.—Pen-sketch of the Old Cathedral before 1892.

a. = South porch.

c. = St. Thomas' tomb.

b. = Belfry.

d. = Presbytery in which St. F. Xavier lived in 1545.

unus esset de Duodecim, lancea transfixus in vicinia, vitam pro fide effudit/ Magistri, A.D. 68./ In quorum fidem, Henricus / Primus instauratæ (A.D. 1886) Diæceseos/ Episcopus Meliaporensis, cum ecclesiam vetustam hic existentem/ amplandam et ab imis fundamentis de novo/ erigendam curasset, opere feliciter completo, tabellam hanc conficiendam mandavit/et ipse hic locavit. A.D. 1896.

(Translation): Here, according to a respectable ancient tradition, was buried the body of the Blessed Apostle Thomas, called Didymus and one of the Twelve, who, pierced with a lance in the neighbourhood, poured out his life-blood for his Master's faith, A.D. 68. In truth whereof, when Henry, first Bishop of Meliapor, after the restoration of the Diocese (A.D. 1886), had enlarged and rebuilt from the very foundations the old church here existing, he had this tablet made, on the successful completion of the work, and placed it here himself in 1896.

Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 111, No. 607.

133.—Nave, right side; on a copper tablet fixed against the wall.

1906, January 9.—*Altare quod super celebre / Beati Apostoli Thomæ sepulchrum hic pio affectu/ extruxit marmoreum, perenne/ monumentum tertii sæcularis/ ab hac sede erecta jubilæi/ esse voluit Dnus Theotonius/ Episcopus Meliaporensis/ die IX Januarii A.D. MDCCCXVI.*

(Translation): This marble altar, which he erected here with pious affection over the famous tomb of the Blessed Apostle Thomas, Dom Theotonius, Bishop of Meliapor, wished to be the everlasting memorial of the tricentenary jubilee of the erection of this See, 9th January, A.D. 1906.

134.—Nave, right side.

1605, February 17.

AQVI·IAZ·Ã/
TONIO·DABR/
EV·NATVRAL/
DE·GARAHEM/
ID·Q·FALECEO/
Ê·17·DE·FEV^{RO}/
NA·ERA·DE·605/
E·DE·SEVS·ERD/
EIROS.

(Translation): Here lies Antonio d' Abreu, a native of Garahemid, who died on the 17th of February of the year [1]605, and of his heirs.

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 112, No. 617) writes: "natural de Carahem, o qual . . ." Neither Carahem nor Garahamid is to be found in Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, 1911.

135.—Nave; fifth line of tombstones from the transept, right side; one of three in the same line.

1695, August 22.—ESTA·SEPVL·TVRA·HE·DE/
THEREZIA·D·SILVA·BAROZ/A·FILHA·DE·IOA/O/
FR^A·D'SILVA·E·DE·FRCA·PACHEC/A·NATURAL·D'

CI/D^E DE COCHIM · E / DE FRC.^O MENDES PR.^A / SEU
MARIDO E DE / SEUS HERD^{OS}. FALE/CEO AOS 22 DE
AGT^O DE 695. /

(*Translation*): This grave is that of Therezia d' Silva Barroza, daughter of João Ferreira d' Silva and of Francisca Pacheca, a native of the city of Cochin, and of Francisco Mendes Pereira, her husband, and their heirs. She died on the 22nd of August [1]695.

Many of the letters in this inscription are interwoven. Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras. 1905, p. 112, No. 622.

136.—Nave ; fifth line of tombstones from the transept. left side ; one of a line of three.

1728, July 23.—SEPVLTURA DE IGN^O FRR^A DE / SOVZA NA^L / DA MADR^A BENFT^{OR} DESTA SE/FALEC^O / EM 23 DE IVLH^O / DE 1728. /

(*Translation*): Grave of Ignacio Ferreira de Souza, a native of Madrastra, a benefactor of this See (= Cathedral). He died on the 23rd of July 1728.

Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras. 1905, p. 113, No. 625.

137.—Nave ; side not noted.

1761, November 19.—+ Hic Jacet corpus / Johanna Eleonora Jackson/ quæ, decimo Nono Die Novembris/ Anno- que Christi Millesimo/ Septingentesimo Sexagesimo Primo,/ Et Suae Ætatis Vicesimo Tertio/ Animam Efflavit,/ Duabus Filiis Relictis, Sophia,/ Vicesimo Sexto Die Aprilis Natâ,/ Anno Domⁱ Millesimo Septingentesimo/ Quinguagesimo Septimo, Eleonorâque Septimo Die Septembris/ Anno Millesimo Septingen- tesimo/ Sexagesimo Primo Natâ,/ Charissimæ benignissimæque Matris/ Mortem Dolere./ Samueli Et Johanna Hepburn Fuit / Filia, Roberto Jackson, Navis/ Gubernatori In Commercio Honorabilis/ Georgii Pigot Armigeri,/ Gubernatorisque Sancti Georgii/ Castelli Uxor fuit. /

(*Translation*): Here lies the body of Johanna Eleonora Jackson, who died on the 19th of November in the year of Christ 1761, and the 23rd year of her age, leaving two daughters to bemoan their very dear and very kind mother's loss: Sophia, born on the 26th of April A.D. 1757, and Eleonora, born on the 7th of September 1761. She was the daughter of Samuel and Joanna Hepburn, and the wife of Robert Jackson, a ship's captain in the mercantile service of the Hon'ble George Pigot, Kt., and Governor of Fort St. George.

Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 113, No. 628.

138.—Nave ; side not noted.

1765, April 10.—Here lieth the body of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, wife of Charles Smith, Esq., in the service of the Honorable Company at Fort St. George, and one of the daughters of

Mr. Francisco and Maria Carvalho, who departed this life the 10th of April 1765, aged 22 years, 10 months and 23 days.

“Charles Smith, who was writer in 1753, became member of Council in 1774, and acted as Governor of Fort St. George from November 1780 to June 1781. His ancestor was a Huguenot emigrant of the name of Lefevre, who took the name of Smith (Faber). Charles, Smith’s brother Culling Smith¹ was a writer on the Bengal Establishment in the year of the Black Hole, but was away from Calcutta at the time. He was created a Baronet in 1802 and became the maternal grandfather of Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (see No. 1620). The parents of Charles and Culling Smith were Thomas Smith, a London merchant, and Culling, sister and co-heiress of John Home, Governor of Bombay from September 1734 to April 1739. Mrs. Maria Carvalho died at Madras, June 4th, 1791, aged 78, and her mother, Mrs. Holcomb, on the 13th March of the same year at the age of 94. Charles Floyer, member of Council in 1776, married a Catherine de Carvalho, July 27th, 1761.” (Cf. J. J. Cotton’s *List of Inscriptions*, pp. 113-114. No. 629.)

Somehow, I do not now find this inscription in my collection.

139.—Nave; third line of tombstones from the transept: right side; the central inscription in a line of three; 15 lines of Armenian and 14 of Portuguese.

1719, Dec. 26.

- (L. 1) Ի ՏԱՊԱՆԻ ԱՍՏ ԱՄՓՈՓԻ,
- (L. 2) ՄԱՐՄԻՆ ՈՒՄԵՄԻՆ ԲԱՐԵՊԱՇՏԻ,
- (L. 3) ԳԱԲՐԻԷԼ ՈՐԴԻ ՄԱՐՈՒԹԻ,
- (L. 4) ԾՆԵԱԼ ՄԱՆԻԼԱՅ ՔԱՂԱՔԻ,
- (L. 5) ԻՆՔՆ ԱՂԳԱԻ ԶՈՒՂԱՅԵՑԻ,
- (L. 6) ՈՐ Ի ՍՊԱՀԱՆ ՀՕՇ ՔԱՂԱՔԻ,
- (L. 7) ՂԱԽՃԱՆԵՑԱԻ Ի ՅԱՅՍՄ ԵՐԿՐԻ,
- (L. 8) ՈՐ Ի ՄԱՒՐԱՍ ՔԱՂԱՔ ԿՈԶԻ,
- (L. 9) ՂԱԽՃԱՆ ԲԱՐԻ ՈՐԱ ԼԻՆԻ,
- (L. 10) ՅԱՄԻ ՏԵԱՌԻՆ ՄԵՐՈՅ ՓՐԿԶԻ,
- (L. 11) ՀԱԶԱՐ ԵՒ ԵՕԹՆ ՀԱՐԻԻՐԻ,
- (L. 12) ԵՕԹԱՆԱՍՈՒՆ ԵՒ ԻՆՆԻ,
- (L. 13) ԴԵԿՏԵՄԲԵՐ ԵՐԵՍՈՒՆ ՄՆԻ,

¹ Sic

(l. 14) Ի ՔԱՆԱՍՈՒՆ, ԵՒ ՀԻՆԳ ԼՄԻ,

(l. 15) ԼՄԳ ԿԵՆԱՑՆ ԻՒՐ ՎԵՐԱՅ ԵՐԿՐԻ :

Aqui Jaz Sepultado / o Corpo de Gabriel Marotto / Filho de Senhor Marotto / Stanisloge Carmerens e Nacaõ / Armenio Nacido em Manilha, / Porem naõ Dizesparados, por q̃ / Elles Sempre conformados / ao ordem do Ceo Piedozo. / Caminhantes que isto Lés, / So te Rogo a Deos por Mim / Hum Padre Nosso e Ave Maria./ Faleceo Gabriel Marotto no 28 / de Dezembro Anno 1779, / Idade 47 Annos, em Madrasta./

(*Translation of the Armenian*): In this tomb is interred the body of a pious person, Gabriel, the son of Marooth, born at Manilla. By birth he was from Julfa in the city of Ispahan, [otherwise known as] Shosh. He died a good death in this country, in the city called Madras, in the year of Our Lord Saviour one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, on the 31st December, in his forty-fifth year on this earth.

(*Translation of the Portuguese*): Here lies buried the body of Gabriel Marotto, son of Senhor Marotto Stanisloge [= Stanislas] Carmarens, an Armenian by nationality, born at Manilha. He did not despair; for he always conformed to the order of a merciful Providence. Passer-by who read this, I ask of thee [to pray] for me to God one Our Father and Hail Mary. Gabriel Marotto died at Madrasta on the 28th of December of the year 1779, aged 47 years.

"The Armenian inscription says he died at the age of forty-five; the Portuguese inscription gives his age as 47. How can there be such a big difference? I am, however, inclined to believe that the Armenian inscription is correct." (*Note by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth.*)

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 114, No. 630) reads: Carmerens, dizesparados, as ordem, ledes (instead of *lés*).

140.—Nave; fifth line of tombstones from the transept, right side; third in a line of three, near the windows.

1790, March 20; 1800, March 7.—Aqui Jaz Joaquim / Gregorio, o qual / faleceo aos 20 de / Março de 1790 / Tendo de idade 77 / Annos./ Tambem / Foi Aqui Sepultado / Daniel de Fries, / Seo Neto; Filho de / Lewis e Charlotte / de Friez, Falecido / Aos 7 de Março de / 1800. de 2 Annos Sete / Meses, e 12 Dias de Idade./

(*Translation*): Here lies Joaquim Gregorio, who died on the 20th of March 1790, aged 77 years. Here too was buried Daniel de Fries, his grandson, son of Lewis and Charlotte de Friez, who died on the 7th of March 1800, aged 2 years, 7 months and 12 days.

Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 114, No. 632. Is not 'de Fries' a corruption of 'de Frias'? The Captain of the Coromandel Coast in 1521–23 was one de Frias. When

the relics of St. Thomas were found in the tomb. he came from Palicat to S. Thomé with a China casket to place the relics in.—De Vries would be a Dutch name.

141.—Nave; third line of tombstones from the transept. left side, central grave of three; 25 lines of Armenian, after which comes a Latin inscription in capitals of equal size.

1793, March 20.

- (L. 1) ՏԱՊԱՆ ՀԱՆԳՈՍԻ ԱՌՆ ՊԱՏՈՒԱԿՆՆ.
- (L. 2) ՂԱՃԱՌԱԿԱՆԻ ՏՈՀՄԻ ԲԱՔՈՒՄԵԱՆ.
- (L. 3) ՊԱՐՈՆ ՄՈՒՔԵԼԻ ՏԵՐ ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԻՍԻԱՆ.
- (L. 4) ՄԵԾ. ԲԱՐԵՐԱՐԻ ԿԱՐԳԻ ՄԽԹԱՐԵԱՆ :
- (L. 5) ՏԱՐՈՆ ԱՄԱՑ ԳՈԼՈՎ ԵՆ Ի ՀԱՅՐԵՆԵԱՆ.
- (L. 6) ՅԱԾԵԱԼ Ի ԲԱԶՈՒՄ ԱՇԽԱՐՀՈՒ ՀՆԻԿԱՆ.
- (L. 7) ՃՈՒՍԹԻԹԻՆ ԿՈՒՏԵԱՆ ՔՐՏԱՄԲ ԵՐԵՍԱՆ.
- (L. 8) ՀՈԳԻՈՅ ՓՐԿՈՒԹԵԱՆ Ի ՈՒԿՈ ՂԱՏՆԵԱՆ :
- (L. 9) ԱՐԳԵԱՄԲԻ ԵՒ ԶԱՆԻԻ ԵՐ ՂԱՍՏԱԿԱՌՈՐ.
- (L. 10) ՀԱՐՑ ՄԽԹԱՐԵԱՆՑ ԶԵՆՆՏՈՒ ՀԶՈՐ.
- (L. 11) ԶԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԳՐԵԱՆՑ ԿԱՐԻ ՀԱՐԿԱՌՈՐ.
- (L. 12) ՓՈՒԹՈՎ ԺՈՂՈՎԻՉ ԱՆՉԻԻՔՆ ԻՐՈՎՔ :
- (L. 13) ԶԻ ԳԻՐԻ ՆԱԽՆԻ ՀԱՐՑ ՅՈՐ ՂԱՍՏԱԿԵՑԻՆ.
- (L. 14) Ի ՅԱՆԿԻՆՈՒ ԱԾԵԱԼ ՈՒՄ ՊԵՏՈ ՄՆԱՑ ԻՆ :
- (L. 15) ՍԱ ԳՈՅԻԻ ԻՐՈՎՔ ԿՈՒՏԵԱՆ ԶՆՈՍԻՆ.
- (L. 16) ԶՈՐ ՄԽԹԱՐԵԱՆՔ Ի ԼՈՅՈ ԻՈԿ ԱԾԻՆ :
- (L. 17) ՏՈՒՆ ԲՆԱԿՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԻՐՈՅ ԿԱՅԱՆԻ.
- (L. 18) ԵՐ ԶԻՆԱՓԱԹՆԱՄ ՈՐ ՄԱԴՐԱՈՒ ԿՈԶԻ.
- (L. 19) ԶԿԵԱՆՈՒ ԻՐ ԿԱՏԱՐԵԱԼ ԱՌ ԹՖ ՓՈՒԽ.
- (L. 20) ՀՈՉԱԿԱՒ ՄԵԾԱՒ ԱՍՏԵՆ ԱՄՓՈՒ :
- (L. 21) ՊԵՏՐՈՒ ՂԱՐԿԱՊԵՏՈ ԵՈՒ ՄԽԹԱՐԵԱՆ.
- (L. 22) ԶՎԵՐՏԱՌՈՒ ԳՐԵՑԻ ՅԱՌԵՆՈՒ ԴԱՄԲԱՐԱՆ :
- (L. 23) ԿԵՆԱՑՆ ԻՐ ԱՄՔ ԵՐ 56 ԵԱՆ.
- (L. 24) ԻՈԿ ԱՄՔՆ ՓՐԿՉԻՆ ՆԵՐՔՈՅ ԳՐԵԱԼ ԿԱՆ :
- (L. 25) 1793.

Hic jacet Michael Joannes Baboom / verâ fide clarus, in Deo Optimo / spe clarior: suis enim ele^mosinis [*sic*] / dives factus, exteris suisque / notâ charitate clarissimus; / clero plebique quot et quanta / dedit / tot et tanta suæ / riliquit [*sic*] bona familiæ. Anno ætatis suæ 56^a pie obiit / Madras die 20^a Martii 1793., Tam bono parenti hoc posuit / monumentum ejus nepos / Daniel Raphael Baboom.

(*Translation of the Armenian*):

This is the last resting-place of Michael Ter Johanness, an eminent merchant of the Baboom family, and a great benefactor of the Mekhitharist Society. He left his native country at the age of ten and travelled in many parts of India. By the sweat of his brow he amassed riches which he spent for the salvation of the soul. He was industrious and successful and was of great help to the Mekhitharist Fathers. He was very much after manuscript works which he soon collected at his own expense, for the books of the early fathers, on which they had worked, were of no use to anyone as long as they remained here and there. He collected them at his own expense and the Mekhitharists published them.

He lived at Chinapathnam, called Madras, and having completed his life, he departed to God in his 56th year, in 1793, and was buried here with great solemnity. [F. Father Peter, of the order of Mekhithar, wrote the above letters on this man's tomb.

(*Translation of the Latin*): Here lies Michael John Baboom, famous for his true faith, more famous for his hope in the All-Good God; for, having become rich through his almsdeeds, he was most famous among his own and strangers for his well-known charity: to his family he left as much property as he gave alms to the clergy and the people. He died piously at Madras, in the 56th year of his age, on the 20th of March 1793. In honour of so good a relative, his nephew, Daniel Raphael Baboom, placed this monument.

"D. R. Baboom died at Constantinople, January 21st, 1821, aged 48." J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 114, No. 633.

For a history of the Mekhitharist order see Mesroby J. Seth's "The Society of Mekhithar," published in 1924, and printed at the "Catholic Orphan Press," Calcutta.

142.—Nave, right side.

1801, Febr. 15.—Nesta mesma sepultura / Foi depositado o Corpo / de / Thomas de Souza Junior / Filho Legitimo / de Thomas, e Pascoa de Souza / O qual / Tendo vivido no Mundo / 6. Mezes, 20 dias / Aos 15 de Fevereiro de 1801 / Passou a viver no Ceo / eternamente.

(*Translation*): In this same grave was deposited the body of Thomas de Souza, Junior, legitimate son of Thomas and Pascoa de Souza, who, having lived in the world 6 months and

20 days, went on the 15th of February 1801 to live in Heaven eternally.

The upper part of the stone is missing.

143.—Nave, left side.

1808, Oct. 7.—Sacred / to the memory of Mr. Lawrence Cazo, a Native of Gascoine / in France. Who, after a well spent life, / and a long residence on this Coast / of upwards of 55 years, departed / this life on the 7th October 1808 / Aged 74 years 3 months and 15 days. / Greatly regretted by his Numerous Relatives. This tomb is erected as / a Tribute of Affection by his Surviving Consort.

144.—Nave; fourth line of tombstones from the transept, left side, where it lies alone.

1855, Jan. 2.—Here Lieth the Remains of Sir Antonio Constancio Dias, Knight of the Portuguese Order of Christ a native of Colva in the Province of Salcette / in the settlement of Goa. / He married first the widow of / John d'Monte, Esq. / and after her death to / Miss M. E. R. Cardozo. He departed this life / on the 2nd of January 1855. This tablet is erected / by his surviving relict who begs the prayer / of the faithful for the repose of his soul. Requiescat in pace.

"John de Monte, of the firm of Arbuthnot, de Monte & Co., died at Covelong, May 6th. 1821, aged 56. He lived in what is now the Adyar Club. His wife was a Miss Bilderbeck. See No. 986." J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, Madras, 1905, p. 114, No. 635.

145.—Nave; under the organ-loft, left side, on the ground.

1858, Nov. 27.—Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur. / Rev. chap. XIV, v. 13. / To / Henrietta, / the beloved wife of / Frank de Souza, who departed this life / on the 27th November 1858, / Aged 29 years and 10 days. / This monument / is erected by her afflicted husband. Requiescat in pace.

146.—Nave; under the organ-loft.

1864, Apr. 16.—A memoria / de Salvador de Souza / Nascido a 3 de Junho 1790 / Fallecido a 16 de Abril 1864 / Virtuoso Pac de Familia / os affectos domesticos / Foram / Para a sua Alma pura / uma aspiração de ceu. / O seu filho Francisco em testemunho da sua veneração e da sua dor profunda / esta pedra mandou por. J. Wren, Pimlico, London. /

(Translation): To the memory of Salvador de Souza. Born on the 3rd of June 1790; died on the 16th of April 1864. A virtuous father of family. Domestic affection was for his pure soul an aspiration of Heaven. His son, Francisco, in testimony of his veneration and of his deep sorrow had this stone placed. J. Wren, Pimlico, London.

147.—Nave, under the organ-loft, right side.

1877, July 23.—+ Sacred / to / the memory of Mary

Jessie Agnes Palman / the beloved daughter of / Mr. Joseph John Palman / born 18th January 1861 / Died 23rd July 1877.

148.—Nave, behind the three Bishops on the left side.

1879, Jan. 8.—Sepultura / do Ex^{mo} e Re^{mo} Sr. B. F. Amarante / Natural de Goa / Vigario Geral e Gov. temporal / do Bisp. de S. Thome / acerrimo defensor do Padroado Portuguz [sic] / condecorado pelo Rei de Portugal. / Deve se lhe a fabricação do Semi/nário e escola nelle estabelecida. / Depois de servir a religião e a / patria por 40 annos descansou / na paz do Senhor aos 8 de Janeiro / de 1879. / Em testemunho de respeito / mandou por esta lapida / O Rev. J. B. Gonsalves.

(Translation): Grave of the Most Excellent and Most Reverend Senhor B. F. Amarante, a native of Goa, Vicar-General and Governor of the temporalities of the Bishopric of St. Thomé, a most strenuous defender of the Portuguese Padroado, decorated by the King of Portugal. The erection of the seminary and the school established in it are due to him. After serving Religion and the fatherland during 40 years, he rested in the peace of the Lord on the 8th of January 1879. In token of respect this stone was placed by the Rev. J. B. Gonsalves.

The inscription is in capitals, with the exception of the last line, which is in italics.

149.—Nave; under the organ-loft, on a tablet fixed to the wall, left side.

1879, Nov. 13.—Sacred / to the memory of / Frank de Souza, of Madras, who died in Calcutta / on the 13th day of November 1879, / at the age of 55 years. / His private and public life won the esteem / and respect of all who knew him. He fought / nobly the battle of life with a pious resignation / to the will of the Lord and died a true Christian. / After life's fitful fever he sleeps well. / This tablet is raised by his beloved children.

150.—On a brass tablet on the right side of the altar of Our Lady of Pompeii.

1901, May 3.—In honour of / Our Lady of the Rosary of Valle di Pompei, / and / in memory of / The Very Rev. John William Levaux, / The Prior of the Cathedral of San Thomé, Mylapore, / who first introduced the Devotion to the Beneficent / Virgin into Mylapore in 1894, whence it in a short / time spread all over India and the East, to the great / spiritual and temporal advantage of the faithful. / This Chapel was Acquired and Dedicated by the / grateful clients of the Madonna, on the / 3rd May 1901, the First Anniversary of the / Death of the Aforesaid Worthy Prior. /

Fr. John Levaux: born at Verviers, Febr. 14, 1857; entered the Society of Jesus in Belgium, Sept. 24, 1876; arrived in the Bengal Mission, Nov. 5, 1891; left, Oct. 21, 1893; died at Goeschenen (Switzerland), May 1, 1900.

151.—Nave; at the entrance, beyond the organ-loft, right side.

Remember those who have spoken the word of God to you.
 Heb. XIII. / First Mass celebrated (Corpus Christi Day) on the
 Tomb of / St. Thomas after the arrival of the Portuguese in
 India by the /

Rev. Antonio Gil	..	..	1521
Fr. Bernardo da Cruz	..	..	1540
Rev. Gaspar Coelho	..	..	1545
Rev. Sebastião Gonsalves	..	..	1558
Rev. Estevão Brito	..	..	1630
Rev. Antonio da Costa	..	..	1641
Fr. João Baptista	..	..	1650
Fr. Antonio de Sousa	..	..	1683
Rev. Gonçalo Lopes	..	..	1695
Rev. Paulo de Sá	..	..	1709
Rev. Pascoal Pinheiro da Costa	..	..	1716
Fr. Antonio das Chagas	..	..	1719
Fr. Eugenio Trigueiro	..	..	1723
Fr. Theodoro de Sta Maria	..	..	1750
Rev. Lucas da Costa Cravo	..	..	1753
Fr. Luiz de Sta Anna	..	..	1772
Fr. Thomas de Noronha	..	..	1798
Rev. F. C. do Rosario	..	..	1802
Fr. Antonio de S. Jose	..	..	1811
Rev. S. V. Costa	..	..	1817
Rev. L. J. Dias	..	..	1823
Rev. M. F. Lobo	..	..	1834
Rev. D. J. A. Pereira	..	..	1853
Rev. J. C. Fernandes	..	..	1865
Rev. D. J. D' Almeida	..	..	1867
Rev. J. B. Gonsalves	..	..	1876
Rev. B. E. Falleiro	..	..	1884
Rev. P. J. Baptista	..	..	1887
Rev. Jeronymo de Sousa	..	..	1890
Rev. J. Nunes	..	..	1896
Rev. J. W. Levaux	..	..	1898
Rev. J. Brito Aranjo	..	..	1900
Rev. J. J. Pinto	..	..	1907

C. V. & Sons, Sc.
 21-12-1911.

Where was this list of Vicars obtained from? It does not follow C. C. de Nazareth's *Mitras Lusitanas*. At the Priory I saw some old Church registers, but beginning only in the 18th century. These may have helped partly to draw up the list, which, however, is only tentative, and incomplete.

152.—Nave; at the entrance, beyond the organ-loft, left side.

Episcopi Ecclesiæ Meliaporensis.

Fr. Sebastianus de S. Pedro, Aug.	..	1606-1614
F. Ludovicus de Brito e Menezes, Aug.	..	1615-1628
Fr. Ludovicus Paulo da Estrella, O. M.	..	1634-1637
D. Gaspar Alfonso Alvares, S. J.	..	1691-1708
D. Franciscus Laynes, S. J.	..	1708-1715
D. Emmanuel Sanches Colão	..	1717-1723
D. Joseph Pinheiro, S. J.	..	1724-1744
Fr. Antonius ab Incarnatione, Aug.	..	1745-1752
Fr. Theodorus de Santa Maria, Aug.	..	1752-1755
Fr. Bernardus de S. Caetano, Aug.	..	1755-1780
Fr. Antonius ab Assumptione, Aug.	..	1782-1784
Fr. Emmanuel de Jesus Maria Jose, Aug.	..	1788-1800
Fr. Joachim de Menezes e Athaide, Aug.	..	1805-1811
Fr. Stephanus de Jesus Maria, O. M.	..	1826-1828
D. Henricus Joseph Reed da Silva	..	1886-1897
D. Antonius Joseph de Sousa Barroso	..	1897-1899
D. Theotonius E. Ribeiro V ^a de Castro	..	1899-19

C. V. Sons. Sc

Points of interest.

153.—The Cathedral sacristy possesses still some of the relics found in St. Thomas' reputed tomb. They are contained in a reliquary in the form of a monstrance, and are shown to visitors. The reliquary contains also a few other relics. We give here a copy of the Portuguese inscriptions written above the relics and indicate their position in the reliquary.

Front of Reliquary.

1. Reliquia de S./ Isabel— Rainha/ de Portugal./	2. Lança com que foi/ morto S. Thomé.	3. Reliquia de S. Francisco Xavier.
4. Lança com q' foi/ morto S. Thomé./	5. Lança com q' foi morto/ S. Thomé./	6. Reliquia/ dos/ossos de/ S. Thomé./
7. Reliquias dos/ Martyres de/ Marrocos.	8. ?	9. Fragmento/ do [sic?]/Lança com que/ foi morto S. Thomé.

Reverse of Reliquary.

Reliquia de/

S. Francisco

Xa/vier.

(Casula).

Reliquia da

Arvore de/

N. Senhora

no Cairo./

(Nil

3. Reliquia/ de

Sta Vincen cia.

Martyr./

(*Translation*): Front of Reliquary: 1. Relic of St. Isabella, Queen of Portugal; 2. Lance with which St. Thomas was killed; 3. Relic of St. Francis Xavier; 4. Lance with which St. Thomas was killed; 5. Lance with which St. Thomas was killed; 6. Relic of the bones of St. Thomas; 7. Relic of the Martyrs of Morocco; 9. Fragment of the lance with which St. Thomas was killed.—At No. 8 there is a relic; but, as there is no inscription on the obverse or reverse, we cannot say what relic it is.

Reverse of Reliquary: 1. Relic of St. Francis Xavier (Chasuble); 2. Relic of Our Lady's tree at Cairo; 3. Relic of St. Vincentia, Martyr.

On the relics of St. Thomas cf. Nos. 13, 56, 58.

154.—Nave; under the organ-loft, a painting of Pope Paul V., who erected the Diocese of Mylapore in 1606. Unveiled on January 9, 1906, on the occasion of the Tricentenary of the Diocese of 'San Thomé de Meliapor.'

155.—On the lower belfry loft, two bells, of which the bigger has no inscription.

The smaller one bears, on the left curve of its iron support:

The Goulds Co.

On the right curve of the support, we read what looks like:

Senboa Falls Ny.

On the rim of the bell: 24.

Both bells are badly rusted.

156.—On the upper belfry loft, a big bell with the following inscription: Gloria in excelsis Deo./ (Beneath, in relief, cast in the metal, pictures of St. Joseph and of the Immaculate Conception; lower, near the rim):

Eugène		A
Baudouin	[Picture of the	Marseille
Fondeur	S. Heart of Jesus]	1896

157.—The Cathedral has a beautiful large painting representing the 'taking down from the Cross,' which was executed for Sir John de Monte (+ May 6, 1821), and was brought from the Church at Covelong. It hangs high up, near the crypt of St. Thomas.

158.—*The crypt of St. Thomas' tomb.*

Above the tomb of St. Thomas, there are two granite stones covering the tomb lengthwise, but leaving between them an opening, through which one can creep into the tomb. And pilgrims do at times creep into it, to get at the earth in the tomb and carry away some, according to immemorial practice. But the particular practice in question is modern. In ancient times, the tomb was closed, buried many feet underground, and so sacred was even the dome-covered chapel that about A.D. 1600 the Bishop of Cochin, visiting Mylapore, ordained that only once a year was Mass to be said on the altar within it, that the server was to answer the prayers from outside, and that the priest in charge had himself to sweep the chapel. A brass balustrade erected above the opening would prevent all inconsiderate devotion, as also the uglier practice of scooping out fragments of the brickwork within the tomb. The bricks on the east side of the tomb are a palpable proof of its antiquity: bricks about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long and only 6 inches thick. Mr. A. H. Longhurst, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, told me, when he came to inspect the place in 1921, that they were the kind of bricks to be found in the Buddhist stupas. A benefactor is wanted who will provide the brass fittings needed, and extend the electrical wiring, so that the interior of the tomb may be lit up, whenever desired.

Interviewed on January 25, 1923, Mr. C. Lawrence, Assistant Engineer, P.W.D. (Retired), stated that between 1904 and 1905 he had supervised the digging of the crypt of St. Thomas' tomb.¹ Before that, there was to the North, South, and West of the tomb an hexagonal fosse, extending some 3 ft. North, South, and West in front of the tomb. He dug in front of the tomb to make the steps now going down to the altar in the crypt. Much brick was dug out, during this work, to the North, South, and West, but little on the East side. Very little granite was found, and he could not now identify any particular granite stone then taken out. The brickwork on the West side within

¹ *The Catholic Register*, S. Thomé de Mylapore, Aug. 8, 1924, says, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the consecration of the present Bishop, that this work was done in 1903.

the tomb was made then; to the South, North, and West there was brickwork all round, on three sides. The East wall of the crypt was built on old brickwork behind the tomb. The granite stone across the tomb on the East side was put up by him. It would follow from this declaration that the original brickwork of the tomb is clearly intact on the East side, *i.e.*, the side towards the main altar. The other sides appear to have been interfered with, not only in 1904-05, and perhaps too in 1893-96, but also in 1521-23, when the Portuguese dug into the tomb to strengthen the foundations of a tower, the foot of which was contiguous with, or even encroaching on, the tomb.

When the crypt had been thus enlarged, a marble altar from Italy was set up in it and the floor and the walls were lined with Italian marble.

"Attached to the Roman Catholic Cathedral is a little chapel, in the floor of which a trap-door gives access to what is popularly regarded as the grave of St. Thomas. From this dark underground chamber many a handful of dust is, as in the days of Marco Polo, carried off by the faithful to cure diseases. Over the altar is a quaint old *scrinium* with a cruciform reliquary, made of brass, and adorned with precious stones, in which are deposited some of the ashes and bones of the apostle, together with fragments of the spear by which he won the crown of martyrdom." Cf. George Milne Rac, *The Syrian Church in India*, W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1892, pp. 16-17.

"There is a small interior chapel with a trap-door, under which are the stones with the aperture below, in which the body is said to have rested." Cf. R. Sewell, *Archæological Survey of India. List of the Antiquarian Remains of S. India*, Madras, Vol. I (1882), p. 176.

159.—*Recollections of old Residents.*

J. B. Edmunds, a shoemaker, born at Mylapore, Nov. 30, 1834, and always a resident there, stated before me on Jan. 24, 1923, that, from the age of 8, he had always known the sundial near where the S. Thomé Post-Office now is, *i.e.*, at the crossing of the S. Thomé High Road and Rosary Church Street. The low-relief statue of St. Thomas and Kándāpa Rāja stood in the Cathedral grounds on its pedestal. When the foundations for the new Cathedral were dug, the tomb was found of Father Luis, whose body, translated from the Descanço Church to the old Cathedral, had been buried in front of St. Thomas' tomb, on the South side, without the Church. Mgr. Reed da Silva wished to be buried at the same place, in case he died at Mylapore. He (the witness) did not remember that any other priest or layman was buried at the same place.

The old Church was of laterite. The granite stones, lying about the Cathedral in 1923, in particular the stone with the two medallions of a Persian King and of a Persian Prince, he

he did not remember ever to have noticed before. At the Southern portico, in the front line, were the two pillars now at the entrance to the Bishop's garden. On the North side there was another portico, and in the front line stood the two 'pillars' with the winged angel-heads.¹ One of these 'pillars' was broken when the North portico was taken down, and the iron pegs were then put into the fragments by the contractor. The public road passed in front of the Church; later, the ground of the Church was enlarged by shifting the road to the West.

The same day, M. Maria Sousai, Proprietor of the firm Motha Vaz & Co., Contractors, stated that, when the old Church was pulled down in 1893, it was about 2 ft. below the surface of the road, so that one went 'down' into the Church. Near the angel 'pillars' of the North portico stood the stone with the figures of St. Thomas and Kándāpa Rāja. The elderly people were buried on the North side of the Church, up to the new wall put up in 1922, which separates the Cathedral grounds from the cocoanut garden, but there were no inscriptions there. The children were buried between the new wall above-mentioned and the second line of cocoanut trees. People of the better class were sometimes buried in the Church, but he remembered only one Mr. Thomas Brass, Manager of the office of the Administrator-General, Madras, who was buried within the Church. There was an inscription over his tomb, on the ground.² As for the many granite stones lying in the cocoanut garden along the S. Thomé High Road (we removed the better ones to the Bishop's Museum in 1923), he was positive that they did not form part of the old Church, which should mean that they were dug up from near the old Church in 1893-96. The ground of the old Church was on a level with the ground of the cocoanut garden. In olden times, on St. Anthony's feast and in Lent, a procession would go from the North portico, turn all round the cocoanut garden and come back to the North portico.

160.—*Religious customs.*

In January and February 1921, I saw at the Cathedral, generally at their prayers before the crypt of St. Thomas, 2 or 3 pilgrims from Malabar. They were dressed in saffron garb and wore a rosary round their neck.

On January 17, 1923, as I was kneeling before the crypt of St. Thomas' tomb, during my thanksgiving after Mass, I noticed that a small Tamil boy, whose mother had just received Holy

¹ This part of the old man's deposition is greatly suspect: the 'pillars' are 'pilasters,' which probably stood, not in the front line of a portico, but at the back, embedded in the wall of the nave. He did not remember any church gate facing the S. Thomé High Road, i.e., on the present façade side of the Church!

² If it existed, this inscription has disappeared. The name is not found in any of the inscriptions of the new Cathedral.

Communion and was daily kneeling near the railing of the crypt, went to one of the lamps burning at the railing, dipped into the oil the tip of his finger, next touched himself with it in the centre of the forehead, and then went to do the same to his mother, who went on with her prayers in her prayer-book, as if nothing were the matter. My mind flew back eight centuries, to the curious days of the Indian Patriarch of St. Thomas who went to Rome about A.D. 1122; yet, doubtless, what I had witnessed was just a common practice all over Southern India among our Christians, but a practice connecting them somehow with the St. Thomas Christians of old Coromandel and Malabar. A little later, a sacristan came up with a tiny cup, took some of the oil in the burning lamps, and carried it off to the sacristy, evidently for some person or other who had asked for it. Greatly interested, I counted the lamps at the brass railing (four of them, with brackets for another four), and I noted the occurrence in my diary.

161.—*Oldest Cathedral Registers.*

The oldest Baptism Register of the Cathedral runs from October 7, 1753, to October 10, 1843. Originally it had 271 *meyas folhas*, excluding the one containing the order of rubricating or numbering the pages, and the one recording the fulfilment of the order. It had 236 leaves in January-February 1921. On June 7, 1833, Padre Zeferino Dias wrote: “Feitas as contas, como cada dia faltarão paginas deste livro, tem esta nota. Hoje 7 de Junho de 1833.”

In the oldest Marriage Register the order for ‘rubricating’ is dated May 22, 1772; this order, not complied with before, is repeated on October 8, 1787; the book was ‘rubricated’ by October 10, 1787, when it had 213 *meyas folhas*, excluding the leaf of the order and the leaf recording the fulfilment of the order. In January-February 1921, it had at least 211 leaves, but was stopped at fol. 153r, as the paper was bad. Some of the leaves are bound up out of order. The last date recorded is May 23, 1888.

5. *On the S. Thomé High Road, S. Thomé.*

At the Boys’ Orphanage (162).

162.—In front of the Cathedral, at the Boys’ Orphanage attached to St. Bede’s High School, in the staircase of a detached building near the wall facing the S. Thomé High Road, a stone with a small rude cross engraved on it. The building was to be broken down.

At Mr. Dhanakōṭi Rāju’s, Victoria Works, S. Thomé High Road, (163-164).

163.—On a stone built into the basement of the house, an inscription, fragmentary. No. 222 of 1923 of the Epigraphical Department, Madras.

(l. 1) *kkakkāḍavargal-āgavum kula-kshayamāga pōga* . .

(Translation): . . shall be liable let there be extinction of the race.

Photographs of this inscription could not be sent, as the stone is inconveniently built into a private residence with the written surface upwards.

Points of Interest in the same house.

164.—On the edge of the verandah, South side, a stone with a swan, and another with a fabulous sea-horse (?). In the garden, two beautiful slender pillars with Indian deities, of which, if I mistake not, photographs were taken by the Archæological Department during our excavations at the Cathedral (Jan.-Feb. 1923). These stones, as also the 3 inscriptions in Indian scripts at the same place, were found during borings, 8 or 10 ft. below the surface, at the present Deaf and Dumb School in the same street.

South of the garden of Bishop's House (165-170).

165.—At No. $\frac{7}{383}$, contiguous with Bishop's House, a stone with some carving.

166.—At the corner of the S. Thomé High Road and Sullivan Street, two carved stones of little interest.

167.—At No. $\frac{7}{380-81}$, a big stone in the coach-house, which it might be worth digging out.

168.—At No. $\frac{6}{333-34}$, a big stone near the coach-house, partly buried: no interest; another near the S.-E. well, not interesting.

169.—At No. $\frac{6}{332}$, a stone with carved curves, as in Nos. A50a-A50h of the Bishop's Museum.

170.—At No. $\frac{6}{319}$, the story told by the lady and the servants was that there had been a cemetery all round the house and in the neighbourhood, and that remains of human bodies had been dug up.

At St. Rita's Church.

171.—On the side facing the S. Thomé High Road, above a door now walled up: *Esta Igreja se accabou / novam' se do Vigario / della Fr. Gaspar dos / Reis, natural de S. Thomé / no anno 1740.* (This Church was newly completed in the

year 1740, while Fr. Gaspar dos Reis, a native of S. Thomé, was Vicar.)

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 115, No. 637.

172.—On the same side, below the projection made by the cornice of the lower portion of the façade wall, an Armenian inscription in two lines, of which the translation is: "In memory of the Armenian nation. In the year of the Saviour 1729." J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 115, No. 636: "The history of this inscription had not been traced; it is in memory, not of any individual, but of the Armenian nation, and must mark a fact of more than usual importance." To my reflections *supra*, No. 30, I may add that Armenians, being very patriotic, often show their munificence for the honour of their nation.

173.—On the bell of the Church: T. W.

174.—The painting in the Church, representing St. Rita, was done by F. X. Correa about 1862, who either copied or renovated an older picture.

In 1921, I had the façade of the Church examined by a couple of masons to see whether any Augustinian coat-of-arms could be discovered under the whitewash or plaster. Nothing was found.

The oldest Churches of Mylapore, such as the Luz, the Rosary Church, Madre de Deus, Little Mount, and the Church at St. Thomas Mount, are vaulted; St. Rita's is not.

From the Protestant Cemetery (175–190).

On the East side of the S. Thomé High Road, beyond St. Rita's Church, as one comes from the Cathedral, and within the property adjoining a Protestant Church, called St. Thomas', there are a few tombs, enclosed by a wall, dating from 1843 to 1861.

1.—Dated Inscriptions (175–188).

175.—1843, June 5.—Sacred / to the memory of Ann, / the beloved daughter of / James & Ann Wakefield, / who departed this life June 5th, 1843, / Aged 13 years and 28 days. / Beloved and esteemed by her parents and friends. / She died unfeignedly regretted. / "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but / the word of our God shall stand for ever." / Isaiah. XL.8./

176.—1843, June 6(8?).—To / the memory of / William Horatio, / the only son of / Horatio and Mary Page, / who died on the 6th (8th?) of June / 1843. / Died 8 months and 27 days. / "Of such is the kingdom of God."

177.—1843, Dec. 24.—Sacred / to the memory of / Caroline Louisa, / youngest daughter of / Lieut. G. S. Pecheli. 47th Regt.

N. I. / and Mary Robertson his wife / who died / at San Thome
24th Decr. 1843, / Aged 11 months. / “Memor esto brevis ævi.”

178.—1844, *Febr. 16*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Thomas
Robert, / the beloved son / of / Thomas and Louisa Wilkins, /
who departed this life / on the XVIth February MDCCCXLIV
Aged 1 year 4 months 5 days. /

This lovely bud, so young and fair,
Called hence by early doom,
Just came to show how sweet a flower
In Paradise would bloom.

179.—1844, *Oct. 16*.—In memory of / Lieut. Stamford
Watson, / 4th Light Cavalry, who died at Madras / on the 16th
Oct. 1844. / This tablet is inscribed by / his brother officers. /

180.—1852, *March 25*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Alex-
ander Baine, Esq^{re}, / Barrister-at-Law, / who died at Madras
March 25th, 1852. / Aged 31. / “The Lord watch between me
and thee, / when we are absent one from another.” / This
memorial / was erected by his brother, / Thomas Baine, Esq^{re}, of
Madras. /

181.—1854, *July 20*.—To the memory of / our son, / born
4th May / died 20th July 1854. / John Law sculp. /

182.—1855, *Febr. 26*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Fre-
derick Symonds, / the beloved son of the / Rev^d John Clay,
Missionary S. P. G. P. F. P. / Aged 9 months & 10 days.
“Jesus called a little / child unto Him.” / Matt. XVIII. 2. /

183.—1856, *Oct. 26*.—To the memory of / Samuel Greenway
Lowden Jenkins, / Gentleman, / Solicitor and Attorney / of the
Supreme Court of Judicature, Madras, / who died at Madras
on the 26th day of October 1856 / Aged 43 years. /

184.—1859, *July 3*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Captain
William Montague Johnston, / who died at St. Thome, Madras
on the 3rd July 1859. / Aged 45 years. / This tomb is erected
by his afflicted widow / Isabella Augusta. /

Near it a partly effaced inscription, in which occur the
words: Herbert youngest son [of] / son John
of the / Medical Establishment. /

185.—1860, *Oct. 4*.—Captain Mars Morphett / entered into
his rest / on the 4th October 1860. / Aged 67 years. / “Them
that sleep in Jesus / will God bring with him.” /

186.—1860, *Oct. 22*.—Sacred / to the memory / of / Fran-
cis Edmund Green, / who died on the / 22nd October 1860.
Aged 42 years. /

187.—1861, *Febr. 11*.—To the memory of / Alex^r Flockhart,

Infant son of / James and Agnes Flockhart. / who died on the / 11th February 1861. / Aged 7 days. /

188.—1861, March 13.—Sacred / to the memory of / Emily Esther, / the beloved child of / William and Esther Rose / who departed this life / on the 13th March 1861. / Aged 9 months and 15 days./ “The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.” / Job. I Ch., 21st verse./

Undated Inscriptions (189-190).

189.—	Sacred	[aged ..] years, 2 months[. . . .]
	to the memory	sincerely [regretted]
	of	[by his af] fectionate
	.....erbert....	[b]rothers and.....
	....[y]oungest son....	[This monu]ment is erect[ed]
	....eon John....	[by the decea]sed's broth[er]
	of the	Thomas White....
	[M]edical Establ[ishment]	and
| Who d]eparted th[is life]....		E. D. B. Smith
[on t]he 27th June.....		

This tomb is near that of Capt. William Montague Johnston.

190.—In memory of / William Sydney Wright, / Secretary of the Military Female Orphan Asylum, Madras./ Also four other tombs without inscription.

6. *In Doming Lane, S. Thomé (191).*

191.—At the ‘Blue Wave,’ on the south side of the lane, near the beach, a whitish triangular stone neatly carved, in the wall of one of the rooms, with a Portuguese inscription: LOVVADA SEA A PVRISSIMA CONCEIÇÃO. (Praised be the Most Pure Conception.) The stone has a relief image of Our Lady in the centre. In 1921, the Bishop wished to get possession of it. In 1923, I wrote to the proprietor, but had no answer.

7. *At St. Anthony's Church, Rosary Church Str., S. Thomé (192-194).*

192.—On the left of the church, outside, a monument with two slabs; on the top slab:

1858, Dec. 30.—Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur. Rev. chap. XIV. v. 13./ Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Mary Andrew / who departed this life / on the 30th December 1858 / aged 70 years./ Deeply regretted by her children / and relatives./ This token of sincere affection / is placed over her grave / by her afflicted son / Edward Andrew / in grateful remembrance of / her maternal worth./ Requiescat in pace./

193.—On the side slab:

1852, *Sept. 9*.—Sacred to the memory of / Emma Louisa, who died 9th September 1852 / aged 6 years and 23 days / and / Adeline Rosalind who died 1st July 1858, / aged one year and 27 days. / The dearly loved and deeply lamented daughters of Edward and Clarissa Andrew. / Suffer little children to come unto me, and / forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of Heaven. /

Against the wall of the church, left side, without, there is another monument from which the epitaph seems to have been removed.

194.—Inside the church, left of the main entrance; on a white marble slab set on a black marble background, fixed against the wall.

1876, *June 1*.—Of your charity / pray for the soul of / the Rev. Bernard Sheridan, / born in the parish of Old Castle, Diocese of Meath, Ireland, / who died at St. Thomé, 1st June 1876, / in the 52nd year of his age, / after an edifying and zealous Missionary career / of 25½ years in the Vicariate Apostolic of Madras. / This monument / was erected / by the sorrowing congregation of this Church / in which he officiated for fourteen years. / May he rest in peace. Amen. /

8. *In the Church of the Holy Rosary, Rosary Church Str., S. Thomé (195–200).*

195.—On a tablet against the wall, under the organ-loft.

1841, *July 21*.—Sacred to the memory of / Rosa, / the beloved wife of Mr. John Xavier, / daughter of the late Mr. Anthony Munis, / and grand-daughter of the late / Mr. Victoriano Pereira. / Departed this life / on the 24th July 1841 / aged 31 years 4 months and 14 days, / leaving behind her a disconsolate husband / and three children / to bemoan their / irreparable loss. / Sleep, beloved, in tranquil ease. / Rest from all mortal care, / And in the mansions of peace / Enjoy the bliss thy share. / This tablet is erected by the afflicted husband. / *Thomas D' Sena, Sculptor.* /

196. On a tablet against the wall, right side, under the organ-loft.

1857, *Apr. 12*.—In memory of / John Xavier, / late Civil and Military Tailor / died 12th April 1857 / aged 48, / leaving behind him three sons and three daughters. /

If worth departed draws from thee a tear,
Stop, passenger, and pay thy tribute here
To one who strove each mortal to relieve,
Proud to support, but never to receive.

May heavenly peace be thy eternal boon :
 So wish'd thy kindly heart to every one :
 So pray thy weeping children o'er thy grave.
 Whose love will last till their own race is run.

This tablet is erected by his son Anthony.

My copyist wrote 'doom,' where we have placed 'boon'
 and 'prays' instead of 'pray.'

197.—On a tablet against the wall, left side, under the organ-loft.

1895, Oct. 13.—In memory of Anthony Xavier, / son of John and Roza Xavier who died at Rangoon / on the 13th October 1895 / aged 54 years and 3 months. / R. I. P. /

Gone from us, but not forgotten :
 Never shall thy memory fade.
 Dearest thoughts shall ever linger
 Around the spot where thou art laid.

198.—On a brass tablet, right side.

1870-1917.—James Doyle, / of Killery, Co. Down, Ireland. / who died at Bangalore on the 20th April 1880. aged 64 years : and /

Anne Doyle, his wife, who died at Pallavaram, on the 7th December 1870, aged 45 years. / and of their children. /

Pat. Doyle, C.E., who died at Bombay. on the 27th April 1907, aged 58 years. /

Sister Mary of St. Philip Neri (née Rose Doyle) of the Institute of the Good / Shepherd of Angers, France, who died at Rangoon / on the 13th April 1895, aged 42 years, and of

The Rev. James Doyle, long the / Chaplain to this Convent, who died at / Bangalore on the 6th Sept. 1917, aged 58 years. /

They looked to Mary as their / hope in life, their solace in Purgatory, their joy in heaven / and Our Lady never failed them. / R.I.P. /

199.—On the bigger bell of the Church; JAFFANAPATAM. MDCCLXIX [=1769].

200.—On the smaller bell: 2 lines in Tamil, meaning: Made by Xaverimuttu, son of Arulappa Mistri. / Gloria in excelsis Deo / + S. Domingos Church St. Thomé 1829. /

9. In Rosary Church Str., St. Thomé (201-204).

201.—In the parlour of St. Thomas' Convent, there is a beautiful oil-painting by Mother Octavia, a Hungarian Nun, who in 1923 was at Nazareth Convent, Ootacamund. A similar painting by the same is to be seen at the Convent of the Holy Apostles, St. Thomas Mount. The curl above the head of the Saint represents the tongue of fire which rested on him on the day of Pentecost. The Assumption of Our Lady, in the

same place, is by one of the Nuns. "The Good Shepherd," a crayon-sketch, was done by Mother Emilia, Moratuwa, Ceylon (1923).

In the westernmost well of the Convent there are two crosses, one of which is within a Saracenic niche; the easternmost well has four crosses.

202.—At the house occupied by Mr. Snedell, No. $\frac{6}{311}$, south side of the street, the top of a tombstone with a Portuguese inscription: a rather large stone.

AQVI IA
SNOER
....OEAM
IR

Aqui jaz = Here lies.

I was not satisfied with this deciphering. It had to be done in a hurry. In the garden, I was told, there is near a mangosha-tree, an oblong cement (?) trough, 2 ft. deep, in the ground. It had been filled in. I did not see the exact spot.

203.—At No. $\frac{4}{246}$, on the south side of the street, an enormous stone, smooth on the upper surface, rough below; it was said to have been used as a kneading stone.

204.—At No. 5, north side of the street, on the south side of a mosque, a number of stones, some of them carved.

10. *At the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mylapore*
(205–253).

Outside the Church (205–213).

205.—On the path going up to the Church from the gate near the *cruzeiro* (Tamil: cruzadi), there are three recent Tamil epitaphs over graves; there is also an English inscription near the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes.

206.—In front of the façade of the Church, on the ground, right side.

Under a clergyman's biretta, and two keys crossed, joined by a string (the emblem of a priest's power of absolving from sin):

1715, Aug. (9?).—Sepultura do / Padre Paulo de / Sâ, natural de / Goa. Faleceo aos / 9 [?] de Agosto 1715, / E a q^{ua} isto Ler pede re/se p' elle / hum P^{re} n^o / e Ave M^{aria}.

(*Translation*): Grave of Father Paulo de Sâ, a native of Goa, [who] died on the 9th of August 1715, and of him who may read this he asks that he should say for him an Our Father and Hail Mary.

"In February 1694, Fre Raymundo de Mervais of Mylapore advised Governor Higginson that this Paulo de Sâ had been

appointed Vicar of Cuddalore. The English Governor answered him as follows: 'I acknowledge your civility in giving me notice of your determination, but I admire at your usurpation of an authority which did not belong to your predecessor nor to yourself and successors, *viz.* to appoint Vicars in any place under the English Government. You have made a wrong account, and if you would reckon right, must begin again. In this case I ought to deal plainly with you, that no foreign Episcopal authority can be admitted within the limits of our jurisdiction, and that you are not Governor or Bishop of Cuddalore, no more than of Madras. But as your reverence is Bishop or Governor of Meliapore, I congratulate your accession to that authority, and desire and embrace your friendly and neighbourly correspondence; in pursuance of which I acquaint your reverence that I have determined to permit Padre Gulielmus a Valle, of the order of the Theatines, to reside at Cuddalore in the room of Padre Don John de Clerici deceased. I am your friend and servant, Nathaniel Higginson.' Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 116. No. 640.

207.—In front of the Church, near the main entrance, left side.

1827, May 12.—The Honourable Mrs. L. G. K. Murray Deceased on the 12th May 1827. / Aged 45 years. / Never was there a woman / more sincerely or more justly 'regretted. '

208.—In front of the Church, near the main entrance, left side.

1893, April 27.—Here lieth Joseph Gregory McKertich, of Messrs. Binny & Co.'s for 45 years, / who died on the 27th April 1893. / Age 68 years 11 months, / esteemed and respected / by all who knew him. /

This is placed in affectionate memory / by his bereaved widow / who shared his joys and sorrows / in married life 'for 50 years. / Reader, one Our Father and Hail Mary.

Mackertich is an Armenian name.

209.—In front of the façade of the Church, against the wall, left.

1899, Nov. 28.—In loving memory of / Anthony Joseph Paulie / Barrister-at-Law / who departed this life / on the 28th November 1899. / Aged 61 years 1 month 25 days. '

A light from our home has gone ;

A voice we loved is still ;

A place is vacant in our home,

Which no one else can fill.

Erected by his loving and grateful widow and children.
R.I.P. /

210.—Against the nave of the Church, right side, close to the transept wall, a tablet fixed in the South wall.

Under a cross, with two hands crossed and superposed on the lower portion of a cross (the Franciscan coat of arms).

Fre Pedro da Atougia
Religi^o Observ^{te} de S. Franc^o
Edificou esta Igreja
de
Nossa Senh^{ra} da Luz
em
1516

(*Translation*): Fre [= Friar] Pedro de Atougia, an Observantine Religious of St. Francis, built this Church of Our Lady of Light in 1516.

"An ancient-looking black stone in one of the outer walls, commemorating the building of the Church in 1516 by a Franciscan friar. The tradition goes that when the Portuguese first arrived on this coast, they were uncertain where to establish themselves; but at length saw a light which they regarded as a divine intimation. On settling, they built a Church on the site of the manifestation and called it Luz, that is Light. This stone is the oldest European inscription in India." Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 116, No. 638. See our reflections under Nos. 22, 36. I have not come across any such story in any of the Portuguese accounts of Mylapore, though I find a similar legend in a Hindu account from Mylapore, which, however, would not be earlier than 1640. Cf. P. J. Thoma's *A Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas*, p. 3 (reference given more fully at the end under 'bibliography').

211.—On the bigger bell: 2 lines in Tamil, meaning "work done by Arulappan." On the other side: "Anno Domini, 1806."

212.—On the smaller bell: J. Warner & Sons, London, 1874.

213.—Outside, on the east wall of the sacristy, the only part of the Church which is not vaulted: fixed against the wall.

Below the Franciscan arms:

1830.—Esta Aza / foi edificada Sendo / Commissario Provincial desta Missaõ / e Vigario desta Igreja / de N. S. da Luz / o R. P. Fr. Francisco das Dores / Religiozo Observante / do Convento de S. Francisco / da Cidade de Goa / no / Anno 1830. / (*Follows 1 line in Tamil, giving the name of the sculptor, who does not appear to have been a Christian.*)

(*Translation*): This wing was built in the year 1820, while the Provincial Commissary of this Mission and Vicar of this Church of Our Lady of Light was the Rev. Father Frei Francisco das Dores, an Observantine Religious of the St. Francis Convent in the City of Goa.

Within the Church (214-246).

214.—An epitaph with armorial bearings displaying 5 eagle heads. Below :

1728, May 26.—Lector Christiane, hic / paululum morare, ubi / decus omne mortalium / moratur ; et Sub hoc / marmore Jacere Scias, / Dominam Christinam / Rodriguez, Madrasta / oriundam ; Domini / Ludovici Medeiros Barreto Lusitani uxorem dilectam, quæ / longâ et gravissimâ / Infirmitate exhaus/ta, omnibus invictæ / Patientiæ exemplo dedito, animam Salvatori Suo ad patrem Redeunti, reddidit, Die scilicet XXVI Majj / MDCCXXVIII / ætatis [sic] Suae XXXVIII. / Verumtamen Universa Vanitas / omnis homo vivens.

(Translation) : Christian reader, stop a while here, where all earthly glory ends, and know that beneath this marble lies Dona Christina Rodriguez, born at Madras, the beloved wife of Luis Medeiros Barreto, a Portuguese gentleman. After a long and very painful illness, during which she gave constantly to all an example of patience, she rendered up her soul to her Saviour returning to His Father, on the 26th of May 1728, aged 38 years. Every man on earth is but Vanity.

" In 1796, two members of the Barretto family from Bombay, Louis and Joseph, helped to rebuild the Portuguese Church in Moorgihatta Street, Calcutta. Both brothers lie buried there : Louis, born September 21st, 1745, died September 3rd, 1806, and Joseph, born September 21st, 1745, died September 25, 1824. Their family is one that came very early to Asia. A Manuel Tellez Barretto was Captain on board the fleet which Admiral Lopez Suarez brought to India in 1505. Francis Barretto, nineteenth Governor of Portuguese India, died at Goa in 1558. Antonio Monez Barretto, who died in 1576, was twenty-second Governor. Another of the name was nominated Patriarch of Ethiopia. Mr Luis de Medeiro Barretto of Madras was a prominent merchant and lent Nicholas Morse and the Council of Fort St. George 15,000 pagodas at 8 per cent. interest on the 18th July 1745. His will is still extant, from which we learn that his executors were Francis Carvalho, Father Severini, his wife Antonia Carvalho de Medeiro, and Francis Barnewall, the Madras Civil servant, who married a daughter of Madame Dupleix by her first husband (see No. 95)."
Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 117. No. 641

215.—Armenian inscription under the cross on the altar.
Before 1751.—

(l. 1) ԹԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՈՍԿԱՆ [Ի]

(l. 2) ՈՐԻԻ ՊԵՏՐՈՍԵԱՆԻՍ :

(Translation) : In memory of Petrus, son of Woskan.

On Petrus Uscau, see No. 54 and Mesroby J. Seth's *History of the Armenians in India*, pp. 142-145.

216.—Armenian inscription on a tombstone.
1784, July 22.—

- (l. 1) ԴԱՄԱՐԱՐԱՆԻՈՒ ԱՅՈՍԻԿ ՆՆՁԻ.
(l. 2) ՄԱՐՄԻՆ ՏԻԿՆՈՁ ՆԱԿԱՁԱՆԻ.
(l. 3) ՈՐ Ե ԴՈՒՍՏՐ ՅՈՋԱՆՆԵՐԻ.
(l. 4) ԵՒ ԿՈՂԱԿԻՅ ՂԱՍՏԱՆԵՆՅ ՈՒՋԵԼԻ.
(l. 5) ԵՂԵԼԼ ԱՄԱՅ ՎԱԹՈՒՆ ԱՄԻ.
(l. 6) ՓՈԽԵԱՅ ԱՍՏԵՆ Ի ԿԵԱՆՈ ԵՐԿՆԻ.
(l. 7) Ի ԹՎԻՆ ՀԱՁԱՐ ԵՕԹՆ ՀԱՐԻՐԻ.
(l. 8) ՈՒԹՈՒՆ ԵՒ ՉՈՐՈ ԱՄԻ ՓՐԿՉԻ.
(l. 9) Ի ՅԱՄՈՒԼՆՆ ՅՈՒԼԻՐԻ.
(l. 10) ՔՈՒՆ ԵՐԿՈՒ ԻՐԿՐՐԻԻ :

(Translation): In this tomb sleeps the body of Mrs. NanaJan, who is the daughter of Johanness and the wife of Raphael Qaramean. She died on the 22nd July, in the year 1784 of the Saviour.

She was the mother of Edward Raphael Qaramean, who left a handsome bequest for founding an Armenian College at Venice, which, coupled with the princely bequest of his son-in-law, Samuel Moorat, also of Madras, enabled the Mekhitharist Fathers to open in 1835 the "Raphael-Moorat" College at Venice. See p 8 of "The Society of Mekhithar" by Mesroby J. Seth, *op. cit.* under No. 141. See also No. 122.

217.—

1788, June 30.—Here lie the body of/ Mrs. Frances de Fries/ Mother of John de Fries, senior, Esq^{re}/ who departed this life on the 30th June 1788/ Aged 76 years./ Her life was one scene of unvaried virtue/ and her loss is deservedly regretted by/ her family and friends./

Here lie/ also the bodies of Rose Maria &/ Alexander de Fries, the daughter &/ son of John de Fries, Senior. Esq^{re} &/ Theodora de Fries./

218.—Left side, tombstone on the ground.

1796, Oct. 19.—Sacred/ to the memory of/ John de Fries, Esquire,/ who on the 19th of October 1796 closed a Valuable Life spent in the service of/ Humanity, Piety and Virtue/ at the age of 62 years, 7 months & 6 days./ He was, in every relative situation of Life,/ as the husband of an Affectionate wife, as the

Parent of an Amiable Family, as the Liberal Benefactor of the Poor,/ and/ as a merchant of Integrity and Opulence,/ at once Respectable & Exemplary./ The consolations which such a life imparted/ brightened the Hour of his Death, and/ gave assurance of Eternal Bliss, the/ sure Reward of/ Justice, Faith & Mercy./

Aqui jaz João de Fries. Que/ Faleceo aos 19 de Outubro de 1796/ Depois de ter empregado a sua preciosa Vida/ Em Actos/ De Humanidade, de piedade e Virtude/ Na/ idade de 62 Annos, 7 Mezes, e 6 Dias./ Foi em toda a situação da sua Vida/ Espozo Amante,/ Verdadeiro Pay da sua Amavel Familia;/ Liberal Bemfeitor dos Pobres e/ Exemplar na Virtude da Paciencia./ No Commercio/ Se Conduzio em toda integridade e Opulencia./ Respeito a Vista de todo o Publico em Geral/ Na ultima enfermidade, com todo o sucego, e desengano, entregou a sua Alma/ No seu Creador para ser contado entre/ os Justos./

"John de Fries was one of the three executors of Adrian Fourbeck. He had twelve children, of whom Henry, the eldest, died at Calcutta, November 29th. 1770, aged 15 years. Cf. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 117, No. 643.

219.—On a tablet against the wall, left side of nave.

1811, March 10.—Sacred to the memory of Mary Julie Adelaide de Fries,/ the wife of/ John de Fries, Esquire,/ who departed this life on the 10th of March, 1811,/ after a tedious and painful illness,/ aged 29 years./ Mother of four children, three now living,/ she possessed the best and kindest of hearts;/ sincerity and truth were the leading features of her character;/ she was ever ready to relieve the miserable and distressed,/ and with the purest and most liberal benevolence/ was free from the ostentation of charity./ She died deeply regretted by her husband, children, and numerous connexions./ Her husband who knew her worth consecrated this monument to her virtues,/ and in testimony of his sincere affection /

220.—There is a similar epitaph on the ground, on the left side of the nave, where, in the English portion, we read 'Lady' instead of 'wife'. The inscription continues thus in French :

Consacré à la Memoire de/ Marie Julie Adelaide De Fries/ Epouse de/ John De Fries, Esq^r/ Décédée le 10 Mars 1811, a Douée d' un cœur aussi Sensible que Tendre,/ la Nature épuisée sur Elle Ses plus rares Bienfaits./ Epouse Chérie, Mère Affectionnée, Amie Sincère, Son/ Bonheur était de secourir le Misérable et l'Infortuné. Ni l' Orgueil ni l' Ostentation n' avait aucune part à ses/ Générosités, qui étaient l' effet d' une Ame Compatissante./ Elle mourut après [*sic*] une maladie longue/ et cruelle, Agée seulement de 29 Ans; Pleurée par ses/ Parents & ses Amis, Mère de Quatre Enfants, dont Trois/ restent pour la regretter Toujours. Son Epoux/ inconsolable lui érige ce

monument en mémoire de Ses Vertus et comme une preuve de son entière Affection./

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 117, No. 644. has only a portion of the French part of the inscription.

221.—On the ground, right side.

1812, Febr. 19.—Here lies [*sic*] interred/ near her beloved husband the remains of Theodora de Fries,/ reliet of the late John de Fries, Esqre./ who departed this life/ on the 19th February 1812/ in the 84th year of her age. She closed a valuable life employed in the service/ of humanity, piety and virtue: she enjoyed the extraordinary felicity of having had a husband no less distinguished for his private than his public/ worth. The happy mother of a numerous offspring/ whom she left honoured in prosperity and plenty, she was pious without ostentation, and a friend to the poor and needy. Her sons, as a mark of/ their filial affection and veneration/ for their revered parent, have caused this/ monument to be consecrated in memory/ of her exalted virtues and an/ example for imitation.

Aqui junto a seo amante Espozo/ Jaz o/ cadaver de/ Theodora de Fries./ Viuva do defunto/ João de Fries./ Aqual/ Em 19 de Fevereiro de 1812, de idade 84 Anos, concluiu huma Vida piedoza/ Empregada em o serviço da Humanidade, Piedade e Virtude: tendo logrado a extraordinaria felecidade de achar hum/ Espozo não menos distinguido pelo seu/ privado que Publico merecimento. Feliz/ Mãe de huma numeroza Descendencia, que/ deixou honrada na Prosperidade e/ abundancia. Foi devota, incontaminada/ da superstição. Amiga dos Pobres, e necessitados. Seus Filhos em sinal do/ seo filial amor, e veneração de seus respeitados Pais por hum exemplo digno/ da imitação, tem dedicado este Monumento/ a Memoria das suas Virtudes.

222.—The English portion of this epitaph is repeated on a tablet fixed to the wall.

J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 118, No. 645. gives only a portion of the English text and says: "A fine marble monument by J. Bacon. Junior."

223.—On the ground, right side, nave.

1812, Aug. 31.—Aqui Jaz/ Alexandre Gilberto de Silva/ Filho primogenito / de Eduardo [e] Thereza de Silva / o qual felizmente consumando / 9 mezes e 7 dias de sua Idade / Faleceo aos 31 de Agosto de 1812./ Seus Affectuozos Parentes / puzeraõ este Epitaphio para Memoria / da sua irreparavel perdia./ Porem: oh felicidade, com os Anjos / vive eternamente./

(Translation): Here lies Alexandre Gilberto de Silva, the first-born son of Eduardo and Thereza de Silva, who, having happily completed 9 months and 7 days of life, died on the 31st of August 1812. His loving parents placed this epitaph in

memory of their irreparable loss : but, o happy thought ! he lives for ever with the Angels.

224.—1816, *Febr. 6*.—Here lieth the Body / of Mrs. Charlotte de Fries, who departed this life / on the 6th February 1816, / in the 37th year of her Age. / Her loss is irreparable to her family / and friends for her many amiable qualities / and virtuous conduct as a Wife, Mother, / and Friend, which was truly exemplary. / Her beneficence to the Poor and Needy / was liberal in bestowing her donation on objects of real distress, which / she did from a consciousness of doing what was right, and the assemblage of / her other numerous endearing qualities / render her loss to be most deeply regretted by her lamented Husband, Children and Relatives. / A Life spent in the discharge of pious / and beneficent acts is meritorious / of a just reward to eternal bliss from the hands of our Redeemer. / This Tombstone is placed by / Lewis de Fries, Esq., / as a mark of esteem and respect to the memory of his beloved wife, / for her many / virtues and amiable qualities which will ever be the source of / deep regret to him / and to all her relatives.

Here also are interred Lewis and Eliza de Fries infant son and daughter / of Charlotte and Lewis de Fries.

L. d' Sena.

225.—1816, *March 16*.—Here Repose the Remains / of Ann Louise Abeille Gordon, / Relict of the Late William Gordon, Esq., / Surgeon on this Establishment, / who died on the 16th March 1816, in her / 60th year. /

This excellent and venerated Lady's moral, character, cheerful piety, universal benevolence, / charm, steady and disinterested friendship, will / ever endear her memory to her disconsolate / Family, to her sorrowing friends, and to her numerous acquaintances.

226.—On a tablet against the wall, left side of nave.

1817, *Jan. 9*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Theodora Virginia / wife of J. de Urilla / and Daughter of / J. de Fries, Esqr., / who departed this life on the 9th of January 1817, / aged 17 years & 25 days. This monument is erected by her disconsolate Husband, as a tribute of respect due to departed worth. /

227.—1817, *Jan. 9*.—Here reposeth the remains / of one of the most amiable and best of women, / Theodora Virginia de Urilla, / who died in childbed, / on the 9th of January, 1817, / aged seventeen years & twenty-five days / and for two years and nine months / the wife of a happy husband. /

To the softer and engaging qualities of her own / sex she united the higher virtues, which dignified / the other perfections, without exceeding the gentle / excellence of female character :

affectionate without / weakness; generous without extravagance; gay / without levity; her smile was the beam of benevolence, her heart the seat of sympathy, and the / uniform complaisance of her temper illuminated / her countenance with a blended ray of sensibility and virtue.—To her husband dutiful and affectionate;—her pious care, her beneficent zeal distinguished and endeared the faithful wife, the kind / friend, and her human and moral virtues, exalted / by religion, recommended a Christian to her God. /

The sweet companion, and the friend sincere

Need no sepulchral help to force their tear.

'T will flow whilst gentle goodness has a friend.

Or kindred tempers have a tear to lend.

228.—On the left side.

1817, *March 10*; 1812, *Aug. 31*.—Aqui jaz / Delphina Raulim / Esposa de Guilherme Raulim / Filha de / Francisco, e de Hipolita de Silva / que faleceu aos 10 de Março de 1817 tendo de Idade 23 Annos e 8 Dias. / Vos, meo Deos, ouvistes a minha oração / vos destes huma herança aos que temem o vosso Nome. Ps. 60, v. 5. / Pesso aos que lerem este Epitaphio de rezar / hum Padre Nosso e huma Ave Maria /

Aqui tambem foy Sepultado / Alexandre Guilberto, / Filho primogenito / de / Eduardo e de Teresa de Silva / o qual faleceu aos 31 de Agosto 1812 / de Idade de 9 Meses e 7 Dias. /

(*Translation*) : Here lies Delphina Raulim, wife of Guilherme [= William] Raulim, and daughter of Francisco and Hipolita de Silva, who died on the 10th of March 1817, aged 23 years and 8 days. Thou, O my God, hast heard my prayer. Thou hast given an inheritance to them that fear Thy name. Ps. 60, v. 5 [Read : 6]. I ask of those who may read this epitaph to say an Our Father and a Hail Mary.

Here also was buried Alexandre Guilberto, the first-born son of Eduardo and Teresa de Silva, who died on the 31st of August 1812, aged 9 months and 7 days.

229.—On the ground, on the Gospel side.

1820, *Dec. 2*.—Hic jacent / the mortal remains / of / Francisco De Silva / who departed this life on 2nd December 1820, / aged 56 years, 8 months & 20 days. / In life he was distinguished for a meek and / charitable disposition, for his tenderness as a husband, his affection as a parent, and / his probity and sincerity as a friend. / To commemorate then his virtues and as / the last tribute of her affection, his afflicted widow / has caused this stone to be thus inscribed. /

Aqui jazem / os mortaes restos / de / Francisco De Silva que faleceu aos 2 de Dezembro de 1820 / da Idade de 56 Annos, 8 Mezes & 20 Dias. / Elle se distinguio na vida por hum manso / a benevolo genio, pela ternura de hum amante / Esposo. pela affeição de hum benigno Parente; e pela probidade. e

sinceridade de hum fiel Amigo. / Por commemorar estas suas Virtudes, e como ultimo tributo da afeiçaõ, sua / afflicta Viuva mandou insculpir esta memoria. / Peço por caridade de rezar hum Padre Nosso, e Ave Maria. /

230.—Tablet on the wall, nave, right side.

1824, Jan. 1; 1824, Sept. 20.—In the tomb / to which have been consigned / the remains of Theodora de Fries / are also interred / Theodora Jane de Fries, her grand-daughter / and Thomas de Fries, Esqr., her son: / the former, born 12th November 1803, died 1st January 1824; / the latter died 20th September 1824, aged 58 years. / To their united memory is dedicated / this farewell tribute of esteem and respect / by a disconsolate sister and daughter. /

231.—Within the Church, nave, right side.

1824, May 8; 1827, July 12; 1835, Dec. 2,—Sacred to the memory of / Pascal de Fries, Esqre., / second son of / Adrian de Fries, Esqre., / who was cut off in the prime of life / on the 8th day of May 1824, / aged 25 years 7 months and 18 days. / to the sincere regret of his worthy aged father, relatives and friends. / He possessed a warm and affectionate heart, and excess of that virtue which covers / a multitude of sins. /

Also to the memory of / Adrian de Fries, Esqre., / senior member of the firm of Adrian de Fries and Co., / who departed this life at Pondicherry / on the 12th day of July 1827, / aged 69 years one month and eight days. / The relicks of this highly revered parent / were removed from Pondicherry / and reinterred here / on the 22nd day of June 1829 / in conformity to his dying request / made to his bereaved children. / He was a kind and affectionate parent, / a warm-hearted friend, / and his hand ever open to relieve the wants / of his destitute fellow-creatures. /

Here lie also interred the remains of Mrs. Rose Cecile de Fries, / the beloved wife of Lewis de Fries, / son of the late Adrian de Fries, Esqre., / who died in child-birth / on the 2nd day of December 1835 / at the early age of 18 years 3 months & 19 days, / deeply and sincerely regretted by her / afflicted husband, an aged mother / and numerous connections / to whom her virtuous qualities / and the gentleness of her manners / particularly endeared her. / Jesus said unto her, "I am the Resurrection and the life. He that believeth in Me, though / he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall / never die"—St. John, Chap. xi. v. 25-26. /

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 118, No. 647) gives a portion of the part concerning Adrian de Fries only.

232.—On the ground, right side of nave.

182 [4?], June 16.—7 lines of Armenian; next:

Sacred / to the M[emory] of / Anne M. Sus[anna Ale]x-
ander, / born 7th Decr. 1820, died 16th June 182[4?].

This stone is inscribed with affection and grief by her disconsolate Father.

233.—1824, Oct. 7.—Sacred to the memory of / George Augustus Rutter, / the son of William Rutter, Esq^{re}., / who departed this life / on the 7th of October 1824 / at the age of 15 years 6 months / and 13 days. / To the great grief of his parents, / relatives and friends, to whom his / mild and truly amiable disposition / had inexpressibly endeared him. /

234.—1824, Nov. 1.—To the memory / of / Frances Maria Angelo / born 9th April 1824, / died 4th November 1824. The lovely infant daughter of / Anthony Edward Angelo, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service / and / Mary Theodora, / his wife.

235.—The above portion of the epitaph is repeated on a tablet fixed against the wall, where we read still :

This last mournful tribute of affection / is offered / by parents, on whose hearts her image is deeply graven, / in humble resignation to the decree / of an omniscient Judge / at whose awful bar her Angel innocence / will plead for their infirmities, / and in confiding recollection / of those emphatic words of the [— — — — ?] Jesus : / " Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto Me : for of such is the kingdom ' of Heaven." Matthew, Chap. xix, ver. xiv.

" A. E. Angelo was a writer in 1815 and served as Judge till 1843, when he resigned the service. He died July 28th, 1855. He married firstly the only daughter of Lewis de Fries. She died at Bellary, May 9th, 1834, and he married a second time Miss Eliza Law Frazer, March 9th, 1836. Angelo was a grandson of the famous fencing master Domenico Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo (1716–1802), whose eldest son Henry Angelo (1760–1839) had also a son named Henry (1780–1852), who was fencing master at Haileybury from 1806 to 1816."

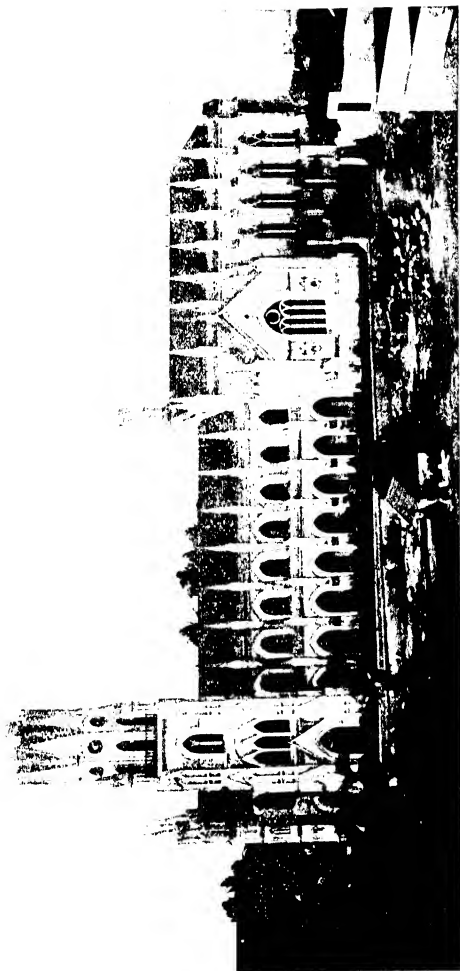
J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 118, No. 647.

236.—Near the Communion rails, along the wall.

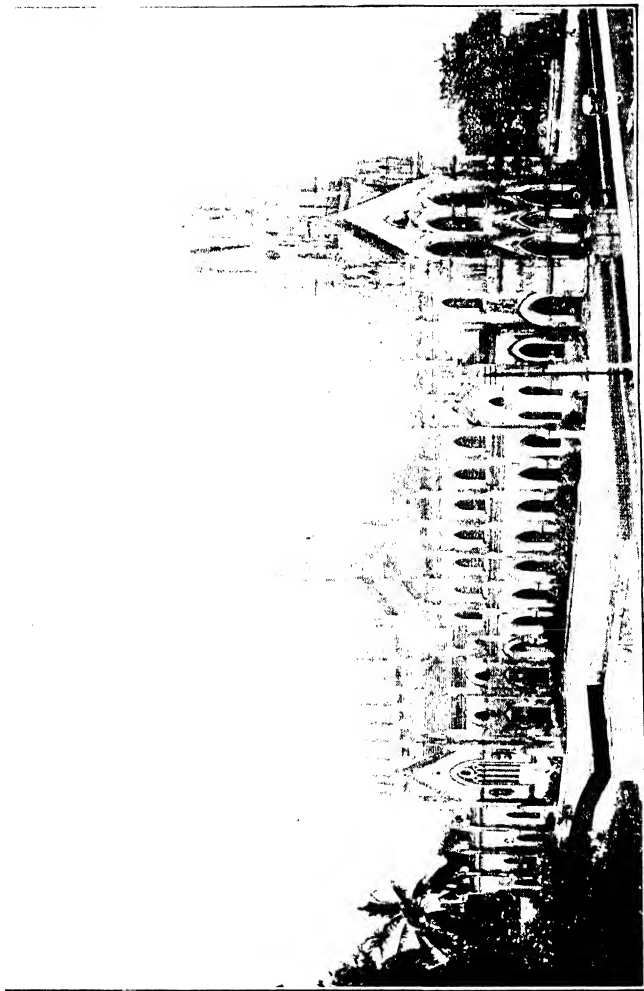
1825, June 27.—Sacred / to the memory of Mrs. Hippolita D'Silva, / relict of the late Francis D'Silva / who departed this life / on the 27th June 1825, / aged 53 years and 9 months. Her pious and moral principles as an affectionate wife, / tender mother, and a sincere friend, will be fondly / cherished by her children, and be a model of virtue for / their guidance to future happiness.

Entomb'd with her dearest spouse, here she lies :
To reap eternal life, to God she flies,
By death from her children untimely torn.
These tears be hers, while yet for her we mourn.

This tribute of affection is inscribed by her sons, / W. Martin, Sculpt.



San Thomé.—The St. Thomas' Cathedral. (South view.) The main entrance faces West.



S. Thorné.—The St. Thomas' Cathedral (Northern view). The main entrance faces West.

237.—On a white marble tablet against a black marble background, inserted in the wall of the sacristy.

1828, *Apr. 6*.—Sacrum / Pio Memoro / Perillustissimi et Religiosissime Viri Reverende Patris Fr. Clementis a Spiritu Sancto / Commissarii Ordinis S. Francisci Observantio Et Vicarii Ecclesie B. M. V. de Luce. Qui, postquam omnia sua sacra munera cum ardentissimo Zelo Implevisset, post exemplum sui Divini Magistri doctrinam Procepta et Spiritum Evangelii Suas oves docendo Atque illas ad concordiam et Christianam Charitatem Exhortando Vita functus Est die 6^a Aprilis, anni vero / 1828 / Otatis suo 58. Hoc marmor A suis Piiis amicis et Paroecianis Erectum est. R. I. P. John D' Sena, Sculp.

(*Translation*):—Sacred to the pious memory of the Very Illustrious and Very Religious Father, the Reverend Franciscan of the Holy Ghost, Commissary of the Order of Franciscan Observantines, and Vicar of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Light, who, after fulfilling with most ardent zeal all the duties of his sacred office, teaching his flock, in imitation of his Divine Master's example, the doctrine, precepts and spirit of the Gospel and exhorting them to union and Christian charity, died on the 6th of April 1828, in the 58th year of his age. This marble tablet was erected by his devoted friends and parishioners. R. I. P.

We print in italics the large number of mistakes of this epitaph.

238.—Tablet on the wall, right side.

1836, *Aug. 11*.—To the memory of Mrs. Hosanna Arathoon. Relict of the Late C. Arathoon, Esq^{re}. Died 11th August 1836. Aged 70 years. All the qualities of the wise woman of the Scriptures were exemplified in her through a long life crowned with honour, dignity, and virtue. / This tablet is inscribed / by filial affection. Requiescat in pace. T. Denman, 83, Quadrant. Regent St., London.

239.—In front of the altar in the sacristy.

1847, *June 16*.—Hic jacet Fr. Franciscus a Doloribus ex familia Franciscana Observantium in Missionibus Coromandelensibus / ejusdem ordinis Commis/sarius Generalis / et hujus ecclesie Vicarius. in Goa / nobili genere natus / Anno Domini MDCCXCIII die tertia Decembris / in hac diocesi duos Missionis / labores sustineus et languores morbi diu patiens / obiit Anno Domini MDCCCXLVII die XVI Junii. / J. C. Fitzgerald, Sc^r.

(*Translation*):—Here lies Father Francis of Dolours, of the Order of Observantine Franciscans, Commissary General of the same Order in the Coromandel Missions, and Vicar of this Church. Born at Goa of a noble family, on the 3rd of December 1793, A.D., he bore the hard toils of a missionary life in this diocese, and, after a long illness patiently borne, died on the 16th of June 1847.

240.—On the ground, right side, nave.

1849, Aug. 14.—Sacred to the memory / of Josephine Jessie the beloved child of / John & Margaret Arathoon born 11th February 1843. died 14th August 1849. *Ostheider Sc.*

Arathoon is an Armenian name. Mr. Mesroby J. Seth writes to me that the Arathoons were related to the Moorats and Qarameans of Madras.

241.—1861, Nov. 10.—The blessing of Him that was ready to perish came upon me. Job. 29. 13.

I.H.S. Sacred to the memory of Agnes Jane Mathewson, / the beloved sister of Mrs. Luisa D' Castellás, who departed this life on the 10th November 1861, aged 60 years. / She died deeply regretted / by her numerous connexions. Her sister, who knew her worth, has caused this monument to be erected in memory of her many virtues, as also of sincere and deep affection. Requiescat in pace.

242.—An Armenian inscription of 15 lines, on the ground, nave of the Church, white marble.

243.—Armenian inscriptions under the paintings of Apostles in the Church.

ՍՈՒՐԲ ՊԵՏՐՈՍ ԼԵՒԼՔԵԼԼ.

ՄԲ ՓԻԼԻՊՊՈՍ

ՄԲ ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ

ՄԲ ՅԱԿՈԲՈՍ

ՄԲ ՄԱՏԹԵՈՍ ԼԵՒԼՔԵԼԼ.

ՄԲ ՅԱԿՈԲՈՍ ԼԼՓԵԼՆ

ՄԲ ՊՕՂՕՍ

ՄԲ ՄԱՏԹԵՈՍ.

(Translation):—

1. St. Peter the Apostle.
2. St. Philip.
3. St. John.
4. St. James.
5. St. Matthew the Apostle
6. St. James of Alpheus.
7. St. Paul.
8. St. Matthew.

244.—The stone on the threshold of the South gate of the nave has a date: AN. 1677, the two 7's being separated

by a dip in the stone. This is the oldest date *within* the Church.

245.—The two beams with which the gate of the façade of the Church is barred bear the date 1824.

246.—On the façade of the Church, a slate slab with the four Hebrew letters for 'Jehovah' or 'Jahve.' This was put up by Fr. Lazarus Soma, in 1921 or 1922, to replace similar characters in stucco work which were there before.

Points of interest (247–248).

247.—When the pavement of the Church was lately renovated, the tombstones were shifted, so as not to interfere with the designs of the flooring. It is, therefore, impossible now to say whether they are actually above the tombs. The same is true also for the tombstones in the S. Thomé Cathedral.

The jambs, lintels, and arches of the façade gate and of the South gate are of granite; but Indian workmen have the fatal mania of white-washing whatever they come across, even white marble.

The central portion of the Church, *i.e.*, the nave and the sanctuary, is vaulted, the left part of the transept, terraced; the right part of the transept, or the sacristy, is roofed with tiles.

248.—*Church Registers.*

At the Luz Church, I found on Jan. 31, 1921, the following registers: Baptisms (Jan. 1, 1808—March 13, 1827; March 18, 1827—Apr. 19, 1880; June 6, 1880—Sept. 19, 1888; Aug. 20, 1888—March 7, 1916; Jan. 19, 1916, up to date); Marriages (Feb. 13, 1808—Jan. 30, 1837); Burials (Jan. 30, 1808—Dec. 3, 1844; Jan. 12, 1845—April 24, 1888; March 6, 1899, up to date).

Among the burial registers I found one giving a list of the 'covas' or tombs in the Church, and of the places where people were buried; it went back to the beginning of the 19th century.

In the Luz Church Cemetery (249–253).

249.—1822, Nov. 21.—To the memory of / Adelaide, / daughter of / Daniel and Isabella Gomes, / born 24th November 1822, / died 19th September 1824. /

250.—1912, Jan. 25.—In / loving memory of / Sampurna, / wife of / Edwards, who died on the / 25th Jany. 1912, / aged 42. / R. I. P. /

251.—1912, July 21.—Requiescat / in / pace. / Of your charity / pray for the soul of / S. D. Arokiasawmy Pillai / son of the late / S. Doraisamy Pillai, / (Confectioner) / died 21st July

1912, aged 20 years./ "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

252.—1912, Oct. 10.—In / loving memory of A.(J?). Manuel Pillai who departed this life ' on the 10th October 1912. / aged 80 years and 9 months. Erected by his loving and grateful widow and children. R.I.P.

253.—The *cruzeiro* (Tamil: *cruzadi*) in the centre of the cemetery has a stone with the Five Wounds neatly engraved.

11. *Near the Church of Madre de Deos (254-259).*

In Muthugrammani Street (254-257).

254.—At House No. 4: a stone with the beginning of 5 lines in Portuguese: a fragment of tombstone.

255.—At the Pilliyar Covil; in the drain: a stone bracket with designs on both sides; two other carved stones: the base or top of a pillar with leaf designs at the corners similar to No. A46 of the Bishop's Museum.

256.—In Pulucate grammani, in a cocoanut garden leading to a brick platform where people come to sit, a stone with a seated (naked?) image; also another stone with a bigger image, only the bust of which is seen.

257.—In the same garden, before the house of the tenant or owner, the two standing naked Jain images described in our Nos. 39-40. They had been dug up from somewhere.

In Rosary Church Lane (258-259).

258.—At the junction of Rosary Church Lane and Pudukpalli Street, near a small temple, a broken stone peacock, small.

259.—In Rosary Church Lane, at the house of Mr. Chester, in a rubbish heap, from which we dug it up, a stone with a pine-cone (?) carved at the bottom.

On Friday January 25, 1923, I went with Mr. I. J. Kanaka, of the Archæological Department, exploring Muthugrammani Str., Rosary Church Lane, and other places in the vicinity, and made him note other things of interest. He marked them in his pocket-book, but neglected to give me a copy. The list might be enlarged from his notes.

12. *At the Church of Madre de Deos, Mylapore (260-266).*

260.—In the rear half of the Church.

1851, May 28.—

சத அருக னு மே மீர் உஅவு புகன்சிழைமையில் புகுவை
மாதகார் அ. மலைப்பா ஆச்சாரியார் தமக்கு. ஈடுந். வயதில்

அம்பலாவி ஸ்ரீமாத் தேவியார், அவையகத்தில்குறியுள்ள
இவ், வெண்கலக் கெதிரின்மேல் கையாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

(Translation): Mr. A. Malayappa Acharyar at the age of 35 died at Pondicherry on Wednesday, 28th of May, 1851. Please recite a Pater and Ave for the repose of his soul.

261.—In front of the inner gate.

1853, May 8.—Hic jacet / Reverendus Marianus Ludovicus Ribeiro Hujus Parochiae Vicarius. / Benignus fuit, pius ac probus. / Aetate 49 in Christo obdormivit / A.D. 1853 Maii die 8 hora 9 A.M. (R.I.P.) Dedicavit M. R. Samicannu Nayagar 15-8-1890. (Follow 4 lines in Tamil of the same tenor.)

(Translation): Here lies the Reverend Mariano Luis Ribeiro, Vicar of this parish; he was kind, pious, and righteous, and fell asleep in the Lord at 9 A.M., on the 8th of May A.D. 1853. Erected by M. R. Samicannu Nayagar, 15-8-1890.

262.—In the rear half of the Church.

1862, Oct. 29.—+ Sacred to the memory of Mariappa Moothoosawmy Nayaker son of Thanappa Nayaker, who departed this life / on the 29th October 1862. Aged 63 years.

1862 ஆகஸ்ட் மாதம் 29 தேதி புதுவையில் சென்னை மூதூசாமி நாயகர் அய்யப்ப நாயகர் தாயார் குலமார் பரிசாரகராக் கது ராஜ் காரை தயக்கது. 63 வயதில் அம் மரணத்தொழுது தேரித்தார். அவையகத்தில்குறியுள்ள இவ் வெண்கலக் கெதிரின்மேல் கையாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

(Translation): Mr. Mariamuttu Swami Nāyakar, the son of Mr. Tanappa Nāyakar, at the age of 63, died at Madras on Wednesday, 29th of October 1862. Please recite for him a Pater and Ave.

263.—On the bigger bell of the Church, on a scroll.

In voce exultationis / + *Fait a Pondichery en 1755 par Pierre Brunet.*

There follow 2 lines in Tamil, meaning: This bell was made by Arulappan [= John], son of Thavayan.

264.—On the smaller bell: *Voce mea ad Dominum.* + / A crown below the cross; next: A.D.M.G. / A.D. 1803. Some words in Tamil, meaning: Made by Arulappan.

Points of interest (265–266).

265.—The Church of Madre Deos was built by order of Fr. Alexander Valignano at the expense of the Bishop of Cochin in 1575 and was opened for worship in 1576, under the title of Our Lady's Nativity. Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Bombay edn., 1886, Pte. II, Cong. II, Div. II, §2. p. 156. In 1566, we hear that

the Jesuits had lately built a house near the Church of St. John, which the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Jorge Themudo, O.P., gave to the Fathers in 1566, during his visit to Mylapore with Fr. Master Belchior Nunez, S.J. Cf. *ibid.*, Pte. II, Conq. II, Div. I, § 4, p. 144.

The three old altars with wooden reredoses are in the same style and must belong to the same period. The side-altar on the left (Gospel side) has gilt wooden statues of St. Francis Xavier and St. Ignatius, evidently relics of the time when the Jesuit Fathers had charge of the Church. In the right arm of the transept there is a statue of St. Sebastian; on the side-altar in the left arm of the transept, a modern statue of Our Lady of Pompeii.

In the sacristy there is a chalice of peculiar shape.

For the story of the beautiful old carved chair, which stood in the Church, but which the Bishop removed to his house in 1921, for greater security, see our No. 2.

The older portion of the Church is vaulted; the walls are enormously thick; heavy buttresses, on both sides, support the edifice.

266.—*Church Registers.*

Madre de Deos having been for two centuries under the management of the Jesuits, I made a special study in 1921 of its three oldest Baptism Registers (Jan. 4, 1789—Sept. 6, 1816; Aug. 10, 1817—March 9, 1848; March 15, 1841—Dec. 24, 1872). By means of these Registers I determined the incumbents and the time of their incumbency from January 1789 to May 1853. The oldest marriage register goes from Nov. 27, 1819 to Nov. 7, 1883; the oldest register of burials, from July 12, 1818, to Dec. 28, 1885.

These registers contained also some valuable historical notes by Padre Mariano Luis Ribeiro, who styles himself repeatedly a Jesuit, though apparently he was not a Jesuit. They contained likewise autobiographical musings and instructions about cocoa-nut-gardening, by the same Padre, who was in charge of Madre de Deos from Febr. 1839 to May 1853, when he died. All these notes I copied (47 pages foolscap), hoping to publish them in a historical review of Goa, as the language is Portuguese.

13. *At the Convent of the Indian Nuns of the Order of O.L. of Good Help, near Madre de Deos (267-269).*

267.—On the bigger bell: Don du Père Marie Xavieriar, M.A. Au couvent d' Adaikalamada. Crouzet Hildebrand fondeurs à Paris. (Cast in the metal, an image of Our Lady.)

M.A. means: Missionary Apostolic.

268.—On the smaller bell: Adeikalam./ Lollée et ses fils, fondeurs accordeurs au Mans, France, 1878./ (Cast in the metal, an image of Our Lady.)

269.—The Convent has a small viney. I had some notion that the site of the Convent was formerly occupied by the Jesuit College, or the pre-Portuguese graveyard, or both; but the Nuns could not give any information on either point. They knew only that Priests had lived at the place, but not how long before. They themselves had built the bigger house some 22 years ago.

14. *St. Lazarus' Church, near Madre de Deos Church (270-271).*

270.—Church used by the Tamil fishermen of the neighbourhood. I noted one or two inscriptions in the Church, mostly in Tamil, and of recent date. This Church is mentioned by Balbi in 1582.

271.—The bell has the following inscription: "Madras Mint. Made by the R^d Revd. M. F. Lobo, E. G. Anno Domini [*sic*] 1864." In the centre of the bell, a cross with trefoil extremities, but without calvary.

15. *At the Kapāleśvara Temple, Mylapore (272-273).*

272.—A fragment of a Portuguese tomb-inscription, on the floor of the front *maṇḍapam* of the Amman shrine.

|FALE|	
CEV· NA ERA	died in the year
D 646·3·	of 646·3.

It seems that the date was at first [1] 643, and that the second 6 was shoved in later, to make the date 1646.

273.—A fragment of a Portuguese tomb-inscription on the floor of the Kalyana *maṇḍapam* of the Kapāleśvara Temple.

E·DE SEVS·HE	and of his
RDEIROS	heirs.

See my article: *Two Portuguese inscriptions in the Kapāleśvara Temple, Mailapur (Madras)*, in *J.A.S. Bengal*, N.S., Vol. IX, No. 4, 1913, pp. 169-171, with illustration of the 1st inscription.

16. *At the Marmalong Bridge, Saidapet (274).*

274.—Against the North-East pillar of the bridge, on an enormous stone: seven lines of Persian; next:

Hunc pontem edificari jussit pro bono publico / Coja Petrus Usca / Natione Armeni, Anno salvtis MDCCXXVI.
(Translation): In the year of Salvation MDCCXXVI [= 1726], Coja Petrus Usca, by nationality an Armeni [Armenian], had this bridge built for the public weal. (Follow 3 lines in Armenian.)

At both ends of the bridge, on either side, stands a huge masonry pillar, having on each of its four sides a long cross on a calvary.

17. *At Little Mount Church, Saidapet (275-302).*

Points of interest in the Church (275).

275.—The Church at Little Mount is dedicated to Our Lady of Good Health. A staircase of 8 steps leads up to the main altar, which is above the cave. The main altar table has the Augustinian arms, whence one might conclude that the present altar is posterior to the Jesuits.

The aperture, on the left of the main altar, by which one goes down into the cave is so narrow that one has, so to say, to squeeze oneself in. To be noted is the cross on a pedestal of three steps cut into the wall of the rock at the entrance; this cross is pre-Portuguese, as noted under No. 49 (c). Two or three steps lead down into the cave, which is so dark that one requires the assistance of a candle, in spite of an opening through the rock on the side opposite the entrance. The floor of the rock slopes up gently towards an altar erected at the extreme end, in the middle of the cave. On the altar stands a modern statue of St. Thomas, with a scroll and the words: *Quia vidisti me, Thomas, credidisti: beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt, Jo. XX. 29.* (Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and have believed.)

In 1599, a Jesuit Father speaks of Mass being said at times in the cave. On the same occasion we are told that St. Thomas escaped by the aperture on the south side, after being wounded, and went to die at St. Thomas Mount. This is even now the story, some versions making the Saint also go to Descanço Church, to take rest. However, another Jesuit, Father Barradas, writes, strangely enough, about 1614, that the Jesuits pierced the rock on the south side to admit the light.

Some of the local guides will also point out near the south aperture what they call the marks of St. Thomas' fingers; these, they say, he left on the rock when he hoisted himself out of the cave to flee. These marks appear to be natural formations.

Even if we accept the story of St. Thomas' martyrdom at Mylapore as true, it is by no means clear where it occurred. The St. Thomas Christians of Malabar hold for *Chinna Malai* or Little Mount, and their tradition is venerable for its age. The scene of the martyrdom appears to have been split up between Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount because of the discovery in 1547 of the stone cross at St. Thomas Mount. On the other hand, why was St. Thomas Mount honoured with a chapel in pre-Portuguese times, unless it was believed to have been connected with St. Thomas, and so, possibly, with his martyrdom? The respective merits of both places are still a mystery to me.

On two occasions, in 1921 and 1923, I examined the cave minutely for inscriptions or other marks of ancient occupation, but found none.

Inscriptions within the Church (276-283).

276.—In front of the communion rails.

1755, July 2.—Aqui estão sepultados Samuel Edmunds Natural de London, Que falleceu aos 2. de Julho 1755, de Idade de 66. annos, e Natalia de Rosario, ambos piadosos Consortes. O fideis, que passais aqui. Rezais pello amor de Deos, hã P^a nosso e hã Ave M^a.

(*Translation*): Here are buried Samuel Edmunds, a native of London, who died on the 2nd of July 1755, aged 66 years, and Natalia de Rosario, a pious couple. O ye faithful, who pass here, for God's sake say one our Father and one Hail Mary.

Cf. J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 169, No. 885), who writes 'Edmunds.'

277.—In front of the staircase going up to the altar.

1807, July 1. Aqi Jaz, Helena, da idade de 12 mezes Filha do Sen^r C. Bilderbeck e de sua Esposa Helena aqual Falleceu ao 1^o de Julho 1807.

(*Translation*): Here lies Helena, aged 12 months, daughter of Mr. C. Bilderbeck and of his wife Helena, who died on the 1st of July 1807.

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 169, No. 886) writes: 'Mr. Christopher Bilderbeck, merchant of Madras, died at Colachel, Travancore State, November 10th, 1817. He was connected with the family of John de Monte, whose son was named Christopher Bilderbeck de Monte (see No. 986).'

278.—Tablet inserted in the wall, gospel side.

1916.—The cave where lay hid persecuted, just before being martyred / by Rajah Mahadevan king of Mylapuram A.D. 68. / Thomas, / one of the twelve, the great apostle of India, the very one who put his fingers into the wounds of His Lord and God. Drop your penny for this great historical and archaeological monument. / A. Moniz, Vicar. 1916.

279.—Left of this inscription, on the same side, a Tamil inscription of 13 lines to the same effect.

'Mahādeva' instead of 'Mazdai,' does not commend itself to the writer; the year A.D. 68, or any other, for St. Thomas' martyrdom is not historically proved, which does not mean that it is disproved; St Thomas' connection with Little Mount rests on pre-Portuguese tradition, the value of which it belongs to future research to establish.

280.—At the inner entrance of the Church, before what was the original façade.

1809, July 20.—+ Aqui Jaz Mad^{ma} Victorina Cabau +

Falecida na Idade de 42 Annos aos 20 de Julho 1809. Reza hum P. N. e A.M.

(*Translation*): Here lies Madame Victorina Cabau, who died at the age of 42 years, on the 20th of July 1809. Recite an Our Father and a Hail Mary.

J. J. Cotton (*List of Inscriptions*, p. 169, No. 887) writes: 'Victoria'. 'This lady died at Covelong. She was wife to Nicholas Cabau, a doctor. A Miss M. Cabau married Mr. G. Robertson, February 1809. Mr. John Piellow (see No. 651) married, July 31st, 1826, Aurora, daughter of Mr. John Cabau, Senior.' (*ibid.*)

To find the inscription we had to scrape from the floor thick layers of wax drippings. On certain festivities, the faithful assemble in large numbers here and walk in procession, carrying wax-candles.

281.—In front of the original façade of the Church, before the tomb of Mrs. V. Cabau, there is an Armenian inscription of 6 lines, not mentioned by J. J. Cotton. It requires being deciphered by an Armenian scholar. The lettering was encrusted in a thick coating of wax from dripping candles, and no wonder. I was told by old Father Nunes that on the 4th Sunday after Easter, the great feast of the Church brings together from 50,000 to 60,000 people, and one of the features of the feast is a procession in which, according to hallowed custom, all carry a lighted taper. The numbers given by Fr. Nunes would be enormous even if reduced by half; but only those on the spot can give an estimate. The estimate of Mgr. Carvalho (16-3-25) is 15,000 to 20,000.

282.—In the rear half of the Church, centre.

1909, Nov. 19.—Louisa / the dearly beloved wife of / Dr. P. P. Pinto / born 14th June 1890 ; / married 26th Apr. 1909 ; died 19th Nov. 1909. / I loved you much ; you loved me more ; God loves us most. / To Him I go, and wait a little while and we will meet to part no more. / "Death is swallowed up in victory."

283.—In the rear half of the Church, right side.

1919, June 13.—In loving memory / of Severin Lawrence D'Silva / born 11th Feb. 1859, / died 13th June 1919. / May he rest in peace. / Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you, my friends, because the hand of the Lord hath touched me.'

Points of interest on the summit of Little Mount (284-285).

284.—At the very highest point of the hill, there are several items of interest.

First, there is the perennial spring. At my visit on February 6, 1921, I found in it four feet of water, and was told that sometimes it rises to six feet. As I pulled out my measuring rod from the very bottom, where apparently mud had collected, the

water fizzed quite audibly. The story is that, when St. Thomas preached to the people gathered on the rocks, where now rises an 'octagonal' *cruzeiro* with a battered wooden cross, the people were parched with thirst; whereupon, St. Thomas struck the rock with his staff and water flowed. Natural explanations can be given for the presence of water at that height. Near a mosque at Pallavaram, beyond St. Thomas Mount, and at a greater altitude, there is also, I was told, a perennial spring. Neither should the visitor attach any importance to what is said to be a mark of a foot on the brink of the well. We may be satisfied, if we can prove conclusively some day that St. Thomas was at Mylapore and died there. The new proofs I have adduced may be very cogent to me personally; they are not yet material and palpable enough for people generally.

Secondly: near the perennial spring there is, cut in the rock, a cross, with trefoil extremities, almost effaced. This I take to be pre-Portuguese. This cross and the other at the entrance to the cave are conclusive proofs of the sanctity of the spot for medieval Christians. Whether St. Thomas himself made the former, whether he was beaten near it and shed on it the first drop of his blood, whether he was next dragged to St. Thomas Mount and there done to death, as Father Antonio Salvador Nunes told me the story was, these are other matters, to which one need not pin one's faith, one of the reasons being that these versions come so very late in the day. There are many older versions, in which they have no part.

It would be, however, a decided advance, if we could prove that there is yet clinging to Little Mount a tradition that it was the spot where peacocks congregated, and where St. Thomas was killed accidentally by a fowler who mistook him for a peacock. Father Nunes would have it that Little Mount is the site of that tradition. Long before me and Father Nunes, Mgr. Medlycott was told that it was the centre of the peacock legend (*India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, p. 123 *n.*) If that were so, Little Mount was sacred to Christians in Marco Polo's time, A.D. 1292.

Hüen T'sang, the Chinese traveller, records a Northern Buddhist tradition that, in old time, Tathāgata, (whom Mrs. E. A. Gordon identifies with the Japanese Nyorai and the Messiah) was the king of peacocks who brought water for his thirst-tormented followers out of a rock by striking it with his beak. " 'All afflicted ones who taste, or wash in, the abundant streams which flow therefrom are healed.' On the rock traces of the peacock's feet are visible." (Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *World Healers*, I. 124.) Who was this peacock? At Mylapore, when the fowler took aim at the finest bird of the pack, and it flew up, and he hit it, it fell down, and was St. Thomas! Such was the story told to Friar de' Marignolli at Mylapore in 1348. And Friar Jourdain de Séverac about A.D. 1330 gives it as part of

his Indian experience, that some Christians of India regarded 'St. Thomas the great' as Christ.

Thirdly: above the faded cross on the rock, there is another cross on a small pedestal or calvary, which appears modern. In 1711 there was a small chapel over both, the chapel of the Resurrection. It was Father Nunes' wish to rebuild it, but he did not live to see his wish realised. He died on July 25th, 1924.

On the rocks near the *cruzeiro*, I hoped to find crosses carved on the stones, as I had read in some old accounts that there were crosses on the rocks all about the Mount; instead, I found some ten small holes, cut in the rock here and there, the origin and purpose of which I cannot explain. Were they used to fire gunpowder on festive Church occasions?

The visitor who, on coming down the big flight of steps before the church, will turn to the right and go a short distance by the road round the hill will come to two masonry constructions, about 4 feet high; under one of them, legend says, is a knee-print; under the other, a hand (?) -print of St. Thomas. Popular imagination has been very active here once more, and the reason why we chronicle most of these legends is to keep them within bounds by taking stock of their present position. "Two stones below are pointed out as bearing the impress of his [St. Thomas'] foot and the marks of his knees, while another is said to be stained with his blood, The spring is said to have been miraculously created to supply the saint with water when attacked by thirst in the cave in which he had taken refuge. The legend regarding this is still current in Syria, and not long ago two pilgrims made their way hither from Edessa and filled some bottles with the sacred water to take back to their own country." Cf. R. Sewell, *Archaeol. Survey of India, List of Antiquarian Remains of S. India*, Madras, Vol. I (1882), p. 175.

285.—The bell at Little Mount is inscribed: Perambur Works Christmas 1914.

I made in vain in 1923 a search for an inscription of 1551 which is said in an old account (Father Tachard's letter of 1711) to have been at Little Mount in his time. If it could be found, it would be one of our oldest post-Portuguese inscriptions for S. Thomé and Mylapore.

No trace can now be found either of the pre-Portuguese open-air cross which stood still in 1599 and 1614 near or on Little Mount. It was said to have been made by St. Thomas.

The Baptism Registers at Little Mount begin on July 3, 1889. The older registers may have been deposited in the Diocesan Secretariat.

Inscriptions near Little Mount Church (286-302).

This cemetery, containing only a few graves, is situated on the N.-E. side of the Church, just above the flight of

steps leading up to the Church and on the same level as the Church.

286.—1903. *June*.—In loving memory of Luis Gonzaga infant son of J. A. Garaciolo and Maria Nunes, born 21st June 1902, died June 1903. Not lost, but gone before.

287.—1905. *Aug. 5*.—In loving memory of Mrs. Theodora Turner who departed this life on 5th August 1905, aged 65 yrs. R.I.P.

288.—1907. *Aug. 18*.—In loving memory of Ambicai-murry Anniah, died on August 18th, 1907. Age 5½ years.

289.—1908. *Aug. 8*.—Sacred to the memory of G. Mariadoss Mudaliar of Royapuram. Aged 60 years. Died on 8th Aug. 1908. R.I.P.

290.—1910. *June 27*.—Thy will be done. In loving memory of Richard George Thomas the darling child of Gregory and Christine Lasrado who died on 27th June 1910, aged 2 months 24 days

Not gone from memory, not gone from love;
But gone to our Father's home above.

291.—1911. *Nov. 21*.—In loving memory of Madurai Nayagamall, beloved wife of E. Johnson, died on 21st November 1911. Age 32.

292.—1912. *April 4*.—In memory of John Valentine L. Etang, born 14 Nov. 1852, died 4 Apr. 1912.

Gone from us, but not forgotten;
Never shall thy memory fade;
Dearest thoughts shall ever linger
Around the spot where thou art laid.

May he rest in peace. Erected by his sorrowing widow.

293.—1912. *April 14*.—In memory of Martin Pinto, born 3 Nov. 1872, died 14 Apr. 1912. Not dead, but gone before. May he rest in peace. Erected by his sorrowing widow.

294.—1913. *March 18*.—Thy will be done. In memory of Andrew Smith, born 24 Dec. 1841, died 18 Mar. 1913.

Gone from us, but not forgotten;
Never shall thy memory fade;
Dearest thoughts shall ever linger
Around the spot where thou art laid.

May he rest in peace. Erected by his sorrowing widow.

295.—1915. *Apr. 16*.—In memory of Kylasam Chinthathree Arokiasawmy. Maria Susai Mudaliar. Born 4-8-1894.

died 16-4-1915. May he rest in peace. (*Follow 4 lines in Tamil.*) Erected by his sorrowful parents.

296.—1916, May 17.—In loving memory of S. Loorthusawmy Mdr. Died—Dated—17th May 1916. Age 20 years. R.I.P./

297.—1916, Sept. 2.—In loving memory of Edmund, the beloved son of Johanna & Anthony Francis, who departed this life on 2nd Sept. 1916, aged 25 years./

He is gone/ but not forgotten ;
Never shall thy memory/ fade ;
Sweetest/ thoughts/ shall ever/ linger/
Round my darling Edmund./

298.—1917, June 1.—Thy will be done./ In loving memory of Elizabeth, the dearly beloved wife of Andrew Smith. (Late Chargeman, Perambur Works,)/ died 1st June 1917. Age 66 years

Sleep on, dear mother, and take thy rest :
For God hath called thee for the best.
The loss is great that we sustain ;
In heaven we hope to meet again.

May she rest in peace. Erected by her sorrowing children./

299.—1917, Dec. 18.—In loving memory of Joseph Michael Reneaux. Died/ 18th Dec. 1917, aged 62 years./ R.I.P./

300.—Annie Monsurate Age 45. R.I.P.

301.—Adelaide Monsurate/ Age 22./ R.I.P.

302.—Felix Monsurate Age 62./ R.I.P./

18. *The Descanço Church (303–306).*

“Descanço means ‘Rest’, as in the Portuguese phrase ‘Descance em Paz’, which is the equivalent of ‘Requiescat in Pace.’ The Tamil name of this Church is Yellpatha Mada Covil, ‘the Church of our Lady who gives rest to the weary,’ and indicates that it was the habit of the Portuguese on their way from San Thomé to the Great and Little Mounts to repose here awhile.” J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 119.

The value of this explanation remains to be investigated. Another explanation, apparently more fanciful than the former, is that St. Thomas rested here.

303.—On the Gospel side, near the altar, an inscription within floral borders, in which the letters are curiously interwoven, the same style being observed in the stone on the other side of the altar. Two other stones in the San Thomé

Cathedral exhibit the same particularity: one of 1695, and especially one of 1698.

1688, Febr. 12; 1696, June 31.—

AQVI· IAZÊ· D· MA
RIANA DE SOVZA
MOLHER Q̃ FOI DE DI
OGO FROES DE SÂDE FAL
ECEO Ê 12 DE FEVRº
DE 1688 E. D. IOZEFHA/
MADRª MOLHER Q̃ FOI
DE MATHEVS CARVº DA/
SILVA E FALECEO Ê 31
DE IVNHO DE 696 ÁBAS
NATVRAES DE MADRA
STAPATAÕ FªS LEGITI
MAS DE COSMO Lº MA/
DRª E D. SCHOLASTICA
DE Sª FVDRªS DESTA IGRª/

(Translation): Here lie D[ona] Mariana de Souza, who was the wife of Diogo Froes de Sande; (she died on the 12th of February 1688) and D[ona] Josepha Madeira, who was the wife of Matheus Carvalho da Silva, and died on the 31st of June of [1] 696; both were born at Madrastapataõ, the legitimate daughters of Cosmo Lourenço Madeira and D[ona] Scholastica de Souza, the founders of this Church.

After comparing with J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, p. 119, Nos. 648 and 649, I consider his discrepancies to be faulty.

304.—1703, Jan. 17.—

AQVI IAS COSMO LOV
RÊÇO MADEIRA NATVRAL
DE VILA DE ACOIT EM REINO
DO ALGARVE FILHO LEGIT/
IMO DE FERNAÕ MARTINS
DE SIQUEIRA E DE MARI
A DE VERA FOI CAZA
DO DA PRIMEIRA VEZ
NA CIDADE DE NEGA
PATAM COM D. MONI/
CA PEREIRA E SENDO
CAZADO DA SEGVN/
DA VEZ CO D. ESCHO
LASTICA DE SOVZA F/
VNDARAÕ ESTA IG/
REIA E FALECEO Ê 17
DE IANEIRO DE 1703

(Translation): Here lies Cosmo Lourenço Madeira, a native of Vila de Acoit in the kingdom of Algarve, legitimate son of Fernão Martins de Siqueira and of Maria de Vera.

He was married the first time in the city of Negapatam with D[ona] Monica Pereira, and, having married the second time D[ona] Escholastica de Souza, they founded this Church; and he died on the 17th of January 1703.

In J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscription*, 1905, p. 119, No. 649.

Points of Interest.

305.—On the altar, a statue of St. Elizabeth and of Our Lady (the Visitation); another, of St. Aloysius; also others, representing St. Ignatius, St. Anthony of Padua, Our Lady and the Child, and St. Michael; also a Saint on horseback (St.

George (?), dressed like a crusader (?); his horse tramples under foot two Saracens(?).

Fr. Mariano Luis Ribeiro, "Jesuita," writes at fol. 14r of the second Register of Baptisms at Madre de Deos Church (between 1839 and 1853) that to the Church of Madre de Deos : "semper subjectum fuit aliud oratorium dedicatum Beatae Mariae Virgini sub titulo Visitationis, et hujus subjectionis argumenta quidem sunt imagines ibidem collocatae, nimirum S. Aloisii a Gonzaga [*sic*] Societatis Jesu ut ministri, et S. Ignatii ut sacerdotis, cum paramentis sacerdotalibus. Ratio illorum Patrum [of the Society of Jesus] in hoc fuit plena prudentia, eo quod fideles Tamulenses nunquam commisceri volunt, id est permixtum stare cum fidelibus de casta Parias, neque datur fidelibus de casta Parias festum aliquod celebrare in Ecclesia, ubi Tamulenses praevalent, quapropter Tamulenses amplectendo edificaverunt hanc Ecclesiam [of Madre de Deos], quamvis in sacris nemo Catholicus alter alterum vitare debeat, et fideles de casta Parias amplectendo ad maiorem commoditatem actuum (?)¹ Religionis habuerunt subjectum sibi illud oratorium Visitationis Beatae Mariae Virginis. Sed, decursu temporis omnia haec in oblivionem inciderunt, dissensiones [*sic*] exortae sunt, et plures fideles de casta Parias deseruerunt hanc Ecclesia[m], ut se adseriberent aliae [*sic*] Ecclesiae, ut commodius mysteriis Religionis participarent."

These explanations of Fr. Ribeiro may be mere guesses.

The titular feast of the Descanço Church is that of Our Lady's Visitation. What then is the origin of 'Descanço'?

The founders of the Church were Cosmo Lourenço Madeira, married a first time with Monica Pereira, and the second time with Escholastica de Souza, who was buried in the Church on Jan. 17, 1703; two of his daughters by the second marriage, Mariana de Souza, wife of Diogo Froes de Sande, and Josepha Madeira, wife of Matheus Carvalho de Silva, predeceased him and were buried in the same Church: the former on Feb. 12, 1688: the latter on June 31, 1696. As Cosmo Lourenço Madeira founded the Church after his second marriage, the Church must have been built some time between 1650 and 1688.

306.--Three stones with crosses (Maltese?) within a rope-border medallion: one, in the centre, above the façade gate; the two others, in the same wall, higher up, in the corners. Similar to a cross found at the convent of the Holy Apostles, on St. Thomas Mount, in 1916, and marked C2 in the Bishop's Museum.

19. *At St. Patrick's Orphanage, Adyar (307).*

307.—At St. Patrick's Orphanage, Adyar, I was told by the Principal that there was in the property a pillar (Government

Sic, for 'actuum', or 'rituum'.



S. Thomé; Bishop's Museum. St. Thomas. Side-view of No. 4, A 2a to show that the ears are of normal size, contrary to what is seen in ancient statues of Gautama-Buddha. Cf. p. 5, No. 6.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum. A.—On a pedestal (A 1a), a separate stone (A 2) showing, on right, St. Thomas (A 2a); on left, Kándäpa Raja (A 2b).

B.—Four stones (A 4, A 3, A 5, A 7), with cross within rope-like circular border resting on a triangular base. Cf. pp. 4–8, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8.

C.—Cannon ball (J 1). Cf. p. 4, No. 4c.

boundary pillar ?) with the date 1798 and some letters. The information did not tally with what Fr. A. Merkes, Archbishop's House, Nungabaukam, Madras, had given me on January 23, 1923, *viz.*, that a stone cross had been dug up from a well at the Orphanage, some years back. No one at the Orphanage, though some had been there quite a long time, remembered or knew of such a fact. Did Fr. Merkes make a confusion with the cross found on (Great) St. Thomas Mount in 1916 ?

20. *At No. 55, Main Road, St. Thomas Mount (308).*

308.—At 55, Main Road, there is an old building, vaulted in two portions, the façade of which, towards the Main Road, indicates that it was formerly a chapel; it has two pilasters on each side of an arch, which arch must have been over a gate, as for the entrance gate of a chapel; above, between each set of two pilasters, a rectangular decoration over which a cross can still be discerned; lower, between each set of pilasters, traces of a niche. The photographer, Mr. Subramaniam, made a sketch of it. Mrs. Elder, who had lately occupied the place, promised to enquire into the traditions attaching to it.

21. *At St. Patrick's Church, St. Thomas Mount (309-320).*

309.—On the floor, near the altar.

1852, April 23.—Sacred to the memory of the late Sergt. William Cavanagh, of the Madras Artillery, who died on foreign service at Rangoon, during the war with Burmah, / on the 23rd April 1852, aged 37 years. May he rest in peace. Amen. /

310.—On the wall, left side.

1868, Sept. 25.—Sacred to the memory of / Hosannah / widow of the late / Lieut^t D. F. Chambers, / H.M.'s 89th Foot, / who died at St. Thomas Mount, / on the 25th Sept. 1868, / aged 76 years. / R.I.P.

311.—Left of the central altar, and right of the altar of the Immaculate Conception.

1877, March 27.—Of your charity pray for the / Reverend Denis Forde, / who died at St. Thomas Mount, / 27th March 1877, in the 53rd year of his age / and the 30th of his priesthood. Requiescant in Pace. Amen. J. Leese & Co., Sculp., Madras. /

312.—Near the altar, in the body of the Church, left side.

1897, Nov. 27.—Hic jacet / Rev^{du}s Joannes Beatty / natus Dublinii A^c 1835 / vita functus / V Kal. Dec. 1897. /

(Translation): Here lies the Rev. John Beatty, born at Dublin in 1835, who died on Nov. 27, 1897.

“V Kal. Dec.” is “Nov. 27,” another inscription, in English, says he died on Nov. 29.

313.—1897, *Nov. 29*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Rev. J. Beatty, / late Chaplain, / who died at St. Thomas Mount, / 29th November 1897, / aged 63 years. / R.I.P. / Erected / by his beloved flock and friends.

314.—On the left side.

1914, *May 31*.—In memory of the / Rev. A. Druem, / who died on the 31st May 1914, / aged 51 years. / R.I.P. / Erected by the Mission. / A. Sing & Sons, Sc.

315.—Before the altar of the Immaculate Conception.

1914, *May 31*.—Of your charity pray for the / Rev. A. Druem, / who died at St. Thomas Mount / on the 31st May 1914. / Age 51 years. / R.I.P. / Erected by the Mission. / A. Sing & Sons, Sc.

316.—On a brass tablet near the altar of the S. Heart.

1916, *Febr. 11*.—Erected in A.D. 1906 / by Rev^d. D. S. da Costa / with subscriptions / from / Mrs. Catherine Clarkson, the parishioners of / St. Patrick's Church / and friends. / 11th February 1906.

317.—On a ciborium : “ Presented to St. Patrick's Chapel, St. Thomas' Mount, by Mrs. Chambers, 1st March 1842.”

318.—About 1919 a silver chalice was stolen from the Church which bore the inscription : Goa, 1707.

319.—Under the statue of St. Joseph : “ A gift / of the 88th C.I. / 15th Aug. 1909.” /

320.—Under the statue of St. Anne, “ 15th Aug. 1909.”
The bell of the Church has no inscription, I was told.

22. *In St. Patrick's Church Cemetery, St. Thomas Mount*
(321–343).

321.—1842, *Oct. 15*.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. / In memory of / John, / the infant son / of Serjeant T. Brannaghan, / A.V.C., who departed this life on / the 15th October 1842, / aged 1 year 6 months. /

322.—1843, *Jan. 4*.—Sacred / to the memory / of / Maria Dargan, / wife of / John Dargan, / Serjeant H^r. M^s. 63rd Regiment, / who departed this life / on the 4th day of January 1843, / aged 37 years, / born in Ireland in the Queen's County, Marlborough, / leaving an affected [*sic*] husband and / five small children behind / the world to seek and other [their ?] friends to find / May the Lord rest her soul / in peace. Amen. /

323.—1843, *March 22*.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. / Sacred / to the memory of / W^m. J. Costello, / the beloved son of / Bridget

Cuthbert, / who departed this life on the 22nd of March 1843, / aged 17 years & 22 days. /

Weep not for me, O mother dear ;
I am not dead, but sleeping here.
This my fate will be shortly thine ;
Prepare to meet thy God in time.

This tomb was erected by his affectionate mother. /
Requiescat in Pace. /

324.—1844, *June 12*.—+ / In memory of Joseph son of
Gunner / W. Fitzgerald / Obiit 12th June 1844 Ætat. 2 years
& / 5 months. /

325.—1845, *Febr. 22*.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. / Sacred to
the memory of / Dorothea, the beloved wife of Gr. J. McDonnell,
A C^o 1st R^t Art^y who departed / this life 22nd Feby. A.D. 1845.
Ætat. 40. leaving a husband & son to lament her loss.
Through the mercy of Christ / may she rest in peace. Amen.

326.—1846, *May 9*.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sacred to
the memory / of Mary Anne, the beloved wife of Q^r M^r Serj^t
James Maughan, / 2nd Battalion Artillery. / who departed this
life / May 9th. 1846. / aged 17 years, leaving a disconsolate
husband / and two infant children to bemoan her irreparable
loss. / Requiescat in pace. /

327.—1848, *April 16*.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sacred
to the memory / of Ann, the beloved wife / of Serjeant Thomas
Hogan, / 2nd Battⁿ Artillery, / who departed this life / April
16th, 1848, / leaving a disconsolate husband and an infant child
to bemoan her / irreparable loss, / aged 19 years and 11 months.
Requiescat in pace. /

328.—1848, *Oct. 20* ; 1850, *March 15*.—Gloria in excelsis
Deo. / Sacred to the memory of / Serjeant John Halloran
of the A Troop, / Horse Artillery, / and his beloved child, / Mary
Elizabeth, / who departed this life : the / former on the 20th
October / 1848 / at the age of 31 years, and the latter on the
15th March 1850 / at the age of 1 year & 10 Ds. Requiescat
in pace.

329.—1848, *Dec. 2*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Ellen
Mary, / the beloved daughter / of J. & S. Burke, who died
2nd December 1848, / aged / 1 year & 14 days. /

330.—1849, *Oct. 23*.—Sacred / to the memory of / Mary
Ann, / the beloved wife / of / Serj^t Arthur Fleming, / A
Comp^y, 4th Battⁿ Artillery, / who departed this life / October
23rd, 1849 / leaving a disconsolate / husband & an infant child /
to bemoan her irreparable / loss, / aged 25 years. / Requiescat
in pace. /

331.—1849, Nov. 2; 1850, Jan. 17.—Sacred / to the memory of / Pensd. Bomb. Thomas Kelly / and of / Mary Kelly, / his beloved daughter, who departed this life, / the former on the / 2nd November 1849, / aged 55 years, / and the latter on the 17th January 1850, / aged 12 years and 8 months. / May they rest in peace.

332.—1855, Dec. 13.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. + / This Tablet / was erected by / Corporal Michael Donohoe, / 2nd E.L.I., / to the memory of / his beloved wife / Letitia / who departed this life / 13th December 1855, / aged 16 years. / Requiescat in pace.

333.—1860, March 11.—Sacred / to the memory of / William Stephen, / the youngest and beloved son of / Serg^t Major John and Marg^t Kerwic, / who departed this life / on the 14th March 1860, / aged 1 year 2 months & 28 days. / Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

334.—1860, April 28.—Sacred / to the memory of / George Roskell, / the beloved son of / Serj^t John Robert and Emily Roskell, / died 28 April 1860, / aged 10 months 5 days. / *Ros cali*.

Ros cali, 'heaven-dew,' is a play of words with the name Roskell.

335.—1861, April 26.—Sacred / to the memory / of / Jeremiah Barnical, / Gunner in the Madras Artillery Recruit Depot, / who departed this life / on the 26th April 1861, / aged 30 years and 10 months. / Requiescat in Pace. Amen. /

336.—1861, June 18.—Sacred to the memory / of / Elizabeth Janethe, / beloved wife of Bomb^r T. Cunningham, B. Comp^y, 4th Battⁿ Madras Art^y and eldest / daughter of Serg^t D. Lyons / of the F. A. V. Comp^y, who / departed this life on the / 18th June 1861, age 16 years 6 / months and 16 days, leaving / an infant child and / disconsolate husband to deplore her irreparable loss. / Requiescat in pace.

337.—1862, July 6.—Sacred / to the / memory of Mar-
garethe, / beloved daughter of Mr / Pat. Dierthonas [?] and Mary Kelly, who departed this / life, 6th July 1862, aged 1 / year 1 month and 3 days. / Regretted by her parents.

338.—1863, June 4.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. / Sacred / to the memory of / Mary Anne, / beloved wife / of Cantonment / Serj^t. Major M. Donaghue, / died 4th June 1863, / aged 38 years.

339.—1863, Sept. 2.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. + / Sacred to the memory of / Susan, / beloved wife of / Bomb^r W. Rielly, [sic] C. Battery, 23rd Brigade Royal Artillery, / died 2nd

September 1863, / aged 22 years. This tomb was erected by her / affectionate grand-mother.

340.—1865, Oct. 6 ; 1863, Febr. 12.—Sacred to the memory of / Emily, the beloved wife of Serjeant J. R. Roskell, R^l Art^y, / who died on the 6th October 1865, / at St. Thomas' Mount, / aged 26, also their beloved infant daughter / Fanny, / who died on the 12th February 1863, aged 4 months. /

341.—1866, March 17.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sacred to the memory of / Thomas Kelly, Head Constable, Mofussil Police, / who died 17th March 1866, / aged 47 years, leaving a wife and three children / to bemoan his irreparable loss. / This monument was erected by his beloved wife Mary. / Requiescat in pace. /

342.—1866, April 10.—Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sacred / to the memory of Ann Mullaney, the beloved wife of Serjeant Thomas Mullaney, / B. Battery, 20th Brigade, R. A., / who departed this life / April 10th, 1866, / aged 45 years, / leaving a disconsolate husband / and daughter / to bemoan her irreparable loss. / Requiescat in Pace. / E. Hill & Co., Sc /

343.—1889, April 3.—To the memory of Catherine, wife of / Serjeant V. Crowe, Battalion, Madras Artillery. Died 3rd April 1889.

23. In Bullock Line, St. Thomas Mount (344).

344.—In Bullock Line there is a small graveyard with one inscription only :

1831, Jan. 7.—Sacred to the memory / of / Serjt W^m Sullivan of the / C. Troop Horse Art^y / who departed this life / on the / 7th of Jan^{ry} 1831, age 36. / This monument was / erected by his Disconsolate [*sic*] / Widow as a mark of her / Esteem.

24. At the foot of St. Thomas Mount (345–349).

At the foot of St. Thomas Mount, on the west side of the entrance to the steps leading up to the Mount, there are some small houses belonging to the R.C. Mission, S. Thomé, Mylapore, where I noticed a novel way of asserting one's ownership.

345.—At No. 249, the four steps leading into the house have inscriptions :

(Top step) : + / Ground bel. / to Romⁿ Cath. / Church. /
XIV. /

(2nd step from top) : + / XV /

(3rd step from top): + [embedded in wall.] / Ground
bel. / to Romⁿ Cath. / Church. XII /

(4th step from top): + / II

346.—At No. 249 a (near No. 249):

Top step turned the wrong way.

(2nd step from top): + / IX

(3rd step from top): + Ground bel^s / to Romⁿ Cath.
Church / XXIV

(4th step from top): + / Ground bel^s / to Romⁿ Cath.
Church / XXVI

347.—At the gate of No. 249 a: + / Ground bel^s / to
Romⁿ Cath. Church / XXII

348.—At No. 249 b (near No. 249):

(Top step): + / XXI /

(2nd step from top): + / XIX /

(3rd step from top): [+] / XXIII

349.—At No. 251, the top step has two stones inscribed
thus:

+ / Ground bel^s / to Romⁿ Cath. Church / XIII /

+ Ground bel^s / to Romⁿ Cath. Church / X /

Near the kitchen: + XIII /

25. On St. Thomas Mount (350–377).

At the entrance gate, at the foot of the Mount (350).

350.—Above the entrance gate there is a cross, with trefoil-
extremities, which has an inscription within the four angles made
by the two bars of the cross. The inscription is so high that I
could not determine the language, Indian or Armenian, in which
it is written.

On the steps leading to the Mount (351–356).

351.—1694, Sept. 20.—Parai Cam/inhâte Le/de e rezai. /
Aqui jas Anna Pr^a / filha legitima de / Diogo Pr^a e d' Aga/da
Pr^a natural de / Madras^{am} mulher / q' foi de Paschoal / da
graça, aq' falle/ceo em 20 de Sep'temb^o de jd^e de 41 an/nos e por
sua m^{ta} / humilde quis ser / Sepultada ao pê / deste S^{to} Môte p^a
/ q' o devoto Lei/tor p' charid^e re/ze p' amor de D's / hũ P^o Nosso
e Ave M^a / Año do S^r 1694. /

Compare with J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*, 1905,
p. 171, No. 893, where the abbreviations have been removed.
Cotton translates: "Stop, traveller, read and pray. Here lies
Anna Pereira, lawful daughter of Diogo Pereira and Agatha
Pereira, a native of Madras[patam], who was the wife of
Paschoal da Graça. She died here on the 20th September, aged
41 years, and, by her great humility, wished to be buried at the

foot of this Holy Mountain, that the devout reader may for charity and for the love of God pray one [Our] Father and Hail Mary. The year of our Lord 1694."

Suppress 'here.' We have 'aq', not 'aqi' for 'aqui.'

In a copy of this inscription which I made myself in 1921, I find that the date is 1604, instead of 1694. Even the date 1694 makes this the oldest post-Portuguese inscription on the Mount.

352.—1719, July 26.—Here / Lyeth the Body of Adeodata Roach, wife of Major John Roach, / of Madrass, who departed this Life the 26th of July / Anno Domini 1719 / in hopes of a happy / Resurrection to Eternal / Life. /

J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 171, No. 894. "John Roach married Adeodate Wheatley, March 17, 1717. He had displayed great gallantry that same year in defeating an attack on Trivatore by the Nabob's troops; and Governor Collet and his Council made him 'Major of all the Honourable Company's forces on the Coast of Coromandel and in the island of Sumatra.' He was also awarded a gold medal set with diamonds and valued at 300 pagodas. Roach sailed for England in January 1735 (see No. 89). A Captain Edward Roach was in Calcutta at the time of the siege in 1756."

353.—1744, Oct. 17 : 1745, Febr. 7.—Esto vigilans, brevius in sepulchro eris. / Sic transit vita hominis. / Hoc sub saxo jacent et quiescunt qui in tempore brevi multum curriculum ferentes, in studio non desistentes, nec animo delinquētes / inter huius mundi varias et permixtas tribulationes a mundo carne necnon diabolo instigatas ad aeternos lauros possidendos evolarunt / scilicet Guilelmus May filius William May / et Ludovicae Gomes quadraginta duos annos agens Madrastae oriundus Annae Acart / viduus Octobri die decima septima anni millesimi septingentesimi quadragiesimi quarti / necnon mater eius Ludovica Gomes nata Antonii Gomes et Annae Ribeira vidua William May et Richard Ware annos sexaginta agens / septima Februarii anni MDCCXLV obiit. /

De baixo desta campã jazem e descançaõ / Guillelmo May filho de William May et de / Luiza Gomes, de idade de coarenta dous annos / natural de Madrastapataõ viuvo de Anna / Acart, o qual faleceo aos dezasete de Oitubro / do anno MDCCXLIV, e sua May Luiza Go/mes, filha de Antonio Gomes e de Anna Ribe/ira, viuva de William May e Richard Ware / de idade de LX annos falecida aos VII de Feverei/ro do anno 1745, os quacs sendo suas almas del/les purificadas pellas varias tribulacoens que / lhes suscitaraõ os inimigos das almas Christaõs, fo/raõ se agozar de galordaõ eterno q' lhes mereceo a / sua varonil Christandade e herpica passiencia. /

Fleres si scires unum tua tempora mensem.

Rides cum non sit forsitan una dies.

Requiescant in pace.

(*Translation of the Latin*): Be watchful; thou shalt ere long be in the grave. Thus passes the life of man. Beneath this stone lie and rest they, who, covering a long career in a short time, without stopping in the course, or offending amidst this world's various and mixed trials caused by the world, the flesh, and the devil, winged their flight to the possession of an eternal crown, to wit: William May, son of William May and of Louisa Gomes, aged 42 years, born at Madrasta, and widower of Anna Acart, (who died) on the 17th of October of the year 1744; and also his mother, Louisa Gomes, daughter of Antony Gomes and Anna Ribeira, and widow of William May and of Richard Ware, who died on the 7th of February 1745, aged 60 years.

(*Translation of the Portuguese*): Below this stone lie and rest William May, son of William May and of Luiza Gomes, aged 42 years, born at Madrastapataõ, and widower of Anna Acart, who died on the 17th of October 1744, and his mother Luiza Gomes, daughter of Antonio Gomes and of Anna Ribeira, widow of William May and of Richard Ware, who died on the 7th of February 1745, aged 60 years. They, after having purified their souls by the various tribulations raised against them by the enemies of Christian souls, went to enjoy the eternal reward which they merited by their manly Christian life and heroic patience.

Thou wouldst cry, if thou knewest a month is the measure of thy life; thou laughest, when maybe it is not a day. May they rest in peace.

"Richard Ware's name figures at the foot of the list of Freemen living within Fort St. George in 1684, with the note 'married to a Mustez.' A Samuel Hepburn married Rosa Acart April 27, 1729." J. J. Cotton, *List of inscriptions*.

354.—1821, March 2.—Sacred to the memory of Ellen. . Pakenham, who departed this life on the 2nd March 1821./ Æ. 1 yr. & 2 months.

355.—1833, April 7.—Sacred to the memory of Samuel Augustus, the beloved son of Serjeant A. Cochrane, born on the 7th March A. D. 1831, departed this life on the 7th April A.D. 1833, aged 2 years and 1 month. Deeply and sincerely lamented by his parents./

Why do we mourn departed friends
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus (finds?),
To call them to his arms./ Amen.

I wonder now whether this very tomb of a soldier's child, dated 1833, has given rise to an extraordinary story which I picked up here on Febr. 9, 1923.

It was getting late; and we had several photographs more to take at the Church on the Mount. Photographer and

coolie sped up the hill as quickly as their panting sides allowed. I hailed Mrs. Stanley at her house on the side of the hill.

"Any developments?" She had put me on the track of Mrs. Moses' Christian well and Christian lintels. "Father, did you ever hear of the footprint that used to be somewhere on the hill?" "No, never!" "Some soldiers once came in search of it, and now it cannot be found." "What footprint? How big? A footprint of St. Thomas?" "The footprint of a child." "Really?... Catechist!" And we called for the Catechist of St. Patrick's Church, whom we espied at the foot of the hill, at the gate erected in 1726 by Petrus Uscan of blessed memory. The Catechist came running up. "What about that footprint?" "Yes, I know. But it is no more here. Some said it was the footprint of a soldier's child; others said it was that of an angel." "Goodness!... Where was it?" And he took me along, up the steps, and repeated the story exactly the same way, whenever we stopped to breathe and admire the scenery towards Little Mount and the Cathedral and the blue sea. "Here it was," said he, a few paces before reaching the emplacement of a former battery which could still render good service in time of need. "It was merely a brick or a tile, one of the many in the pavement of this road. And some said it was the footprint of a soldier's child, and others that of an angel, and somebody took it away." "For luck?"

Just in 1517 or 1519, when for the first time some Armenians and Portuguese came from Pulicat to the tomb of St. Thomas on a pilgrimage. They broke to pieces with crowbars and pickaxes a big footprint which was shown them as St. Thomas' and then carried the fragments to India, that is to the Goa side, and it was Correa, I believe, the author of *Lendas da India*, who boasted that he had in his possession part of the big toe and of the toe next to it.

356.—Under a cross, black with oil, near the second flight of steps, a Tamil inscription in 3 lines.

1860, March 25.—

மரியாதாசன் உரு (21) வயதில் (கத அசு)ய வருஷம் உரு
தேதி பங்குனிமாதம்.

(Translation): Mr. Mariadasan, at the age of 21, on the 25th of March 1860.

My notes show that there is a Tamil inscription in 31 small lines, which was not copied. Perhaps, there is question of the inscription above, and it may be that the copyist copied only 3 lines.

Near the top of the Mount (357-358).

357.—Some 40 feet below the top of the hill, on one's right, as one ascends, there is a break in the wall, which leads to

an artificially levelled spot, surrounded by earthwork and rubble, with 8 openings at equal distances. Evidently, the place was utilised in former times as a strategic position. The paved emplacements for gun carriages are still visible. Within memory, the firing, at this place, by the military of the St. Thomas Mount Cantonments caused so much damage to the Church above that the military authorities yielded to the protestations of the priest in charge and withdrew. In the 18th Century, the Mount was frequently the scene of serious fighting.

Mgr. Medlycott (*India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 122, n. 1) says of this artificially level ground that on inquiry he was informed that "in former ages the Nestorians had a bishop's residence on the spot." How is it that such information never appears in the many earlier accounts, printed and MS., which I have seen? Yet, I too was told about the same place by the Chaplain of the convent on the Mount, in 1923, that it was the site of a Nestorian monastery.

358.—An Indian gentleman of Mylapore once told me that, at the foot of the Mount, there was a cave, the opening of which was concealed by a shop built in front of it. Inquiries at the Mount failed to elicit any further knowledge of such a cave. My informants knew of no cave anywhere on the hill.

On the top of the Mount (359-367).

359.—At the top of the steps, there are two curious old pillars. Are these remnants of a sort of kiosk (*charola*) which is said (about A.D. 1612) to have been erected both at St. Thomas Mount and at the Little Mount by the Portuguese above a beautiful open-air cross attributed to St. Thomas? Judging from the experiments I tried on them with my penknife, these two old pillars are not monoliths.

360.—Near the old flagstaff (and powder-magazine?), at the North-East corner of the ground round the Church, there lies on the ground an Armenian inscription of 19 lines, the last two of which mention in Portuguese: "Gregorio Parao, Armenio, 1707."

The translation by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq., from the Armenian is given thus by J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 170, No. 890: "This is the tomb of Gregory, who is the son of Sarkies. He is a native of Erivan, a citizen of a great city, a merchant of pearls, and a sojourner at Madras. He is of a meek and humble nature. The Lord seated on a throne of light shall have mercy on his soul and he will be worthy of the Kingdom. Whoever on his behalf shall say, 'Father, I have sinned,' shall be remembered before Christ. Died in the year of the Saviour, 1707, on Saturday, October 20th."

"This is one of the oldest inscriptions of this nation traceable in Madras. There are older ones at Calcutta (Reza

Beebee Sookeas, 1630), and at Agra. An Armenian colony had existed at the last-named place from very early times, and, in 1609, Captain William Hawkins, of the ship *Hector*, envoy from James I. to the Court of the Mogul, had been given an Armenian maiden in marriage by Jehangir. Hawkins unfortunately died on the journey home. His widow married Gabriel Towerson, one of the first factors of the East India Company, who was killed in the Amboyna massacre of 1622." Cf. J. J. Cotton, *ibid.*

361.—Orthodox Armenians and other non-Catholic visitors were often and are still impressed by the number of Armenian inscriptions in and near this Church. There is the Armenian pulpit too, the picture of Our Lady and Child painted on wood in Armenian style, and the name of Petrus Usca¹ on the top of the reredos of the main altar; there are the Armenian paintings of the Apostles. Orthodox Armenian Bishops have been heard to say: "This is an Armenian Church." The truth is that the Church was rebuilt by the Portuguese in 1547 and was always theirs; but, naturally enough, the Armenians, whether Orthodox or Uniates, felt a special devotion to the spot, perhaps from an ancient tradition that their nation had been specially devout to it in pre-Portuguese times. Strange that no other Christian pre-Portuguese inscriptions but the one round the cross above the altar have been found on the Mount! I made a diligent search for pre-Portuguese crosses on the boulders of the hill, for marks left by medieval pilgrims, but to no purpose.

362.—The small vaulted building, North-East of the Church, now a church godown, contains a big old almirah, still in good condition, having in three or four places some Armenian letters, eight altogether.

Four big stones stuck in the ground near this vaulted building show where a flagstaff stood formerly.

363.—On a tablet let into the outer wall of the Church, North-West side, an inscription partly Portuguese, partly Armenian.

1707.—"Este Alpendre c'om a porta da Igr/eja mandou fazer / Coja Safar Zacharias / no anno de 1707." (*Follow two lines in Armenian.*)

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՍԱԳԱՐԻՆ

ՍԱՏՏԵՍԻ ԶԱԳԱՐԻ 1707 :

(*Translation of the Portuguese*): Coja Safar Zacharias had this porch with the door of the Church made in the year 1707.

¹ Petrus Usca was the leading Armenian merchant of Madras in the first-half of the eighteenth century. His benefactions to the city of

(*Translation of the Armenian*): In memory of Safar, [son of] Mahtesy Zachareh, 1707.

"He died in 1725, and lies buried inside the Church of St. Thomas' Mount.¹ He was the son of Mahtesy Zachareh of Julfa, who had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. "Mahtesy," in Armenian, signifies a *pilgrim* and is equivalent to the word "Haji" amongst the Muhammadans who have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca in Arabia. In former years, many Armenians from Persia and India visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, but that religious fervour has, alas, died out in this materialistic age, and there are hardly any who perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem nowadays." (*Note by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq.*)

Cf. J. J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions*. 1905. p. 170. No. 889.

364.—At the foot of the wall, beneath this inscription, there lay in 1921 a stone, which, when I turned it up, yielded the following: "Renovated / in A.D. 1905 / by Rev. D. S. Da Costa / Portg. Mission". What had this Padre renovated? The work done, I heard, was so insignificant that it was not worth commemorating. The stone had not been put up, but had been turned round, on its face. "Please, do not mention it." Unfortunately, a stone is a stone, and I had copied the inscription. Why had the stone not been thrown away, or buried, or better dashed to pieces? Since it may still lie there and puzzle others, as it puzzled me, it must be mentioned.

365.—On the façade of the porch of the Church there is a granite stone bearing the arms of Portugal surmounted by a crown and a winged horse.

366.—The ground in front of the portico was formerly paved with bricks, and round the edge of the hill ran platforms for the pilgrims to rest on. These platforms are now in poor condition. I was told that even as late as 40 years ago—let us say a century ago—the pilgrims at the festival of the Church, December 18th, the feast of Our Lady's Expectation, were counted in thousands—5,000 was the figure I heard—whereas now the number reaches barely 150.

367.—Some 20 ft. from the portico, in a northerly direction, lies a rough stone with an inscription in Tamil and the laconic information which some one on the spot translated thus, "This stone belongs to Manuvāl" (Manuel). "Sondakal Manuvāl." A

Madras are faithfully chronicled by the well-known Armenian historian and researcher, Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S., in his "History of the Armenians in India," pp. 142-145.

¹ See No. 371.

Tamil scholar consulted later, far away from the scene, and with only "Sondakal Manuvāl" to go by, says: "The meaning is 'Emmanuel of Sondakal'. Names of places ending in *kal*, *gal*, *gul*, 'stone,' are many, e.g., Dindigul, Mutukal, etc. To mean 'This stone belongs to Manuvāl,' the Tamil should properly be 'Manuvāl sondakal.'"

Under the portico of the Church (368-369).

368.—Below a design showing two angels with trumpets, and a heart in flames flanked on either side by a pelican, an inscription partly Armenian, partly Latin.

1739, Dec. 20.—

ՆԵՐՔՈՅ ՏԼՊԼՆԵՐԻ Ե ՀԱՆԳՈՒՑԵԼԼ ՈՈՒԼԹԱՆՈՒ
ՄԻ ԴՈՒՍՏՐ ԵՒ ՈՀԱՆՆԵՐԻ ԿՈՂԱԼԿԻՑ ՏԻԳԻՆ ՓԵՐԻՆ
ԱԶՆ, ԱԶԳԱՒ ՀԱՅ ՅՈՅԺ ՊԼՏՈՒԵԼԼ Ի ԱՄԵՆԵՑՈՒՆՑ,
ԾՆԵԼԼ Ի ՔԼՊԱՔԻՆ ՈՊԼՀԱՆ, ԵԿԱՅ Ի ԱՇԽԼՐՀՈ ՅՅ
ՏԼԹԻ, ՎԼԻԺԼՆԵՅԼԻ ՓԼԼԻԳԱԹ ԴԵԿՏԵՄԲԵՐ 20, ՅԼ
ՄԻ ՏԵԼԼԻՆ ՍԵՐՈՅ ՔՄԻ 1739 :

Hic Jacet Domina Perinas / Filia C. Sultan, Et Dominae
Anam / Conjux C. Joannes Marcar, natione / Armena, nata
Ispam in Persia / diem supremum Obiit Paleacat / 20. Decem-
bris. 1739. / Trigenta [*sic*] tres annorum [*sic*] Nata. /

(*Translation of the Armenian*): Under this tomb lies Pherinaz, the daughter of the late Soolthanoom and the wife of Johanness, of the Armenian nation, much respected by everybody. Born in the city of Ispahan. She lived 33 years and died at Phalighat on the 20th December in the year of our Lord Christ 1739.

(*Translation of the Latin*): Here lies Mrs. Perinas, daughter of C. Sultan and Mrs. Anam, wife of C. Joannes Marcar, an Armenian by nationality, born at Ispam [= Ispahan] in Persia; died at Paleacat on the 20th of December 1739, aged thirty-three years.

"She was the sister of the famous Agah Shameer Soolthanoom of Madras, who was the foremost Armenian merchant of that city after Khojah Petrus Woskan. See the "History of the Armenians in India" by Mesroby J. Seth. M.R.A.S., pp. 145-148." (*Note by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq.*)

In J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 171, No. 891.

C. stands twice for Coja = Khwāja, "a title generally applied," says J. J. Cotton, *ibid.*, "to preceptors and merchants." Cotton gives the date 1739; so does the Rev. S. Jacob in the Armenian text copied by him; the date, as copied by me from the Latin, in 1921, was 1759.

369.—Near No. 368, under the porch; below a pair of scissors (?) and a balance (?)¹ an inscription partly in Armenian, partly in Latin.

1764, Febr. 20.—

ՆԵՐՔՈՅ ՏԱՊԱՆԻՍ Է ՀԱՆԳՈՒՑԵԱԼ ՇԱՀՄԱՐԵՆՑ
ՈՒՒԼԹԱՆՈՒՄԻ ԿՈՂԱԿԻՑ ԱՆՆԱ ԽԱԹՈՒՆՆ, ԱԶԳԱՆ
ՀԱՅԻ, ԾՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՈՊԱՀԱՆ ԶՈՒՂԱ, ԵԿԱՑ
Ի ԱՇԽԱՏՈՒ ԼՍՈՒ 64, ՅՈՅԺ ՊԱՏՈՒԵԱԼ ԵՒ ԲԱՐԻ
ՎԱՐՈՒՔ, ՎԱՆՃԱՆԵՑԱԻ ՄԱԴՐԱՍՏԱՆ ՓԵՏՐԱՎԱՐԻ
ԼՍՈՒ 20, ԹԻՎՆ ՓՐԿՉԻՆ ՄԵՐՈՅ ՔՄԻ 1764 :

Hic sub Monumento Jacet Anna Jacobyan quae fuit dilecta
Conjux / Sultani David et Carissima Nationi / suae Armeniae
praecipue suis Cognatis, Oriunda Civitate Julpha in Persia.
Et agens Sexaginta quatuor annos Obit in Madrasta 20
Februarii 1764.

(*Translation of the Armenian*) :

Under this tomb lies Anna Khathoon, the wife of the late
Soolthanoom Shameer of the Armenian nation, born at Julpha,
Ispahan. She lived in this world 64 years, much respected, and
died at Madras on the 20th February, in the year of our
Saviour Christ 1764.

(*Translation of the Latin*) : Here, under (this) monument,
lies Anna Jacobyan, the beloved wife of Sultan David, who was
very dear to her Armenian countrymen, and chiefly to her
relatives. Born at Julpha in Persia, she died at Madrasta on
the 20th of February 1764, aged 64 years.

No. 892 in J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, 1905, p. 171.

"She was the mother of the famous Agah Shameer Sool-
thanoom of Madras, who was the premier Armenian merchant of
that city in the second half of the 18th century. See the
"History of the Armenians in India" by Mesroby J. Seth,
M.R.A.S., pp. 145-148." (*Note by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq.*)

Within the Church (370).

370.—The jambs and the arch of the façade gate are of
granite, but of inartistic design.

At the bottom of the Church, the floor on the north side
sounds hollow, as if there were a vaulted tomb beneath.

¹ The family crest of the Shameer family, several of whom are
buried in the Armenian church of St. Mary at Madras, was as follows :
A pair of scissors, a yard measure, a pair of scales with small weights for
weighing precious stones, and an inkpot with a quill pen. See the "His-
tory of the Armenians in India" by Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S., p. 147.
(*Note by Mesroby J. Seth, Esq.*)

I searched in vain for an inscription commemorating the name of Padre Gaspar Coelho, who in 1545 was the host of St. Francis Xavier at the Presbytery near the Church of the tomb, and who in 1547 discovered the stone cross above the altar of St. Thomas Mount. About 1612, Father Manoel Barradas, S.J., wrote that the priest who discovered that stone was buried at the Church of St. Thomas Mount, and that the inscription on his tomb testified to the fact that he was the discoverer. I looked in vain for this inscription behind the main altar, the only place where it might have been hidden. If the stone lay on the ground, it may now be hidden by the cemented floor.

At the height of the cornice, on both sides of the nave, and before the arch of the sanctuary, there jut out half a dozen stone brackets, which puzzled not a little the Sisters of the Convent and myself. I was told that formerly the Church did not extend westwards beyond these stone projections. This would mean that Khwāja Safar Zacharias extended the Church in 1707 more than his inscription claims. The information may be doubted.

One of the Nuns of the Convent writes to me (Sept. 7. 1924). that, "in addition to the 12 stones mentioned above, there are 4 similar ones, one in each of the four corners of the porch, sustaining the arches; 4 at the base of the arches, where is the picture of Our Lady; and 4 to sustain the base of the arches of the vault of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. Altogether, therefore, 24 similar stones of granite." There are, however, no arches in the case of the first set of twelve.

Round the arch in front of the sanctuary we read: "Nossa Senhora da Expectação," (Our Lady of the Expectation), which is the title of the Church, the feast of the Expectation falling on the 18th of December. In ancient times the cross above the altar used to sweat on that day, and, be the explanation what it may, we have so many attestations of the fact that it cannot be gainsaid in any way by the most sceptical.

When Indian pilgrims, or pilgrims from Ceylon, Burma, etc., Catholics or Protestants, come to the Mount, they generally ask to be shown St. Thomas' scapular. "What do they call St. Thomas' scapular?" I inquired from the Sisters of the Holy Apostles' Convent who gave me this wonderful information. "The picture of the Madonna and Child after St. Luke." Why that picture should be called St. Thomas' scapular is more than I can say. Is the idea, after all, that St. Thomas was buried with it?

Popular imagination once roused will run to great lengths. Here are two stories of pure imagination, connected with this picture of the Madonna, which I had never heard or read till I came across them lately in a series of articles entitled "The

Portuguese in Madras." and published in the *Madras Mail*, about May 6th, 1921.

"As to how the picture came there, I must invoke again the aid of tradition. It is said that St. Thomas brought it with him through his travels in India. There are many legends connected with the picture, but the best one I have heard is that on a certain day of every year two white doves used to be seen soaring up to the heavens from the summit of the hill. The curiosity of the inquisitive being whetted, an inspection of the spot led to the discovery of the picture, and by a process of inferences it was traced to St. Thomas.¹ I am informed that a copy of this picture is somewhere at the Cape of Good Hope.

"The picture has, however, not escaped immunity from the ravages of time, and there is another story told about it, which is worth recounting. A fleck here and a spot there indicated that it wanted touching up. A certain prelate of San Thomé, it is reported, secured the services of an artist, who with paint, brush, and pallet proceeded to apply himself to the delicate task of retouching. But, as the artist attempted to impart the first touch to the picture, lo and behold! he was not able to see. This event is said to have occurred within the memory of living men."

The story we have related above (No. 58) under the year 1558, a good old story, the authenticity of which cannot be contested, may with advantage take the place of the two uncritical modern ones just cited.

W. Germann reports from Augusti's *Denkwürdigkeiten* a most remarkable fact, if true. "Aus englischen Zeitschriften steht im Int. Bl. der Leipz. Lit. Zeitung von 1818, Nr. 280, folgende Nachricht: 'Auf dem St. Thomasberge unweit Madras, wo viele Gräber aus den ersten Zeiten des Christenthums sind, hat in Mai 1818 ein Soldat in einem Grabe drei Manuscripte auf Palmblättern gefunden, die im Jahr 51 nach Christi Geburt von einem Simon Caleb geschrieben worden, Gebete und eine kleinere Chronik von Indien enthalten und nun nach London gebracht werden.' Augusti fügt die Worte bei: 'Durch dergleichen Entdeckungen (welche allerdings mit möglicher Sorgfalt und kritischer Strenge geprüft werden müssen) würden jene alten Ueberlieferungen eine unerwartete Bestätigung erhalten, und

¹ Compare this with what I find in Jacob Haafner, *Reize in eenen Palanquin*, Amsterdam, G. J. Beyerinck, 1827, p. 217, about a mount a few miles away from Monte Grande or St. Thomas Mount: "Neither shall I speak of the Heathen *Monté*, viz., the Tiroekishtna Condam mount, some miles further, on the top of which there is also a temple or pagoda, nor of the two birds, Poersha and Bidhata, which, as the Indians say, have come every day these last five centuries, precisely at twelve o'clock, noon, and take their food from the hands of a Bramin." For more details on this heathen mountain and the two birds, see Haafner's *Lotgevallen op eene reize van Madras over Tranquebar naar het eiland Ceilon*, Amsterdam, G. J. A. Beyerinck, 1826, before p. 95.

es würde sich zeigen, dass hier wie in andern Fällen die historische Kritik mancher neuern Schriftsteller viel zu voreilgeinseitig war.'” (*Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, p. 296.) German adds that he could find no information on these MSS. either in London or Madras. We may ask where those many tombs of the first ages of our era are to be found.

Between the Church and the sacristy there is a narrow empty space with a small recess in the wall. Mother St. Alban in 1921 asked me the meaning of that recess. I did not know. Her notion of it was that St. Thomas had said Mass there. I could not but smile, since St. Thomas, generally credited with a giant's strength as in the case of the log, was now represented as a sort of dwarfish elf. However, I had no answer at the time. It was only on meeting Mother St. Alban again that I could tell her that her 'tradition' was altogether wrong. The proof was that the Church, as we now have it, was built only in 1547.

In the sacristy there are some interesting old ivory statues: one of St. Michael, though broken, is very artistic; another of Our Lady is unusually large. There are also three statuetttes of the Infant Jesus, two of them with the index-finger on the mouth, and one in the attitude of teaching.

Inscriptions within the Church (371-372).

371.—Armenian inscription in 7 lines on a tomb inside the Church.

ԱՅՈՒ Ե՛ ՏԱՊԱՆ ԵՂԵՐՄԻ ՍԱՔԱՐԻՆ . ՈՐ ԵՐ ՈՐԻՒ
ՄԱՀՏԵՍԻ ԶԱՔԱՐԵ ԶՈՒՂԱՅԵՅԻՈՅ : ԵԼԵՔԻԹՈՐ
ԱՅՈՒ ՈՈՐԻԲ ԵԿԵԼԵՅԻՈՅՈՅ , ՓԻԽԵՑՄԻ Ի ԱՇԽԱՐՀԵՈ
Ի ԹԻՎՆ ՓՐԿՉԻՆ ՌԵՃԻԵ , ՆԻՐՀԱՆԵ :

(*Translation*): This is the tomb of Safar, who was the son of Mahtesy Zachareh of Julfa. Elekh (?) fithore (?) of this holy Church. Departed this life in the year of the Saviour 1725.

“This is the same person in whose memory a mural tablet was placed outside the Church in 1707.”

“The words ‘*Elekh fithore*’ are not Armenian. They may be Portuguese or in some other foreign language, denoting either the builder or the warden of the Church.” (*Note by Mesrobian J. Seth, Esq.*)

Elekh might be corrupt Portuguese for *electo* (elected); *fithore* might represent *feitor*, a factor; a bailiff; a steward; which brings us close to ‘warden.’

¹ See No. 363.

372.—An Armenian inscription round the small cross at the top of the reredos of the main altar. It contains the name of Petrus Uscan, and is probably worded in the same way as on the reredos of the main altar in the Luz Church: “In memory of Petrus, the son of Woskan.”

373.—An Armenian inscription round the wooden support of the pulpit. Might it not contain the name of Safar, son of the Mahtesy Zachariah of Julfa? Cf. Nos. 363, 371.

374.—On the ground, in the Church.

1809, Nov. 2.—Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Marianne Baillie / who departed this life the 2nd November A.D. 1809.

375.—To reach the bell we had to go to the terrace. It had a Tamil inscription, from which we learned that it had been removed from one of the chapels at the foot of the Mount, one of the two chapels in the *maidān* West of Silver Street.

ஆனந்தராய முத்தியாயால் (ந.த.அ.ச.ய.ஸ்) வாங்கித் தில்
வாரப்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அச்செய்திக்குப் பிறகு மீட்டர் கெட்டி
லுக்காக. ரோலை. 1. 5. 1.

In the year 1844 the bell was bought by Anaunda Mudaliyar for the Church of Our Lady of Help.

376.—I was congratulating myself on the information contained on this Tamil bell, when the Chaplain of the Convent, pointing towards the flagstaff, made me note, almost in a straight line, the Little Mount, the Descanço Church, and the Cathedral Tower. And the traditions which he had inherited from his predecessor, and would probably hand down to his successor, were: St. Thomas would pray on the summit of St. Thomas Mount, go to the cave of Little Mount for meditation, continue towards Descanço Church, or the Church of Rest, rest there awhile, and proceed to S. Thomé, Mylapore, where lived Kándāpa Rāja. I wondered at the assurance with which the Chaplain spoke, but repressed my scepticism till he had done, for fear of stopping the flow of what he called traditions. His traditions made St. Thomas Mount the Saint's chief habitat, in opposition to the traditions of Chinna Malai or Little Mount!

The present traditions are a well-nigh inextricable tangle. Only by going back to the earliest beginnings and coming down the centuries can we unravel the tangle and co-ordinate the legends. Even that is hardly possible, as the versions are so many and so varied. At the worst, there rises above them all the fact that Mylapore is full of ancient memories all pointing to St. Thomas and his martyrdom, and proving that the Catholics, priests and laity, of S. Thomé have during these last four centuries tried to hand down, as best they could, oral

traditions of a past which reaches down, so to say, to the beginning of things.

377.—*Church Registers*.—The present earliest Baptism Register of St. Thomas Mount begins on January 1751; the oldest Marriage Register, on February 17, 1819; the oldest Burial Register on April 10, 1840. (From a statement sent to me by Fr. M. L. Cabral on February 10, 1921.)

At the Holy Apostles' Convent, on St. Thomas Mount (378).

378.—Near the Church, at the South-East end of the Church flat, there is a small Convent of Nuns, the Holy Apostles' Convent, a name suggested by the paintings of the Apostles in the Church, which the Nuns take care of. This Convent, established in June 1901, is the Sanatorium of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. Here they come from their different houses of Southern India to recuperate their health. The height of the place, the occasional invigorating breeze, the exhilarating view of the sea, the plains and the hills, the inspiring proximity of a shrine hoary with ancient memories, a life of quiet, silence, and prayer, congenial to pious souls, make of the place a delightful retreat. There was one great drawback to the place: not a drop of water was to be had on the hill. In 1923, Lady Willingdon had a system of reservoirs put up along the slope, into which water is pumped up from a well at the foot of the hill, and at the Convent the name of Lady Willingdon will now go down as that of one of their greatest benefactresses. Very precarious is the existence of these good Sisters; yet, the sight of their very poverty, not long ago, drew from a Vicereine the sigh: "I wish I were one of you, Sisters!"

Visitors in search of souvenirs of the hallowed places S. Thomé, Mylapore, and St. Thomas Mount, are always sure of a hearty welcome in the Sisters' parlour.

For many, many years there was at this Convent a motherly old Nun, who was like the repository of the traditions of S. Thomé, the guardian of the shrine, the accredited cicerone of generations of pilgrims. Here she moved in and out, queen of all she surveyed. Born in Yorkshire, a convert from Anglicanism, a Nun, and well advanced in years, she could speak with a directness which everyone took for granted. Of the many interesting anecdotes put down to her account, I remember some.

A Protestant Nun of Madras came to see the Church. "What habit are you wearing?" asked the Franciscan Nun of Mary. "I am a Sister!" "Yes, but you are out of the Church. I was a Protestant once, became a Catholic and a Nun, and, after more than 30 years of life as a Nun, I thank God that he made me a Sister of the Church." A

fortnight after, the Protestant Sister came back, was directed to the Bishop of Mylapore, made her abjuration and joined a Catholic sisterhood in England.

The Bishop of Southwark, on a tour with his wife and daughter, came on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas' shrine, at the Mount. "I see you have a cross on your breast," said Mother X. "Yes. I am a Bishop." The sight of his wife and daughter revealed the rest. "You are a Bishop? Well, but not like my Bishop. He is a Bishop of the Church, whilst you are out of the Church." "Perhaps," said he of Southwark. "Oh! daddy, do not say that!" interposed his daughter. That year some fifteen of his Southwark clergy joined the Church of Rome.

Mother X. was taking round the Church a noble English Duke, not a Catholic. The visit had been pre-arranged, so that she was not unaware of his high rank. The Duke asked for the meaning of what we call a confessional. "Oh! that's where the priest sits, and here you kneel down and say your sins." When he left, after signing the Visitor's Book. "When shall I come to make my confession?" he asked Mother X. with an arch smile. "When you have made your abjuration, your Royal Highness."

Once, she pressed Lord Z., the Governor of Madras, about the Sisters' requirements. Not a drop of water on the hill! The Nuns wanted Rs. 3,000 to sink a well, or otherwise provide the house with a decent water supply. "What about that ivory statue of the Madonna?" said Lord Z. "That would bring you the necessary amount." All the same, he promised to interest himself in the matter, but the promise remained a promise.

One evening, a party from Government House, Madras, appeared on the top of the Mount, late in the evening. The Governor was there too. Was the gate of the Convent open? Were the Nuns at their prayers? Was there nothing to show that that lonely house was the Holy Apostles' Convent? I cannot say; but the party were enjoying the view from the brick-paved terrace in front of the Convent, and things were spread out for a tiffin. Mother X. came out, and inquired what they were doing about the Sisters' house so late in the evening. They withdrew forthwith, and, when one of the party whispered that it was the Governor, "I did not know," she said. "I know the rule." When the Governor came the next time, she apologised, but added: "It is our rule, Your Excellency."

Another time it was a Viceroy. He came incognito. Mother X. did not know who he was. She offered him some souvenirs, but remarked that, as she had had to pay for them herself, she had to put a price on them. "I did not bring any money," said the Viceroy. "Send me the money then. I trust you are a gentleman." Being a gentleman, the Viceroy

sent her an amount commensurate with his dignity, and the crest on the envelope revealed his identity.

27. *At the Convent Cemetery, on St. Thomas Mount (379-383).*

The Cemetery of the Convent of the Holy Apostles is slightly down the slope, on the S.W. side of the Church.

379.—In the middle of a cross: Pie Jesu Domine, dona eis requiem. [= Good Lord Jesus, give them rest.]

380.—1918, Jan. 1.—Here rests awaiting the resurrection Sister Marie de N. D. de la Pitié, F. M. M., deceased on the 4th January 1918 in her 51st year and in the 29th of her religious life. R. I. P.

381.—1918, Sept. 5.—Here rests awaiting the resurrection Mother Mary of Good Counsel, F. M. M., deceased on the 5th Sep. 1918 in her 30th year and in the 11th of her religious life. R. I. P.

382.—1919, July, 28.—

1919. ஜூலைமாதம் 28 ஆம் தேதி அக இளம்பருவ சகோதரி அர்ச். மரியா | அவள் பரிசுநிலைநிலை நினைவி சபை ஹிஸ்பேனா | கன்னியாஸ்திரியா கிறிஸ்து மடமாமடைத்தார்கள் |

(Translation): Sister Agnes Mary, an Oblate, of the Franciscan Missionary Society, died on the 28th of July 1919.

383.—1919, Nov. 25.—

1919 நவம்பர் மாதம் 25 ஆம் தேதி கத்தோலிக் மடம் பரிசுநிலை அர்ச் | மரியாமின் சபை ஹிஸ்பேனா | கன்னியாஸ்திரியா கிறிஸ்து மடமாமடைத்தார்கள் |

(Translation): Sister Catherine Mary, an Oblate, of the Congregation of Mary, died on the 25th of November 1919.

28. *At the Museum, Madras (384).*

384.—An enormous stone, with a Portuguese inscription, removed by Col. Taylor, M.S.C., from the ruins of a chapel at St. Thomas Mount. Cf. *Administration Report of the Government Central Museum, Madras, for the year 1881-82*, as embodied in Madras Government Order, No. 600 (Public), dated 21st July 1882. The Curator of the Museum sent me two estampages of the inscription, and in 1923 I went to inspect the stone at the Museum.

(l. 1) [MVLHE]

(l. 2) [R · DONA ·] MARIA · E

(l. 3) DE · SEVS · ERDEIROS ·

- (l. 4) O QVAL · ESTA · ERMI
 (l. 5) DA · FES · A SVA CVS
 (l. 6) TA · NA ERA · DE · 1636
 (l. 7) ANOS · EN MEMO
 (l. 8) RJA · DA CRVS · Q · A
 (l. 9) QVI · SE ACHOV · C
 (l. 10) OMO DECLARA · O
 (l. 11) LETREIRO · DO ALTA
 (l. 12) R.

(*Translation*): “[This is the tomb of and of his wife] (Dona) Maria and of his (their) heirs, who [*in the masculine singular*] made this hermitage at his expense in the year 1633, in memory of the cross which here was found, as the inscription of the altar declares.”

Discussed in *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 62; 222. The cross referred to is the cross with the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription found in 1547 and now kept in the Church on St. Thomas Mount. In 1923, while at Mylapore, I could not find anyone able to tell me from what ruined chapel this stone was removed. I could not find any inscription on the altar or behind the altar of the Church on St. Thomas Mount. I conclude that the hermitage built by Dona Maria's husband was somewhere at the foot of St. Thomas Mount.

29. *At the Hindu Temple, Triplicane, Madras (385).*

385.—“Triplicane. Ancient temple. There are fragments of tombstones in Roman characters near the *garbhagriham*, the presence of which is unaccountable.” Cf. V. Rangacharya, *A topographical list of the inscriptions in the Madras Presidency (collected till 1915)*, Madras, Vol. II (1919), p. 988. Has anything been done to decipher these inscriptions? ¹

30. *A visit to the Armenian Church, Armenian Str., Madras (386).*

386.—On a visit to the Armenian Church, in Armenian Street, Madras (Jan. 23, 1921), I learned from the Rev. V. T. Michaelientz, the priest in charge, that he had a register in which all the Armenian inscriptions in the different Churches, and cemeteries of Madras and Mylapore were recorded. I could not but commend the enlightened interest which the Armenians take in those of their nation. At Dacca, in 1920, I found similarly that there was a register at the Armenian Presbytery for the inscriptions of the Dacca District. The pity is that these

¹ Not to swell unduly the size and expense of this volume, we hold over about 200 comparatively modern inscriptions, mostly English, from the General Cemetery of Quibble Island.

inscriptions have not been printed yet in Armenian, with suitable translations, but I am glad to say that my Armenian friend, Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, author of the "History of the Armenians in India," and an enthusiastic antiquarian researcher, intends to publish shortly an "Armenian Obituary of India" giving all the Armenian inscriptions throughout India collected by him during the last 35 years, with their English translations and historical notes. An "Armenian Obituary of India," prepared by the loving hand of one of themselves, should prove of great historical value in view of the fact that Armenians have been connected with India from the days of Mar Thomas in the 8th century of the Christian era.

Around the Church in Armenian Street there were more than 120 inscriptions, most of them entirely in Armenian. J. J. Cotton has translations of only 8 of these, one of them being in Latin. Armenian inscriptions are a pleasure to see, everywhere in India. It seems that the art of carving inscriptions is hereditary with the Armenians in their priestly families. The Church has two dates inscribed on the façade: one of them records its erection in 1712; the other the rebuilding in 1772. In the left verandah of the Church hangs a painting representing Sultan Shameer (+ June 13, 1797).¹ The bells, six of them, are all inscribed: unfortunately, it was impossible to get near them. These inscriptions should be examined. (Sometimes, most interesting discoveries are made on Church bells. It was my case at the Church of Kuravelangad in Malabar, in February 1924, when we found on a fine big bell of Christian origin, as evidenced by the crosses cast on it, an inscription, beautifully preserved, which none of us could read: the alphabet nearest to it should have been Greek.) In the Church, on the altar, was a framed picture painted on glass, representing the Mother of Sorrows surrounded by Angels, and bearing a Latin inscription: "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus."

On the steps above the altar-table were painted scenes of Our Lord's life and passion. In the Church was kept a beautifully illuminated MS. New Testament in Armenian of A.D. 1702. The vestry contained a number of inscription. A cope with painted lining dated from 1777; another cope, embroidered, was of about 1806; a belt had pictures of the crucifixion and of the Apostles.

¹ For a description of this painting, see Mesroby J. Seth's "History of the Armenians in India," p. 147.

PART III.

1. *Father Guy Tachard, S.J., on Mylapore (Jan. 18, 1711).*

From among the many accounts of Mylapore in my collections I select a passage from a letter of Fr. G. Tachard, S.J., to Fr. du Trévou, Confessor to His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans. (*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1781. XII. 9-22; letter from Chandernagore, January 18, 1711). Our chief reason for publishing it here is that, besides giving the reader a taste for ancient texts on Mylapore, it was translated and published in leaflet form in 1920 by Miss Cammiade, Madras, for the benefit of Little Mount, with a view to collect the funds necessary for re-erecting the Church or Chapel of the Resurrection. We utilise Miss Cammiade's translation, after collating it with the original French text and restoring some passages which had been omitted.

[P. 9] After having taken leave of the Governor [of Madras], I started for San Thomé, which is only two leagues distant from Madras. I was longing to see Mgr. Laynes, the Bishop of that town, who had been a missionary of Maduré once upon a time. The kindness and love with which the holy Prelate received me surpass all that I can tell: his elevation [to a Bishop's dignity] has not changed in any way his mode of living; except for his dress, he would still be taken for one of the missionaries of our Society. The next day, I ate at his table, at which nothing but milk and vegetables are ever served.

The same day I had the happiness of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in a chapel adjoining the Cathedral.¹ [P. 10] in which chapel it is said that St. Thomas stayed some time, and where several relics of this great Apostle, such as a bit of the lance with which he was pierced, some of his bones, and pieces of his vestments, are still kept.

Some months before, I had had the happiness of seeing at leisure the other monuments of piety which attract in crowds the old and new Christians from all parts of India.

The chief of these are to be seen at Great Mount and Little Mount. It is thus that these two hills, two big leagues from San Thomé,² are named.

¹ The chapel under the dome, outside the old Cathedral, on the east side.

² Two big leagues would be the distance of Great Mount (*Monte Grande*), now called St. Thomas Mount, from the tomb. Further, Father Tachard places Great Mount at half a league from Little Mount.

Little Mount is a rock, very steep on three sides, having a gentle slope only on its south western side. Two Churches are to be seen on it. One of them is turned northwards towards Madras and occupies the centre of the mount: stone steps with two or three windings¹ lead to an esplanade made on the rock. From this esplanade one enters the Church of Our Lady.²

Seven or eight steps lead to the altar, beneath which there is a cave about 14 feet broad and 15 or 16 feet long: [*P. 11*] thus only its western end is beneath the altar.³ The cave, either natural or artificial,⁴ is not more than 7 feet in its greatest height. One enters it with some difficulty through a crevice in the rock. This crevice is about 5 feet high by a little more than a foot and a half broad.⁵ It has not been thought fit to embellish this entrance, nor even to change anything in the whole cave, because it is believed that St. Thomas often retired into this solitary place to pray. Our missionaries have put up an altar at the eastern end of the cave.⁶ There is a tradition among the people that a sort of window on the southern end, of about 2½ feet, which throws a very dim light into the cave, was miraculously made, and that it was through this opening that St. Thomas escaped from the Brame who pierced him with his lance, and that he went to die at Great Mount, which is only half a league distant towards the south-west. Yet, everyone does not agree to this fact: some say that he was wounded at Great Mount, while he was in prayer before the cross which he himself [*P. 12*] had cut in the rock and which is still to be seen there.⁷

From the Church of Our Lady one climbs to the top of the mount, where our Fathers have erected a small building. It is built on the rock, which needed much labour to level in order to make this small hermitage somewhat comfortable. At the southern end of the hermitage, which is square-built, is the Church of the Resurrection. A cross, one foot high, is to be seen there, in a small hollow made in the rock, on which the altar of the Church rests. This little cross, which is in relief and cut in the hollow of the rock, entirely resembles that of

¹ Are the present stairs leading up to Little Mount later than 1711? They have no windings now, but at most a landing breaking the steepness of the ascent up to the Church of the cave. There are, however, other flights of steps higher up on the hill, leading to the perennial spring.

² Of Our Lady of Health. By esplanade understand level ground.

³ The altar, the only one in the Church, is indeed higher than the rest of the Church. It rests partly on the roof of the cave.

⁴ My impression of the cave, after lighting it up for examination, was that it is not artificial.

⁵ No reference to the cross on a calvary of 3 steps engraved in relief on the rock by the side of the entrance.

⁶ This vindicates for Great Mount greater importance than for Little Mount.

⁷ The present altar at St. Thomas Mount is in the same place as in 1711.

Great Mount except in size.¹ The same prodigies are to be seen here, and, if I may so express myself, the same miraculous phenomena. I mean that, when the cross at Great Mount changes colour, is overshadowed by clouds, and sweat, similar changes are to be seen on the cross at Little Mount: clouds and sweat, but less abundant. Father Silvester de Sousa, a missionary of our Society in Malabar, who has been living for a long time at Little Mount, assures me that he has been an eyewitness [*P.* 13] of this miracle.² I shall speak more of this further on.

A big stone staircase, but very steep, beginning at the western foot of the hill, leads to a square platform made in front of the door of the Church.³ Near the altar, towards the south,⁴ an opening in the rock, 4 or 5 foot long, 1½ feet broad, and 5 to 6 feet deep is to be seen. This is called St. Thomas' fountain. There is a rather common tradition in the country that the Holy Apostle who lived at Little Mount, being much moved to see that the people who came in crowds to hear his preaching suffered much from thirst, as water could be had only at a great distance in the plain, knelt in prayer on the highest part of the hill, struck the rock with his stick, and instantly there gushed forth a spring of clear water, which cured the sick when they drank of it trusting in the intercession of the Saint.⁵ The

¹ This Church must have been a very small oratory, since the ground even now, after further levelling, would not admit of more. This chapel is now destroyed, but traces of walls level with the ground are still visible. The late incumbent, the Rev. A. S. Nunes, made an appeal in 1919 to rebuild it. At present, the existence of this cross and of the fountain is not suspected by some visitors.

The present story is that St. Thomas said Mass above that cross and preached from there.

The two crosses here referred to differ a great deal; they are similar in this that they have both trefoiled extremities.

² Fr. Silvester de Souza, S.J., is mentioned by Fr. Francisco de Souza (*Oriente Conquistado*, Parte 1, Conq. 2, Div. 1, § 39) as assisting at the sweating of the cross at the Great Mount on December 18, 1695.

³ A broad flight of steps now leads from the foot of the hill to the terrace on which stands the Church of Our Lady of Health, within which is the cave. At the back of this Church, on the east side, a staircase winds up to a narrow corridor, closed at the end by a door. This door opens on to a terrace, at the top of the hill, where the cross and the spring are to be seen. Probably, in olden times, the people had access to the Church of the Resurrection from the western side of the Church of Our Lady of Health. The extension of the terrace in front of the spring would have caused the destruction of the stairs on that side.

⁴ The altar of the former Church of the Resurrection. We might conclude from Father Tachard's account that the perennial spring was within the Church of the Resurrection in 1711.

⁵ The story is still a popular one at Little Mount. St. Thomas' preaching at Little Mount was perhaps suggested by his preaching on Mt. Gazi, at Gondophares' town of Helioforum (Meliapor? Mayilapuram?). Cf. Mgr. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas*, pp. 63, 118, 119, quoting the *Passio*. However, no spring is mentioned in connection with Mt. Gazi. Some of the Malabar legends bring to Mylapore Gondophares

stream which now runs at the foot of Little Mount appeared only at the beginning of the last century. [*P. 14*] It was formed by the overflowing and bursting of a distant tank owing to heavy rain.¹ This formed the little canal which in times of drought contains saltish water, because at 2 leagues from Little Mount it communicates with the sea.

There are yet people alive who affirm that more than 50 years ago they saw this hole in the rock just as I have presently described it, and they add that, heretical women having thrown dirt therein to oppose, they said, the superstition of the populace, the water receded immediately, and that these women died that very day of an extraordinary colic in punishment of their audacity. The water is continually being taken and drunk. Missionaries and Christians affirm that it produces sudden and miraculous cures even to the present day.

About 1551, Little Mount, which was till then only a steep rocky elevation, [*P. 15*] began to be cleared and levelled for the convenience of the pilgrims.² The fact is stated on a big stone, which has been fixed (*ménagée*) at the top of the steps towards the north of the hill.³ The Church of Our Lady was

(Kándāpa, King Choshan) and Gad.—Fr. Tachard mentions no foot-prints near the fountain nor any other impressions at Little Mount.

¹ This is the Adyar. The bursting of a tank may have added to its draining capacity: but before 1559 we are told that Father Alfonso Cypriano, going to Great Mount, from San Thomé, had himself carried across a river, which must have been the Adyar.

The Marmalong Bridge over the Adyar was constructed in 1726 by Khwājah Petrus Uskan, probably for the convenience of the pilgrims going to Little Mount and Great Mount.

² So far this is our only intimation about the exact date of the Portuguese occupation of Little Mount.

³ In 1923 I made a special search for a stone with the date 1551. There is no big stone now, except one at the foot of the hill, where stands a massive block of stone, which has been compared to a milestone. The upper quarter cut triangularly contains a fine Armenian cross, in relief, which rests on a pedestal of 5 steps. Below is an Armenian inscription, which states: This is the tomb of Khojah Marcar, the son of Khojah David, in the year 1112 [of the Armenian era, corresponding to A.D. 1663.] Cf. J. J. Cotton, C.S., *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, Madras, 1905, p. 169.

Is this the stone referred to by Fr. Tachard? Being in Armenian cursive, the Fathers could not, perhaps, interpret it. They may have explained it badly, just as I heard it badly explained by the late incumbent, who thought it referred to Sultan Shamir and a donation of lands made to the Church towards the end of the 18th century. Yet, he had lately quoted himself, in a document addressed to the Government (Saidapet, 26th Nov. 1920), a decipherment of it made by Dr. Hultzsch (1898), where however the year 1112 of the Armenian era is said to correspond to A.D. 1763.

At p. 8 of the said document the means of rectifying the error of 1763 are clearly given: for it is said that the Armenian era began on Tuesday, 9th July, A.D. 552. This gives 1663.

Mesroby J. Seth, an Armenian gentleman, converted 1112 to 1663 for Mr. J. J. Cotton, and lately again for myself, when I sent him a photograph of the inscription.

built and given to the Portuguese Jesuits. These then built the small hermitage which is on the top of the rock, and the Church of the Resurrection, where the cross engraved in relief on the rock is to be found.

I must say, Reverend Father, that this Little Mount is a regular sanctuary of devotion. Everything there breathes of recollection and piety, and it would be impossible to go over its holy monuments without having one's heart touched with ardent desires to give oneself to God.

Great Mount is at a distance of half a league from Little Mount. I did not measure its height, but at sight it seemed to be 3 or 4 times higher and extensive than Little Mount.¹ Not more than 50 years ago, it was as deserted as Little Mount, where only two houses are to be seen at the foot of the hill, and even these were built only 3 or 4 years ago. But at present the roads of Great Mount are full of [P. 16] very pleasant houses belonging to the Malabares,² the Portuguese, the Armenians, and especially to the English.

During the two months that I spent at Little Mount last year,³ a day hardly passed by without my seeing horsemen, carriages, and palanquins going to Great Mount and returning, and I was told that, when the steamers for Europe have left Madras, almost half of the wealthy people of that great city go and spend entire months at that rural place.

The Church of Our Lady is built on the top of the hill. There is no doubt that it is the monument most celebrated, most authorised, and most frequented by the Christians of the Indies, especially by those who are called St. Thomas Christians. These live on the mountains of Malabar, and come hither from more than 200 leagues. They have an Archbishop appointed by the King of Portugal. At present it is M. Don John Ribeiro, a former Missionary of our Company in Malabar. This Prelate is much versed in the languages of the country, especially in Syriac, which is the literary language. The liturgy of the Malabar Priests, who are called Caçanares, is written in that language. [P. 17] These Caçanares are the curates of the different Parishes established on those mountains where there are more than one hundred thousand Christians, some of whom are yet Schismatics; the rest were reunited to the Roman Church at the beginning of last century by M. Don Alexis de Menezes, the Bishop of Goa and Visitor Apostolic. It was he who held the famous Council of Diamper, the acts of which were printed at Lisbon.

The cross cut in the rock by St. Thomas is above the high

¹ Mgr. Medlycott estimates the height of Little Mount at some eighty feet (*op. cit.*, p. 123 n.). The height of Great Mount is 250 feet.

² The French of Pondicherry even now call the Tamils 'Malabares.'

³ 1710.

Altar of the old Church,¹ which has since been much embellished by the Armenians, Orthodox and Schismatic, and is now called Our Lady of the Mount. As soon as the Portuguese or Armenian vessels perceive it from the sea and see it breadthwise (*par son travers*), they do not fail to greet it with a salvo of their artillery. This cross is about two feet square (*pieds en carré*); the four branches are equal: its relief may be one inch high, and not more than four inches broad. I had thought, on the authority [*P. 18*] of Father Kirker,² that there were peacocks at the four extremities: but, having been told the contrary by persons who had examined it attentively, I wished to examine it closely myself, and my eyes convinced me that Father Kirker had written on erroneous information, and that, not peacocks, but pigeons showed indeed at the extremities.³

There is a general belief among the Indians, both Christians and pagans, that this cross was made by St. Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, and that it was at the foot of this same cross that he died, pierced by the lance of a Gentile Brame.

If anyone thought otherwise of the mission and death of the great Apostle, he would expose himself to the indignation and resentment of the Christians of all India. This tradition is so certain that it would be dangerous to rise against it.

The fact is that miracles are continually wrought at Our Lady of the Mount's. Numerous ex-votos of the piety of the faithful who have been cured of various diseases can be seen there, just as in places of Europe where there are miraculous images.⁴ [*P. 19.*]

One week before Christmas the Portuguese celebrate with great pomp what they call the feast of the Expectation of the Blessed Virgin. At those times, there sometimes occurs a miracle which contributes much to the veneration which the people have for this sacred spot. This miracle is so well proved, so public, and examined so closely by Christians and Protestants, who come in large numbers to the Church that day, that the most incredulous among them cannot doubt it. The following circumstances, which I heard from one of our Missionaries, who was an eye-witness of it on two occasions⁵ together with more

¹ That part of the Church between the altar and a point slightly beyond the furthest stone, west, projecting from the longitudinal wall on either side, was pointed out to me as belonging to the old Church.

² Father A. Kirker's *China illustrata*.

³ We hold for a dove at the top. There can be no question of pigeons or peacocks at the extremities.

⁴ I was shown all the interesting things in the sacristy: among them a number of ivory statuettes; but no silver or wax ex-votos. The old inventories of the Mylapore Churches in the Diocesan Archives show that much silver plate and many ivory statuettes have disappeared.

⁵ Fr. Silvester de Sousa, S.J., mentioned above. Father L. Besse, S.J., mentions him at Mylapore in 1694-97 and 1705: in 1711-15 he was

than 400 persons of all ages, sexes, and nations, among whom many English, who cannot be suspected of being over-credulous on this point, will easily convince anyone.

Above seven or eight years ago,¹ during the sermon preached on the feast of the Expectation, while the church was full of people, suddenly a confused noise was heard from the people, who cried out on every side, Miracle! The Missionary who was close to the altar could not do otherwise than publish the miracle just as the crowd: in fact, he assured me that this [P. 20] holy Cross, a piece of coarse and badly polished rock, a blackish grey stone, at first appeared reddish, then brown, and finally shining white, and that it became overshadowed by dark clouds, which at intervals hid it from sight and disappeared.

Immediately after this, the cross became quite moist and sweated so abundantly that the water trickled down even upon the altar. The piety of the Christians makes them keep carefully linen cloths moistened with this miraculous water. Accordingly, at the request of several influential people, and to ascertain the truth better, the Missionary mounted upon the altar, and, having taken with him seven or eight handkerchiefs, he returned them all, soaking wet, after wiping the Cross with them. It is to be noted that the Cross is of very hard rock, and similar to the rock to which it adheres on all sides,² and that, while the water was flowing abundantly from it, the rest of the rock was quite dry, though it was a very hot and sunny day.

Several Protestants, not being able to deny what they saw with their own eyes, examined the altar and its surroundings within and without. They even climbed [P. 21] on the top of the Church on that side,³ and examined carefully if there were not any trickery by which the credulity of the people was being imposed upon. But, after much useless search they were obliged to admit that there was nothing normal in this event, that on the contrary there was in it something extraordinary and divine. They were certain of what they saw, but they were not converted.

When the sweat began to cease, the Rev. Father Rector of San Thomé⁴ sent a missionary to Little Mount to examine what was going on there. The latter assured me⁵ that he found

Rector of the College, but alone. Cf. Appendix to *Catal. Miss. Madurensis*, 1914, p. 9.

¹ According to Father Francisco de Souza (*op.cit.*, *supra*), Fr. Silvester de Sousa witnessed the sweating of Dec. 18, 1695. Perhaps, the phenomenon took place again 7 or 8 years before Jan. 18, 1711. Fr. Silvester saw it twice.

² Father Tachard's meaning must be that only the cross sweated, and not the other parts of the stone on which it is engraved. The top of the hill where the Church stands is quite level, without any rock near the Church.

³ The Church is terraced.

⁴ The Rector of the Jesuit College of S. Thomé in 1695 was Father Pereira. Cf. *Oriente Conq.*, Parte I, Conq. 2, Div. 1, § 39.

⁵ Clearly Father Silvester de Sousa.

the Cross, which is similarly cut in the rock, quite moist, as if it had just sweated, and that the bottom of the hollow, in which it stands, was quite wet.

Several years had elapsed since the miracle had occurred at Great Mount, and since that time nothing similar has been seen. The Portuguese, accustomed to refer all events to their country, often assured me that, whenever this phenomenon occurs, it is the precursor of some national misfortune. They mentioned several instances which had occurred in the past century and had been foretold by this miraculous Cross.¹ [P. 22]

This, Reverend Father, is all that can be said for certain on the wonders of these two celebrated sanctuaries of India: for no one is found nowadays who speaks of the apparition of St. Thomas on the day of his feast.²

¹ In 1695 the sweating prognosticated the capture of Mombaza by the Arabs in 1696; the cross also sweated the year when 'the Sambagi' invaded Salsete and Bardez. Cf. *ibid.* What year was that?

² See our comment on this remarkable passage in our *St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore—Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends*, J. & P. A.S.B., N.S., XIX (1923, No. 5).

2. *Excavations round the San Thom's Cathedral.*

(January 25—February 10, 1923)¹

Having arrived at Mylapore on January 14, 1923, I received the next day at Bishop's House, where I was staying, the visit of Mr. Hirananda Sastri of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, who decided that the excavations round the Cathedral, contemplated for some time past by Sir John Marshall, would be undertaken at once, his Assistant, Mr. I. J. Kanaka, taking his place during his absence on furlough. My own presence at Mylapore during a fortnight would greatly help matters.

Mr. Kanaka arrived from Kotagiri on Wednesday, January 24th, with the photographer of the Department, Mr. S. N. A. Subramaniam. The excavations, the next day, Mr. Kanaka began work on the South-East end of the Cathedral and, within a very short time, that day, we found that on the very spot where he had started work he had struck a big laterite wall faced with squared granite, running from West to East towards the priory. By the evening this South-East wall was well discernible. It was, if I recollect well, 5 feet 10 inches thick.

On January 26th we followed up several walls, less thick, perpendicular to the former wall, *i.e.*, in a line from South to North. They were similarly of laterite and granite.

On January 27th, we traced these walls further. In front of the South-East gate of the Church, they showed very deep. We should have dug to the very foundations to see how deep they were, but we did not. I thought there was plenty of time to do so, but the money allotted for the work ran out all too soon.

The same day, we tried diggings at the North-West end of the Cathedral, along the verandah, running a narrow trench from West to East. In half an hour we were on the outer border of a granite-faced wall, parallel with the Cathedral, and some 12 feet long, of which we soon reached the extremities East and West. At right angles to these extremities were two similar walls running South up to the verandah. In front of the wall parallel with the Cathedral there was, if I remember well, a kind of stone pavement; but, as we kept the trench narrow, this was not ascertained more fully. In the afternoon, the second stone, top layer, of the west corner of the parallel

¹ This chapter consists of a report which I drew up on July 22, 1923, for the Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla. Too bulky for his yearly report, it is now published here with his permission, slightly modified for parts of which the substance has already been mentioned.



S. Thomé, Bishop's Museum. Detail of A 2b. Kāndūpa Raja, St. Bartholomew, or a still more sacred personage? If A 2a is St. Thomas, A 2b ought to be somebody more sacred still, because it wears the aureola over the head, which is a sign of great distinction. For St. Thomas' Christians who could be greater than St. Thomas? Only Our Lord. Cf. p. 5, No. 7 and p. 510.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Detail of A 2, showing St. Thomas.
(A 2a). Cf. p. 4, No. 5.

wall, was found to have an Indian inscription of 8 lines, covering the entire stone, but incomplete in all its directions.

On January 28th, Sunday, I reported to Sir John Marshall about the success of these first days. On Wednesday, 31st, a photograph was taken of the excavations at the South-East end of the Cathedral,¹ and another of the trench running West to East on the North side of the Cathedral. This latter trench was later continued all along the verandah. It revealed other walls, mostly brick walls, of funeral vaults, as was seen by the large number of human bones brought up, which shows, as was known, that the North side of the Cathedral compound, up to the cocoanut garden, was formerly a burial-ground.

On February 1st, we began a trench from West to East on the South side of the Cathedral, along and close to the verandah, and, in front of where must have been the South portico of the former Church, we found that day, at a depth of 2 feet or so, a Portuguese inscription to Vasco Roiz.

After that, nothing of note occurred, except that for several days, on the site of the former Presbytery, on the South-East side of the Cathedral, we dug to the depth of a brick floor, the site being the very one which had been occupied by a presbytery in which St. Francis Xavier lived for four months in 1545, as the guest of the Vicar, Gaspar Coelho.

The excavations stopped on February 10th, the eve of my journey to Trichinopoly and Shembaganur. At a later date, when I had left Mylapore for Darjeeling, the trenches were filled in . . . at the expense of the Mission, a finale not anticipated, as I had understood that the Department had sanctioned an outlay of Rs. 1,000.

I suggest that the thick wall running towards the Priory, and found to be almost flush with the present ground-level, belongs, with the walls perpendicular to it, to the Syrian monastery or presbytery mentioned by Marco Polo (A.D. 1292-93), Bishop John de Montecorvino (1292-93). Amr, son of Matthew (1340) and Bishop John de Marignolli (1348).² Cf. Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 84-96. We have quoted above³ in this connection a text from Marco Polo (Yule, II, 1874, pp. 339-340), omitted by Mgr. Medlycott.

The inscription of 8 lines found in the foundations, a Tamil one, appears above.⁴ If it is of Vikrama Chōla's time (12th century), it synchronizes with another fragment of a Tamil inscription inserted in the pavement of the Cathedral.

¹ That portion was photographed a second time towards the end of our work. ² Cf. Golubovich, *Itin. Orient.*, p. 55; see fuller title *infra*. ³ Part I, No. 11. ⁴ Part I, No. 83.

Inscription of Vasco Rois. The Portuguese inscription to Vasco Roiz need not detain us here. It has been discussed higher up.¹

The plan made of the excavations by Mr. S. N. Apparow, Mudaliyar, shows where our trial excavations were carried on and to what extent. The original is in the Kotagiri office.

Plan of excavations made.

Most of the pottery found came from the excavations at the S.E. end of the Church. Much of it appeared to be Chinese, glazed, with blue designs. When I left Mylapore, it was tored, with the human remains dug up from tombs, in one of the godowns. It was our intention to continue laying bare the hick laterite wall on the S.E. side, at one or two points towards the Priory, and, in case we did not find the end of it, see whether it came out between the Priory and the high ground near the beach. But the work was stopped much sooner than I had anticipated.

Pottery.—S.E. wall to be further excavated.

The small number of epigraphic records found is no proof that the ground would not yield much more, if thoroughly explored. In view of the importance of the site, I can call our excavations only tentative. We see from Marco Polo's text that there were a number of houses attached to the shrine, one of them a pilgrims' rest-house. Walls were found in all sorts of directions, for which we could not account: for instance in the corner made on the South side by the new wall near the cocoanut-garden and the San Thomé High Road.² The last day of the excavations, Saturday, February 10th, a hard surface was struck on the North side of the Cathedral, some 6 or 7 feet below the present ground-level, in the trench parallel to the Cathedral, and on the North side of the broad Cathedral compound road.³ If this trench had been continued in a straight line, it would have passed close, and parallel, to the Poor School. It was my intention to dig deeper here, in the hope of finding remnants of an open-air cross, which, as in the Syrian churches of Malabar, must have stood in the vicinity of the Church. It is not mentioned by the Portuguese as existing in their time; but certain stories connected with St. Thomas show there once existed such a Cross near St. Thomas' tomb.

The Portuguese mention two such open-air crosses on pedestals as existing, one at Little Mount, the other at the Great Mount, as late as A.D. 1612. They were beautiful works of art, so beautiful that they were ascribed to St. Thomas himself. They may have tempted the cupidity or vandalism of the many

¹ Part I, No. 82.

² The trenches made on that side are not shown in Apparow's plan.

³ Trench not shown in plan.

who in Portuguese times fought their battles at Mylapore. Only in 1599 and about A.D. 1612 do we hear of them from two Jesuit Fathers. After that, no other traveller mentions them. The open-air crosses in Malabar are, some of them, perfect master-pieces, and I have a notion that some might carry us back to Malabar art in pre-iconoclastic times, *i.e.*, to about A.D. 650–750. That the two pillars still existing at Mylapore about A.D. 1612 may have tempted the cupidity of the enemies of the Portuguese is evident from what happened to certain pillars of Gingi, which the French carried off to Pondicherry to decorate their town. They buried them, when the English attacked the place. They are still one of the sights of Pondicherry.

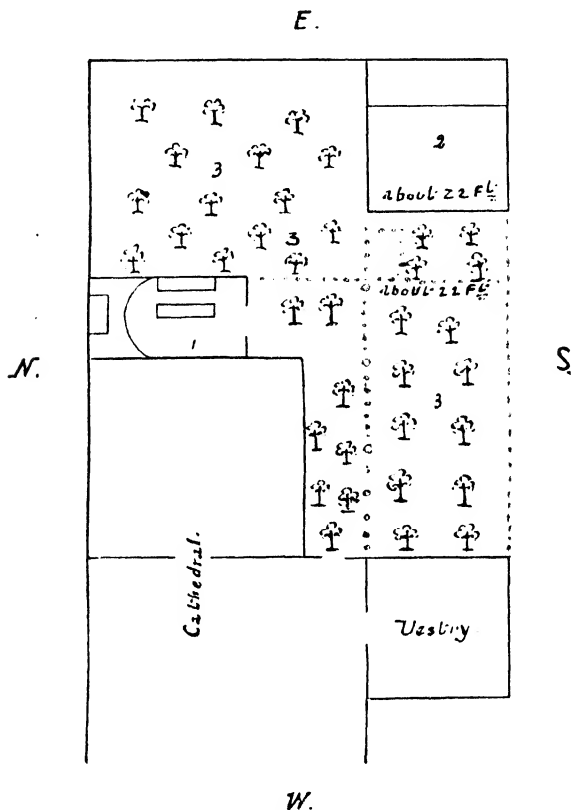
Of the Cathedral, as it was before the present Cathedral was erected in 1893–1896, only one photograph now exists, *viz.*, in George Milne Rae's *The Syrian Church in India*. London, W. Blackwood, 1892, facing p. 312. The building being orientated from West to East, the picture shows the South portico, before or near which we found Vasco Roiz' inscription; it shows also, further East, the vestry with its belfry, and the small gate leading to the Presbytery (which latter was on the right, as one entered), and beyond, on the North, to the tomb, which was under a cupola surmounted by a cross. This picture carries us back to the Church, the Presbytery and the tomb, as they were more or less in 1545, when St. Francis Xavier spent there four months in the one-room (?) Presbytery with Gaspar Coelho, the Vicar.

When these buildings had given way for the new Cathedral in 1896, Father J. J. Pinto, the Vicar of the Cathedral, made 3 plans to show how things were before that date.

Plan 1 shows in black the ground-plan of the Church, the tomb (No. 1), Presbytery (No. 2), and the garden (No. 3), as they were in his opinion in 1545. The vestry shown on the plan may be of a later date, as a vestry, made about 1521–23 on the site of King Sagamo's tomb, was near the tomb outside the Church. The red lines show later additions: 1) an extension of No. 2; 2) a wall from East to West from No. 2 to the vestry; 3) a wall from South to North from No. 2 to the tomb (No. 1); 4) a corridor from East to West between the tomb-chapel (No. 1) and the Cathedral.

Plan 2 shows the ground-plan of the Cathedral and Presbytery as they were before their demolition in 1893. The draughtsman, Mr. S. N. Apparow Mudaliyar, whom I ordered to make 4 copies of Father Pinto's original plans in the Bishop's Archives, forgot to indicate the position of No. 4, or the altar of the relics; but I have little doubt that it should be placed at the North inner projection between two windows opposite No. 2.

Plan 3. The purpose of this plan was to ascertain within which part of the Cathedral grounds the Presbytery stood, so that, if a memorial was erected to commemorate St. Francis Xavier's stay at Mylapore, as was the intention of Mgr. Theotonio Manuel Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, it might occupy the site of the Presbytery of 1545.



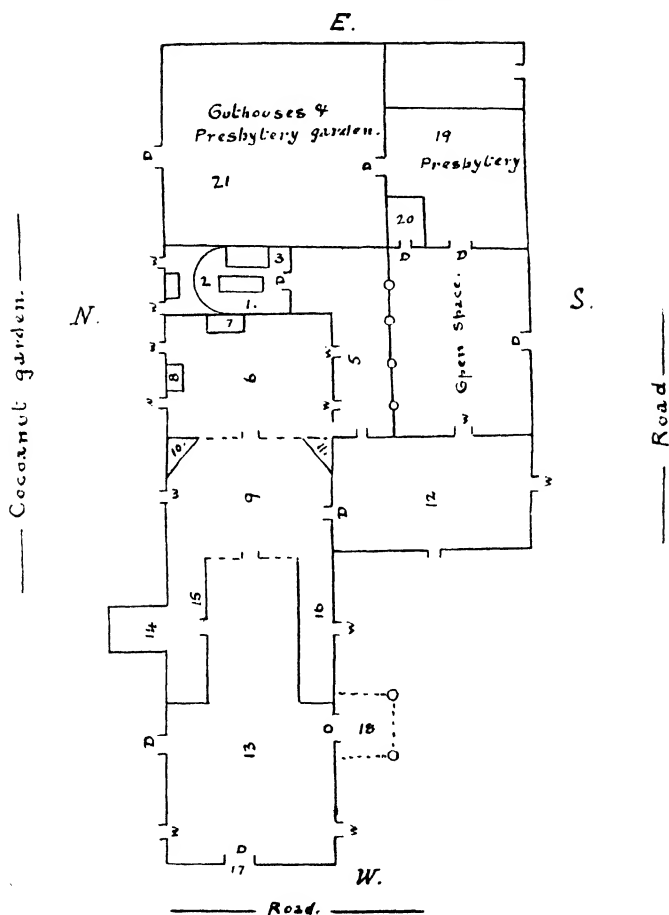
THE REV. J. J. PINTO'S PLAN NO. 1.

Plan 1 had the following notes by Father Pinto, which we reproduce, adding some remarks at foot.

"1. St. Thomas' Chapel."

¹ St. Thomas' tomb, rather.

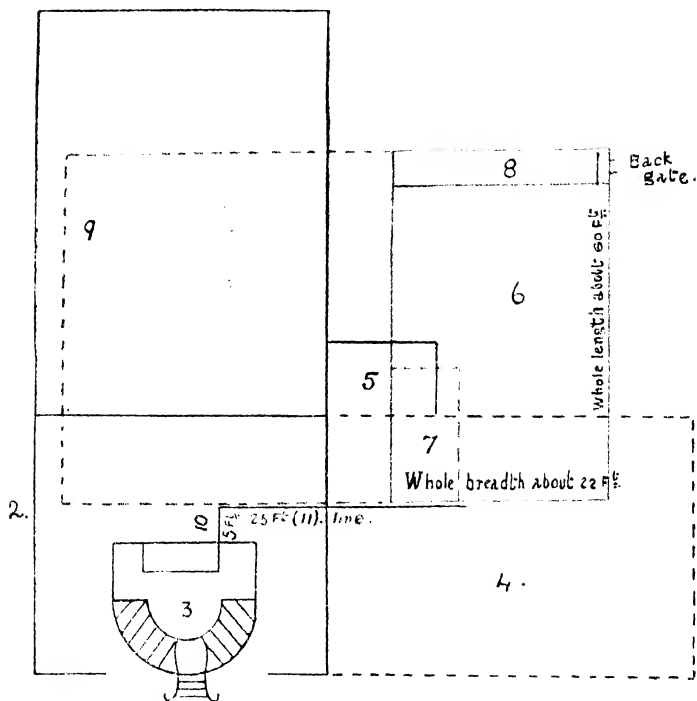
Ground plan of old Cathedral.



THE REV. J. J. PINTO'S PLAN NO. 2.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. St. Thomas' Chapel. | 11. Altar of Saints Peter and Paul. |
| 2. Grave. | 12. Vestry. |
| 3. Altar of our Lady of Dolours. | 13. Nave of old Cathedral. |
| 4. Altar for the Relics. | 14. Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. |
| 5. Corridor leading from the Cathedral through the vestry to St. Thomas' Chapel. | 15. Railed enclosure. |
| 6. Sanctuary of old Cathedral. | 16. Do. |
| 7. High Altar. | 17. Entrance of the Cathedral. |
| 8. Bishop's Throne. | 18. Portico of the Southern entrance to Cathedral. |
| 9. Chancel. | 19. Presbytery. |
| 10. Altar of our Lady of Safe Voyage. | 20. Cathedral store-room. |
| | 21. Presbytery Garden and out-houses. |

Plan locating the old Presbytery in the-
new Cathedral-



THE REV. J. J. PINTO'S PLAN NO. 3.

1. Sanctuary.
2. Chancel.
3. Crypt.
4. Southern transept within the black dotted line.
5. Blessed Sacrament Chapel.
6. Presbytery.
7. Small store-room.
8. Back open enclosure attached to Presbytery.
9. Presbytery garden within the red dotted line.
10. 5 foot line showing space between grave and wall of old Chapel at the back of Our Lady of Dolours Altar.
11. From upper end of 5 ft. line, measure in straight line 25 ft. to carry to the point from which the Presbytery limits begin.

Father Pinto's notes. "2. Site of Vicar's house, as it stood in 1545, when St. Francis Xavier arrived and put up in it during his stay at Meliapor.

3. The little garden which separated the Vicar's house from the Chapel. The garden must have extended to the front of the house, as it had to be passed through in going from the house to the Chapel.

"The plan shows the different sites 1, 2, and 3, as they were in the year 1545, and the changes subsequently made are brought out in the ground-plan of the old Cathedral. We find that the Church at Luz, which must have then been within the limits of Meliapor, was built in 1516, or 29 years before St. Francis arrived.¹ The Portuguese at Meliapor must have worshipped in that Church,² for it is known that the Viceroy of Goa had the Chapel or Shrine of St. Thomas built,³ and, shortly after, in 1523,⁴ John III. of Portugal ordered an inquiry to be instituted as to the authenticity of the tomb. It was then 7 years after the Church at Luz was built. When the Chapel of St. Thomas was rebuilt,⁵ it was probably placed in charge of a Vicar, who lived in a house close by, and a garden sprang up on the site. The Chapel was small, and it is supposed that there was no other Church besides the one at Luz; so it must have continued to be the place of worship for the Portuguese,⁶ who were found by St. Francis Xavier to number about 100 families. When the Saint came to Meliapor in 1545, the Chapel or Shrine of St. Thomas must have stood by itself,⁷ and there

¹ With Col. H. D. Love in *Vestiges of old Madras* we have repeatedly contested the date 1516 in an inscription at the Luz. We do not believe that this Church was built before the arrival of the Franciscans, and of these we do not hear at Mylapore before 1540.

² We know that some Portuguese and Armonians came from Pulicat in pilgrimage in 1517 and 1519, but they did not settle at Mylapore then.

³ The date when the Viceroy of Goa sent men, not to rebuild, but to repair, the church of St. Thomas is given variously as 1521, 1522, and 1523, I believe. From that date the Portuguese began to settle at the place, and they used the old pre-Portuguese Church near the tomb.

⁴ I think 1533 is the proper date.

⁵ Not rebuilt. The Portuguese found it existing with a tower at the East end.

⁶ In 1545 we hear of no other Church than the one near the tomb, and of no other priest than Gaspar Coelho. By "it must have continued" Father Pinto understood the Luz Church, which cannot be admitted.

⁷ No. The pre-Portuguese Church, at the back (*i.e.*, on the East side) of which was the tomb, was utilised from 1521-23, and was in existence in 1545, though enlarged and apparently changed somewhat in appearance by that time. St. Francis Xavier would pray at times at the tomb, which then as later was under a cupola, at times in the Church. In 1521 there was a small tower at the East end of the Church, the tomb being partly under its foundations. The tower threatened collapse, and it was while trying to strengthen the foundations that the Portuguese opened the tomb, and found, at a depth of 16 palms, bones, a spear head, and an earthen jar containing reddish earth, which they thought had been reddened with the Saint's blood.

he spent his time in prayer. He put up in the Vicar's house, and, as he had to pass through the little garden which separated the house from the Chapel he was molested one night, as related in his life, while going from the one to the other.

"As the Portuguese settlement advanced in material, social, and religious importance, local improvements must have been carried out, and we find by the map of the town of San Thomé that the town was built in the 16th century. It was probably then that San Thomé was made a parish, and that the old Cathedral was built, adjoining St. Thomas' Chapel, as a parish Church.¹ The Vicar's house must then have been enlarged by adding a hall in the portion of the garden in front of it: a corridor or verandah was built to connect the Chapel with the old Cathedral, through the vestry, and the adjoining open space was paved and walled in, so as to bring the whole within one enclosure.² The remainder of the garden in front of the Vicar's house thus disappeared, and only a portion on the side of it, to the north, was left. It will thus be seen that, while the sites 1, 2, and 3 were, at the time of St. Francis Xavier's arrival in 1545, as shown in the plan, they were all brought within one enclosure when the old Cathedral was built at a later period, as described in the ground-plan of the same."

With Father Pinto's plans before us we can say with considerable assurance that, as the granite-faced laterite wall discovered by us on the first day of the excavations is not shown on his plans, it belongs to a pre-Portuguese construction. Actual measurements might show whether the projection No. 14 of Plan 2 (Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament) had left behind in 1893 the granite foundations discovered by us on January 27th, 1923, on the North side, at the West end of the Cathedral verandah. We think not, because the present Cathedral is broader than the older one, and the present verandah extends probably beyond the site of that Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.

If little was found below ground during our excavations, a good deal was discovered in several directions inside and outside the Cathedral grounds, while the work went on. I have to mention first 7 new inscriptions.

A Tamil inscription
of about A.D. 985.

1. On January 24th, Mr. S. D. Shutie, High Court Vakil, S. Thomé, and myself, while directing the removal of a number

¹ The Church at the tomb, we repeat, was in existence before the Portuguese came. Father Pinto labours all the time under the impression that the Church at the tomb was built after the Luz Church. The Church at the tomb received the title of Cathedral only in 1606, when Mylapore was erected into a bishopric.

² The additions referred to by Father Pinto may have come much later than 1545.

of granite stones which must have been dug up at the time when the new Cathedral was built, found a stone, flush with the ground, near the N.W. well of the cocoanut garden, 5 or 6 paces from the well, to the North of it. It turned out to be a pretty large stone, a fragment of a pillar, and inscribed in an Indian character on the entire length of three sides.¹ We dug at the place to discover the remainder, but were not successful. I intended trying again on the spot later on, but time and means failed in the end.

The Epigraphist says that the inscription, a Tamil one, contains a portion of the historical introduction of the great Chola King Rajaraja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985.

I am still sanguine that, as the inscription on this fragment of pillar was found in a cocoanut garden close, and belonging, to the Church, and as Marco Polo already mentions the cocoanut gardens of the Christians settled near the Church, it might refer to the Church, and help us in linking up the history of the Church, through the fragment of the Vikrama Chola inscription in the Cathedral pavement (about A.D. 1118), with the two English bishops sent to the Indians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew by King Alfred the Great in A.D. 883, with the cross at St. Thomas' Mount (A.D. 650) and a description of the shrine of St. Thomas by St. Gregory of Tours (about A.D. 590), which seems to refer to Mylapore rather than to Edessa.

The idea of the excavations was precisely to effect this result, and all interested in the history of the beginnings of Christianity in India will agree that it would be no mean achievement, if we could push the story of the shrine as far back as A.D. 590. Probably the two stone medallions of a Persian King and Persian Prince (Mazdaeus and Uzanes, his son the deacon, or Gondophares and his brother Gad?) take us even further back already;² but, as they are not dated, we cannot affirm. The same for a stone bearing on one side the relief image of a Saint, who appears to be St. Thomas, while the figure on the other side, though called Kándāpa Rāja (Gondophares?) by the local Christians, must be another Apostle, presumably St. Bartholomew.³ This statue was found in 1729 near the tomb of St. Thomas, underground. It had not been disturbed in 1521-23, therefore, and may be regarded as one of the strongest proofs of the cult of St. Thomas at Mylapore in pre-Portuguese times. The best proof that both images are Apostles is that both hold a book in their hand.

A Tamil inscription at St. Thomas Mount and other finds there.

2. At the Convent of the Nuns on St. Thomas Mount I found, in a step of the smaller staircase near their Oratory, an inscription in Tamil characters. When the

¹ Bishop's Museum, A9. See No. 77.

² *Ibid.*, A28a, A28b. See Nos. 9-10. ³ *Ibid.*, A2a, A2b. See Nos. 4-7,

stone was dug up. it was found to be partly hollowed out on the reverse of the inscription. About half of the stone was missing, judging from the way it was hollowed out. We thought it might have been used as a holy water stoup.¹ I was told by the Nuns that, some 5 years before, there was lying near it, embedded in the pavement, a bigger stone 2½ ft. × 2 ft., with a longer Indian inscription; during repairs it was shifted, and in spite of much search we could not find it back. I felt this very much; for an inscription at this place, the site of a Christian church from time immemorial, was likely to have been a Christian inscription. Until now, the only pre-Portuguese Christian relic at St. Thomas Mount was the famous cross with its Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription of about A.D. 650. And now, when we expected to find nothing there, we had found a new inscription, and, but for carelessness in the recent past, we might have been in possession of another, and much longer, inscription. Some other relics of that Church or of its presbytery or monastery were also found within the grounds of the Convent. In July 1922, while repairing the pavement of the verandah before the Sisters' refectory, two slender twisted pillars were dug up.² I had them removed to the Museum, Bishop's House, San Thomé, together with a stone pedestal having a Maltese cross at the top within a rope-border, one of many similar ones now in the Museum,³ as also the upper limb and left arm of a cross with trefoil extremities.⁴ The former cross was in the small inner garden near the refectory, on the North side, but I cannot say whether it was dug up there; the latter was found in Father Cabral's time (1916) down the slope near the kitchen. I was very much tempted to dig up the small inner garden near the refectory.

3-5. At the house of Mr. D. Dhanakōti Rāju, Engineers,

Three inscriptions
at Mr. Raju's.

Victoria Works, San Thomé High Road, I
found on Febr. 1, three Indian inscrip-
tions embedded in the cement floor of the

E. verandah,⁵ in the garden two beautiful slender pillars with Hindu carvings, and, on the edge of the S. verandah of the house, two stones, one with a swan, the other with a fabulous sea-horse ending in a fish tail (?). Mr. Rāju told me that, some twenty years ago, he had found these stones while making some borings at the present Deaf and Dumb School, San Thomé High Road. He had also unearthed a brass image of a Jain or Buddhist saint which was stolen from him later. He told me

¹ Bishop's Museum, C1. See No. 81.

² Do., C3, C5. See No. 21.

³ Do., C2. See No. 21.

⁴ Do., C4. See No. 21.

⁵ See Nos. 116, 117, 163. Only No. 163 is now (1924) in the position in which I found it in 1923. In 1924, I found Nos. 116 and 117 shifted to near the workshops, where some evil fate may ere long overtake them.

too that, some 30 years ago, the sea receded near the fishing village of Domingo Kuppam; huge granite stones were seen lying about, the walls of buildings appeared running into the sea, and the Archaeological Department, he said, took away some of the stones. I repeat this for what it is worth. Perhaps, the records of the Archaeological Department contain information on these points. If they do, there would be a confirmation here of the Indian tradition that the sea encroached on the land at a period now forgotten, of which certain details reported by Yule in his *Marco Polo* in connection with Mylapore would be the echo.

6. At No. $\frac{7}{380-81}$, San Thomé High Road, I found on

A Muhammadan tomb-stone.

January 29th, the curved top of a slab which I took at first for a boundary pillar, but which must be the headstone of a Muhammadan grave. It bore a faint inscription in Arabic characters, and, as the house belongs to the Catholic Mission, San Thomé, I had the stone removed to the Bishop's Museum.¹

7. At Rahmat Bāgh, San Thomé High Road, in the sandy

Another Muhammadan tomb-stone.

stretch separating the bungalow from the beach, there is a Muhammadan grave, to which belonged, I was told by the lady of the house, four granite pillars lying near the bungalow. Syed Mahomed Ismail, Under-Secretary to H.H. the Nizam's Government, (Retired), who lived at 'The Palms,' close by, favoured me with a transliteration and translation of the inscription over the tomb.²

Many fragments of Portuguese inscriptions were also collected for the Bishop's Museum; but, as I have no estampages of them, I cannot now describe them.

On February 7th, at No. 42, Main Road, St. Thomas

Wells with Christian crosses at St. Thomas Mount, San Thomé, and Kovalong.

Mount, I made a discovery which I consider very important, *viz.*, crosses in wells.

Imagine a deep broad well, beautifully lined with bricks from the top to the bottom. The bricks were disposed all round in rings of ten layers of bricks. We counted seven rings up to the level of the water. Each ring, the uppermost excepted, of which the top was flush with the garden level, had on the interior of the well two crosses opposite each other, five layers of bricks forming a pedestal or calvary of five steps, and the bricks of the next four higher layers being disposed in the form of a Latin cross. Above each cross ran two layers of bricks which divided the rings from one another. As each of the seven

¹ Bishop's Museum, II. See Nos. 21 and 79 bis.

² See No. 117 bis, where we quote, however, the work of the Moslem Epigraphist.

rings had two crosses on opposite sides, we counted fourteen crosses, disposed as follows: supposing that the two crosses of the upper ring are arranged East and West, the two crosses of the next lower ring are orientated South and North, and the same arrangement is preserved for the next two rings and so on, up to the bottom. We were told that the well was twenty rings deep. Each ring being about two feet high, the depth of the well would be forty feet, and the number of crosses forty.

The question is whether such wells indicate Portuguese or pre-Portuguese occupation. If they are Armenian or Syrian work, they indicate pre-Portuguese occupation. In Portugal a cross is often found at the top of wells, on the outside. But to the Portuguese priests whom I consulted the Mylapore arrangement was unfamiliar. It is, however, possible that, if the Armenians or Syrians had left at St. Thomas Mount or elsewhere wells with the crosses described, the Portuguese imitated the process when they established themselves on the same spot. What do the Armenians and Syrians say? ¹ If such wells are common among the Armenians and Syrians, we should argue that the wells with crosses are original Armenian work or that the Portuguese imitated it here at a later period.

If we remember that the cross with its Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription in the Church at the top of St. Thomas Mount is not later than about A.D. 650, according to Dr. Haug of Munich, and possibly two or three centuries older, that it was found in 1547 in the foundations of a ruined Church at the top of the Mount, which Church was said to have been destroyed three or four times already, that in A.D. 650 there must have been a monastery or priests' house attached to that Church, and that, as there was no water at the top of the hill, the Christians frequenting the Church must have lived at the foot of the Mount as now-a-days, the wells with crosses at the foot of the hill may indicate the site of the houses occupied by the Christians even in those remote times. Only 80 years had elapsed between the Christians of Mylapore in Nicolo de' Conti's time (A.D. 1440) and the arrival of the first Portuguese settlers in 1521-23. Between 1440 and 1500, or even 1490, a great fight was fought, it seems, between the Muhammadans and the Christians, whose last stand was at St. Thomas Mount. The Christians were defeated and retired to Pulicat and other parts. The Portuguese may, therefore, have found still in existence some of the wells used by the Armenians and Syrians, and a local custom would have been perpetuated by them here and would have spread to other parts.

There is more to be said in favour of these Christian wells. The Christians of the earlier centuries established all along the

¹ I did not find any crosses in wells in Malabar during my journey of exploration there in Jan.-Febr. 1924.

Coromandel Coast, in Ceylon, the West Coast up to Gujarat, Burma, Malacca, and China may have made similar wells wherever they settled, and we might be able still to trace their peregrinations by the crosses in their wells. In Japan certain old inscriptions on or in wells have been recognised as Jewish.

Bishop Jourdain de Séverac, a Dominican wrote about A.D. 1330, that not so long before his time the Muhammadans had come down from Multan and had destroyed an infinity of Hindu temples and converted many Christian churches into mosques, taking possession of their endowments and property.¹ Where were those Christian churches, if not chiefly in Sind and along the Coast southwards towards Bombay? Many of these Christian churches might still be recognisable by their architecture or by Christian symbols in the present-day old mosques on the side of Multan or in Sind. But I doubt if this subject has ever engaged the attention of our Indianists. Christian symbols might yet be discoverable too in those parts in ancient wells. The crosses to which we refer are so typically Christian that all hypothesis to deny their Christian character will prove futile.

In future it might be enough to discover a well with crosses in places where we know European occupation to have been of recent date and to conclude that pre-Portuguese Christians lived there within periods to be determined by other Christian relics found near the site.

And what might have been the reason of making such crosses in wells? The reason is not difficult to seek. Did not Our Lord bless the bread and the cup? And was it not the custom of the early Christians to bless what they ate and drank? Had they not cups and glasses decorated with the sign of the cross? The Eastern Christians in India in A.D. 1600 bore the cross branded or tattooed on their forehead. The Abyssinians branded it, I believe, on their forehead and cheeks. To all the Eastern Christians, and notably to the Nestorians, the cross was one of the objects of greatest worship. In Malabar, in their theatrical representations, which might have been retentive of very ancient practices, they blessed their food not only at the beginning of meals, but at each course, so to say. In China, in A.D. 1600, Father Ricci traced the well-nigh obliterated remains of the former Nestorians and of the converts of Bishop John de Montecorvino and his Franciscan auxiliaries by the faint indication that there were families and whole populations where the custom of signing with the cross whatever they ate survived. They were called the worshippers of the figure 10, the Chinese character for 10 being a cross. The custom, therefore, of placing crosses in wells is merely an application of

¹ Cf. H. Yule's *Mirabilia descripta. The Wonders of the East*, by Friar Jordanus . . . (circa 1330). London, Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. 23.

the same principle : it indicates people's belief in the purifying, sanctifying virtue of the cross. The cross in contact with the water they were to drink would render it wholesome, not for the body only, but for men's very souls.

It seems there are some fakirs both in the Northern and Southern parts of Sind with their headquarters at Tattah, who profess themselves followers of Thuma Bhagat, *i.e.*, Thomas the Saint, practise a number of Christian rites, and are in possession of a book which they call the Gospel of St. Matthew. This information appeared in a Protestant Mission report from Sind and was quoted in *Sophia*, a monthly Catholic journal, vol. 2, January 1895, No. 1, pp 1-4. Cf. my paper on "St. Thomas in India, or Tattah fakirs, and Fr. B. Burtney, S.J." in *The Indian Athenæum*, Calcutta, September 1923, pp. 28-31.

These fakirs might, indeed, be descendants of Manicheans, once very numerous under the name of Salwans or Salouns here in India, or they might be the descendants of Nestorian Christians. The best means to discover their Christian antecedents would be to see whether they honour the cross. Have they crosses on the lintels of their houses? Do they make the sign of the cross, before eating, either on their person or on their food? Have they crosses in their wells? Let someone take up this most important line of inquiry.

Other wells with crosses were subsequently found at St. Thomas Mount : At Mr. Stacey's house, The Palms, Main Road (2 rings with two crosses each were visible above the water line); another at Mr. Moses' house, Silver Street, where we heard that those thrive best who had such a well in their compound (2 rings with two crosses each); another, at the back of Mr. Moses' house, in a street without a name, where, in an open space, was a well built as a public charity by Jagannāth Nāyakar, a Catholic, more than 50 years before (1 cross).

Similar wells were found at San Thomé.

Two of them exist in the compound of the St. Thomas Convent. The westernmost has on the west side of the first ring from the top a cross in a Saracenic niche resting on a pedestal of three steps. Three rings lower down, and on the west side again, appears another cross in the style described for No. 42, Main Road, St. Thomas Mount. There appear to be still pedestals for other crosses now gone. The other well towards the East has four crosses of bricks on the second ring from the top, the crosses facing North, South, East and West. No Saracenic niche here. Five rings were visible up to the water level.

On Saturday, February 10th, a representative of the Press Photo Bureau, Journalists and Artists in Photography, Madras, came to take, at their own expense, photographs of some of the crosses in the wells at the St. Thomas' Convent, but we did not hear from them after that.

In the cocoanut garden of the Cathedral, San Thomé, there is at least one well with a cross.

Father S. Marianandam, one of the former Vicars of Kovalong, a place on the sea near Mylapore, on being asked about Christian wells and on hearing our description of those at St. Thomas Mount, said he knew of three of them at Kovalong: one near Sir John de Monte's house, probably made by de Monte himself some 120 years ago; another, older and in less good condition, near the priest's house; and a third, which the Father had made himself four years ago and decorated with crosses, in imitation, as he said, of the two others. Just so may the Portuguese of old have imitated an existing custom handed down to them by the Armenians and Syrians settled before them on the Coromandel Coast.

I had been told at the St. Thomas Convent, San Thomé, that, when the Sisters took possession of their present property, there stood on the grounds a statue, which they had buried in a refuse pit near the kitchen. An Indian Nun even came forward to say that it had inscriptions on the knees and hips. For two weeks I persisted in digging at the spot. It cost me Rs. 100 of my own money. For want of funds I had to desist. We were actually refilling the pit when the Photo Press Bureau came to take two photographs of our excavations at this place: one showing the depth to which we had gone, another showing the workmen filling the pit. We went to a depth of 10 feet in some places and discovered a narrow well made of small earthenware rings.

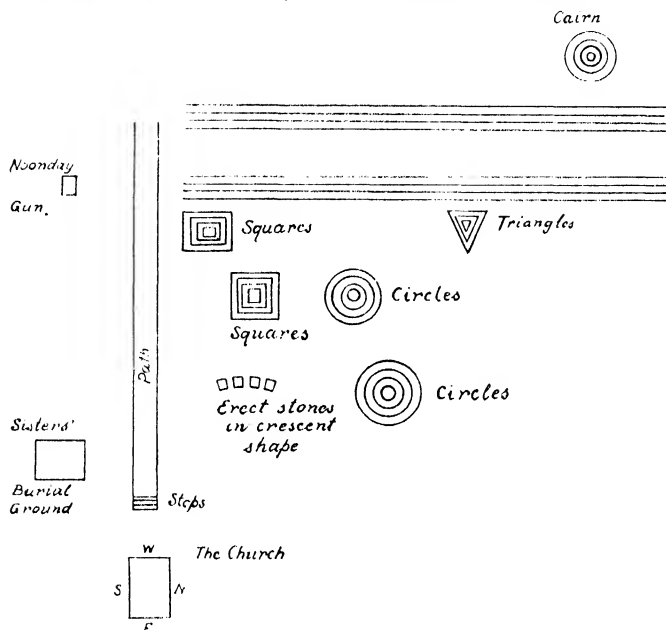
One of the Nuns gave me the following note on the statue: "On the right side of the Orphanage, there was a big statue of white marble, an idol, with hands joined, like the accompanying model. [A picture was shown, in a Tamil reader, of a Jain statue.] As this statue stood in the way, it was thrown down and cast by the Indian women in one of the big pits then found on the actual site of the playground of the Orphanage of the Holy Angels."

Robert Sewell's *Archaeological Survey of India. Lists of Antiquarian Remains of Southern India*, Vol. I, Madras, 1882, p. 176, says: "There is a double ring of stones surrounding a mount near St. Thomas Mount, but the cromlech has disappeared.—*Madras Journal*, XIII, Pt. II, 51."

A pre-historic graveyard on St. Thomas Mount.

Mindful of this passage, I inquired on February 6th, from the Catechist of St. Patrick's Church, St. Thomas Mount, about circles of stones, and he took me to what happened to be very different from R. Sewell's indications, but perhaps even more important. We went down from the church at the top towards the Sisters' graveyard, a few steps S.W. from the church; from there we continued till we came opposite the noonday gun; then turning westward we found that the path which had brought us down opened on our right into a broad road overgrown with grass which led down the western slope. On either

side of this broad road, on a length of 100 ft. or so—Mr. Kanaka later took the measurements and noted them in his pocket-book¹—there was an alignment of four or five lines of stones, not more than one foot high mostly. At the top of the alignment there were four or five squares within squares, formed with smaller stones just stuck in the ground and protruding very slightly from the surface of the ground. My curiosity greatly excited, for I thought I had found a pre-historic burial-ground—such as I had found many, but of different character, in the



A PRE-HISTORIC GRAVE-YARD ON ST. THOMAS MOUNT.

Cl. pp. 48-49 (Nos. 75-76) : pp. 175-176.

Palni Hills at Shembaganur and Kodaikanal in 1902—I explored the ground further, and found other squares within squares, and circles within circles, and triangles within triangles. In one place there were a number of bigger stones stuck up crescent-shape. What shows the solitary nature of the place is that these squares within squares were almost perfect, the stones composing them not having been interfered with.

I returned to the place on Saturday, February 10th. With me were : Mr. L. A. Cammiade, Presidency Magistrate ; Mr. Kanaka ;

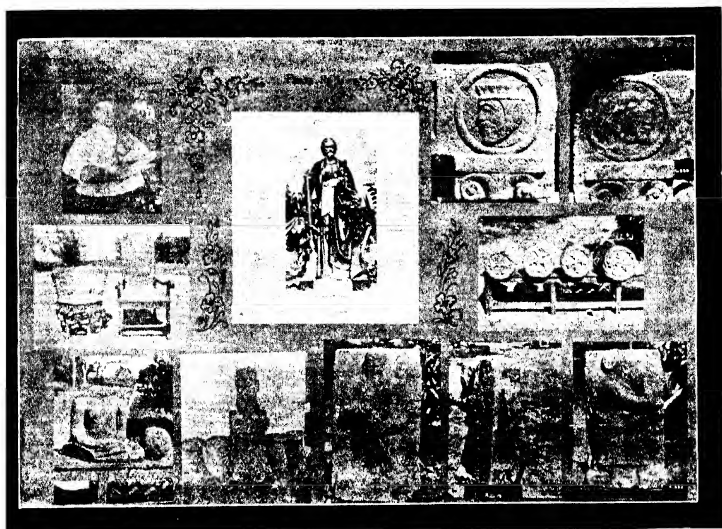
¹ I do not know the measurements he noted.

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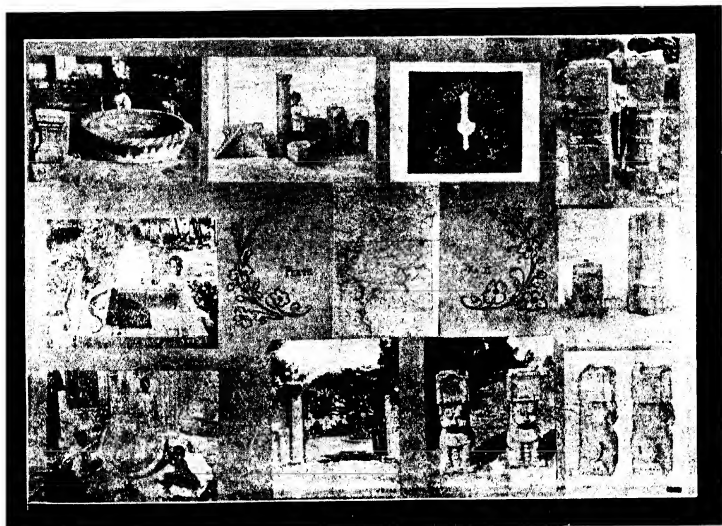
A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 1).

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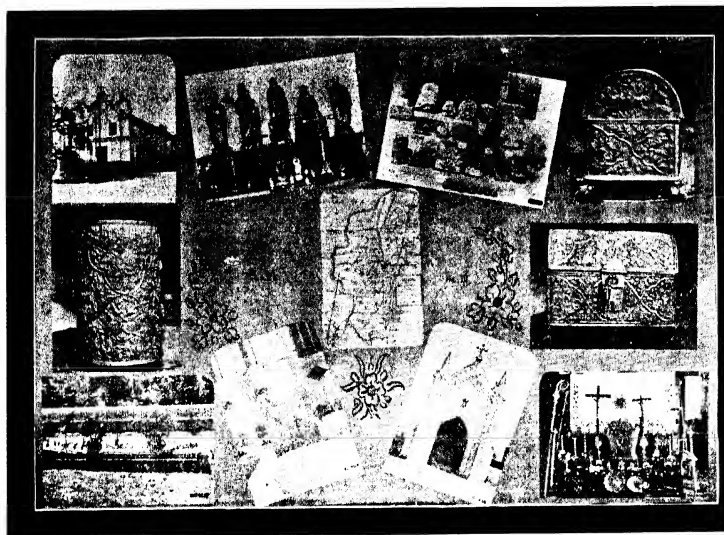
B.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 2).

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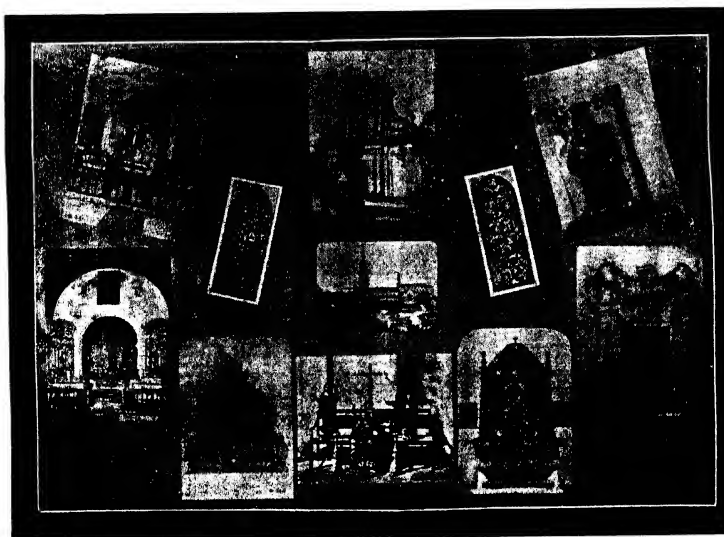
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A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 3).

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B.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 4).

our photographer, Mr. Subramaniam; and two coolies armed with crowbars and mattocks. Two photographs were taken, one showing the alignment from below up the slope of the hill, *i.e.*, from W. to E.; another, showing one of the squares where we dug.¹ It was late in the afternoon; the sun was painfully hot: the coolies struck a rock in the centre of the square. We had to desist. But Mr. Cammiade, who has explored many pre-historic sites in Southern India, promised to return to the work. Unfortunately, neither of us thought that the Department would stop its work that very day. The ground was explored again more fully on a later occasion, and Mr. Cammiade and myself came to the conclusion that, besides the geometrical designs described, there were, close to the alignment, on the S.W. side, considerable artificial heaps of stones (cairns), also cromlechs or huge stones artificially erected. Similar arrangements will probably be found on the hill facing St. Thomas Mount on the South-West. There was nothing to show that the place where we dug might have been a Christian burial-ground dating from pre-Portuguese times and connected with the church on the Mount.

On Febr. 18, 1925, the Rev. M. Motha Vaz, Vicar of St. Patrick's Church, St. Thomas Mount, wrote to me:—

Grave opened on St. Thomas Mount in 1925. "Just a few lines to inform you of a find on the hill here. Some workmen were quarrying stone on the southern side of the hill facing the barracks. In a spot on the eastern side of the old cart-road going to meet the barracks road, within a few inches below the surface of the ground, these workmen came across a big slab of granite stone 6 ft. by 6 ft. and 2 inches. This naturally attracted our attention. The Garrison Engineer told us that must have been of natural formation. While endeavouring to remove the stone up the hill, we found a large earthen vessel. It is left where it was, only the upper portion was broken while attempting to lift the stone slab. There were, besides, a few small earthen pots around the big pot.

"The conjecture is this. In ancient times in India, even in the south, there was the bad habit of burying decrepit old persons alive, having encased them in such earthen vessels, just to get rid of them, but with the consent of the victim. People in different places will say this. Could the present find be one of such?

"The men have—in their anxiety to [*one word not read*]—cut the stone into two."

Evidently, we have here a case of burial in an earthen jar. The custom prevailed very largely in many parts of India, perhaps chiefly in Southern India. The smaller vessels were probably intended to contain food for the spirit of the deceased.

¹ Cf. Nos. 75-76.

The Madras Museum has numerous exhibits showing the custom in various forms. Dr. G. Pope (*J.R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 267-268) points out that urns are mentioned in the burial of heroes and kings, as late as the 8th century A D.

“O potter chief. . . what toil had befallen thee!

The descendant of Çora kings. . .

Hath gained the world of Gods And so

’Tis thine to shape an urn so vast

That it shall cover the remains of such an one.¹

The discovery, I understand was made precisely on the side of the hill where I found a prehistoric grave-yard with a double alignment. I urged Fr. Motha Vaz to report the discovery to the curator of the Madras Museum and to Mr. L. A. Cammiade.

On Feb. 26, 1925, Fr. Motha Vaz wrote again: “Regarding the find on the Hill, I have written to the Curator, Madras Museum. The men up the hill have broken the slab into two pieces, in order to use them for altar steps.”

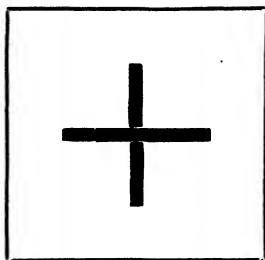
The discovery of this tomb may be compared with that of a tomb on the same hill in 1818. Cf. our No. 370.

Speaking of pre-historic graves, I have to add that I have a letter from Monsieur G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, dated Cannanore, June 20, 1921, which seems to bring some ‘pre-historic’ graves well into our Christian era.

He relates how, going from Chingleput to Uttaramallur, he found, after crossing the Palar, and passing a small hill with a fort on the right, groups of stones arranged circularly on both sides of the road. “In some places there were many circles of stones; but, in other places, within the circle there were big stones supporting a very big stone.” He gives a sketch of this last kind of groups, and proceeds: “While examining the lower face of one of these big stones, I saw that, exactly below, the stone was somewhat flattened, and I found a very distinct cross, which surely was not natural, but engraved. This kind of dolmen was very near to the road, but I do not remember very exactly where. I think, however, that it was south of the road from Chingleput to Uttaramallur. The cross might be reproduced, not by a drawing or a photograph, but by a rubbing, as for a lithic inscription.” I reproduce the picture of the cross as made for me by Monsieur Jouveau-Dubreuil.

Last year Mr. Hirananda Sastri of the Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, promised to have the cross photographed or otherwise reproduced at the first opportunity. We wonder

¹ Quoted in my *Prehistoric remains near Kodaikanal, Palnis*. Cf. *Anthropos*, t. II, fasc. iv. and v., 1907, p. 739 n. 4.



whether the cross has the characteristics of the crosses of Mylapore, which end mostly in fleurs-de-lis.

From January 25th to February 25th, 1923, when I left Mylapore for Darjeeling, I employed at the expense of the Mission a number of workmen to bring in from the Cathedral compound and from several Mission properties, such as St. Rita's, Madre de Deos Church, the Luz, the St. Thomas Convent, and St. Thomas Mount, fragments of Portuguese inscriptions, carved stones, pillars, etc. More than 120 objects were thus collected in the Bishop's garden and a beginning was made of what we called the Bishop's Museum. Mgr. A. M. Teixeira's expenses under this head ran up to Rs. 220. I numbered the stones, indicating their provenance, and drew up a catalogue of which a copy will be found in Pt. III, 3.

At my request the Archaeological Department took some 60 photographs, in addition to an equal amount taken in 1921, during my first stay at Mylapore, to illustrate our new finds and the few remaining relics of ancient Christian art (churches, paintings, reredoses, Christian lintels at Mr. Moses' house, Silver Street, etc.) which recall the Portuguese period of the history of San Thomé and St. Thomas Mount. Even so, there remain some 20 objects more of Christian interest to be photographed.

The Nun who supplied me with a note on the Jain statue also writes: "Our first Convent was situated on the site of the present S. Thomé Orphanage.¹ According to tradition, the place formed part of the garden of Mahadeven, King of Mylapore, who often received St. Thomas, and whose wife and son Vijaen had been baptised by the Apostle.

"When the Sisters were living there, there existed there a *pandal* supported by six columns. At the summit of each column there was a statue of white marble, representing a god, with

¹ Opposite the Cathedral compound, from which it is separated by the S. Thomé High Road.

arms extended crosswise; at the base, the column rested on a white marble slab, cut round, the borders of which were carved in such a way as to represent a twisted rope.

“The tradition is that there exists a subterranean way leading from St. Thomas’ tomb up to the ancient church now submerged. Many times have people tried to penetrate into it; but, as the lights go out the moment one goes some distance, nothing has yet been discovered.

“It is also said, but very doubtfully, that there is an underground passage up to St. Thomas Mount.”

The information about the former kiosk in the San Thomé Orphanage, where stood formerly the house of the Bishop and (it is said) the house of the Portuguese Commander, is apparently correct; yet, one would like to hear it confirmed by the oldest residents of the place. Anyhow, not a trace of the kiosk or of its materials is now known to exist anywhere. Twisted rope borders have been found by us at San Thomé in connection with what we consider to be distinctly Christian architecture, *i.e.*, with fleur-de-lis crosses, crosses botonnées and Maltese crosses, also on a large stone vessel which we regard provisionally as a baptismal font (No. 12).

The information about Mahadeven’s garden is not, I think, of much account. It does not come within the numerous legends I have collected these two years in the vast old literature on St. Thomas and Mylapore. The transformation of the name Mazdaeus and that of his son Uzanes to Mahadeven and Vijaen is due entirely, I think, to the etymologies of Mgr. L. M. Zaleski’s books on St. Thomas. The St. Thomas Christians hardly know—if at all—the name of Uzanes or Mazdaeus. Kándāpa Rāja (Gondophares?) is much better known to them; and, though they do not make of him the king who slew St. Thomas, yet they place him at Mylapore, and make of him the King of Mylapore whom St. Thomas converted. In fact, an Indian Nun told me on January 25th that “Kándāpa Rāja’s palace” stood in the grounds of the Orphanage and St. Bede’s High School. Cf. on Kándāpa Rāja my paper on ‘St. Thomas and Kándāpa Rāja’ in *The Indian Athenaeum*, Calcutta, 1923, No. 1 (July).

Subterranean passages obtain a strong hold on the popular imagination everywhere. About A.D. 1600, it was said that the Kanheri caves of the Salsette Island were connected with the mainland and Delhi and Agra. Darjeeling is said to be connected by an underground passage with Iassa. No attention, I think, should be paid to subterranean passages said to exist at Mylapore. Yet, I heard the fancy repeated as the common talk by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rao Saheb, Professor at the Madras University, on January 15th, though in this case the passage was said to run from the tomb up to Little Mount only.

A passage from the tomb to the submerged church is perhaps an echo of the expression ‘St. Thomas in the Sea,’

which turns up even before the Portuguese advent. Cf. my paper, "St. Thomas' apparitions and other legends" (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 19, 1923, pp. 153-236). The first Portuguese were told that the sea had submerged the land up to the tomb on a breadth of 12 miles. One of the Portuguese historians tries to account for a stone said to have come drifting on the sea to a temple at Negapatam by saying that it might have been one of the stones planted by St. Thomas, which, at the time when the sea submerged the land, got adrift.

I once asked Mr. Dhanakōṭi Rāju how he accounted for the perennial spring at Little Mount, a solitary rock some 80 ft. above the surrounding level. The story is that St. Thomas caused it to gush forth by striking it with his staff. The answer came at once that at Pallavaram, some five miles further to the South, there is on the top of the hill, at a much greater altitude, a Muhammadan mosque with a pit always containing water. If this is correct, it would account for the spring at Little Mount.

To conclude, I wish to thank in the name of the authorities of the Mylapore Mission and in my own name the Archaeological Department, and all those of its servants with whom it was my pleasant chance to collaborate, for the interest they have shown in the St. Thomas question. Much more remains to be done to justify fully the traditions of the St. Thomas Christians; but the work of these two years (1921-23) has tended to strengthen them rather than to weaken them. I trust that these trial excavations will not be final on the part of the Department, and that the question of the Mylapore traditions and of the origin of Christianity in India will call forth enthusiastic research from many quarters.

Mylapore is only one phase of the question. Malabar offers, perhaps, even greater hopes in the immediate future. It is not yet too late to reach back to the first centuries through the ruins of its churches, its lithic remains with their carvings and inscriptions, its superb open-air crosses and the bas-reliefs of their pedestals, its altar-crosses and their Sassanian-Pahlvi inscriptions, similar to that of Mylapore, its copper-plate grants, and its traditions. In 1923 a new altar-cross was discovered at Kadamarram with a Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription partly similar to the two of Kottayam and the one at St. Thomas Mount.

3. *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bishop's Museum,
San Thomé.*

A.—From the Cathedral Grounds.¹

1.—A1a.* Big pedestal, with eight-petalled lotus in front, on which stands St. Thomas and Kándāpa Rāja. (Pt. I. No. 4a.)

2.—A1b. Similar pedestal, matching the former exactly. (Pt. I. No. 4a.)

3.—A2. Double sculpture in relief on the same stone. A2a* represents St. Thomas; A2b* represents, according to the people, Kándāpa Rāja, but the figure seems to be an Apostle also, presumably St. Bartholomew. This stone seems to be the one that was found in 1729 in front of St. Thomas' tomb, when it was opened to give earth to the pilgrims. It had, therefore, not been disturbed by the Portuguese, when they opened the tomb in 1521–23. The discovery created a stir: the Bishop of Mylapore wrote to the S. Congregation of Rites to know what was to be done with it. It is said to have stood next in the Cathedral grounds, in the open air, on the North side of the Cathedral. It has never been mentioned in books apparently, except by Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, the Carmelite, in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 130–131, where he quotes a letter, on the subject of the discovery, sent by the Bishop of S. Thomé to the Bishop of Verapoly. It is a most important piece of evidence in favour of the local traditions. The ears of St. Thomas are normal. (Pt. I. Nos. 4–7.)

4.—A3.* Maltese cross, within rope-bordered medallion, on triangular base. (Pt. I. Nos. 4b. 8.)

5a.—A4.* Fleur-de-lis cross, in rope-bordered medallion on triangular base. (Pt. I. Nos. 4b. 8.)

5b.—A5.* Ditto. (Pt. I. Nos. 4b. 8.)

6.—A6.* Naked, seated, headless statue, of Jain origin. (Pt. I. No. 3.)

7.—A7.* Other fleur-de-lis cross similar to A4 and A5 (Nos. 5a and 5b). (Pt. I. Nos. 4b. 8.)

¹ An asterisk after the number of the exhibit shows that it was photographed by the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle (Madras), in 1921; a double asterisk, that it was photographed in 1923. The numbers of the exhibits, such as A1a, A1b, correspond to similar numbers painted by me in black paint (1923) on the exhibits of the Bishop's Museum.

8.—A8.** Fleur-de-lis cross found in 1922 near the new E. wall of the Cathedral grounds, some 30ft. S. from the grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes. There is a border round it, but not a rope-bordered medallion: a sort of circular knob in front, on the base supporting the cross. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

9.—A9.** Fragment of stone with long Tamil inscription on 3 sides, found in 1923 in the cocoanut garden. North of, and belonging to, the Cathedral, and N.E. of the northernmost well, some four or five steps from it. It contains only a portion of the historical introduction of the great Chola King Rājarāja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. (Pt. I. Nos. 21, 77.)

10.—A10. Large grinding-mill found, near the new E. wall made round the Cathedral grounds in 1922, opposite the E. door of the nave of the Church and in a line with the N.E. buttress. Found while digging the foundations of the new wall, as was also the case for A8.

11.—A11.** Base of what appears to be an incised cross, of which only the lower limb appears. Found above ground, near the sea-face wall, in the Bishop's garden. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

12.—A12.** Upper part of a cross, the three upper limbs of which are equal. (Pt. I. 21.)

13.—A13.** Fragment of a slender pillar twisted like a rope. This had been removed for its beauty from the Cathedral grounds by Mr. Teixeira, whose house is contiguous with No. 319, San Thomé High Road. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

14.—A14. Fragment of a Portuguese inscription.

15.—A15.* Ditto. (Pt. I. No. 78.)

16.—A16. Strip of a Portuguese inscription.

17.—A17.** Stone with a cross within a five-pointed Saracenic arch (cross and Saracenic arch on either side), the cross resting on a calvary. Found by me in 1923 in the corner formed by the new compound wall and the San Thomé High Road. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

18.—A18.* Fragment of Portuguese inscription. (Pt. I, No. 79.)

19.—A19.* Ditto. (Pt. I, No. 79.)

20.—A20.* Ditto. (Pt. I, No. 79.)

21 and 22.—A21a* and A21b*. Two fragments of the same Portuguese inscription. The stone was broken by the Church servants between my departure in February, 1921, and my return in January, 1923; but the photograph taken in 1921 disclosed the vandalism. (Pt. I. No. 79.)

23.—A22. Fragment of Portuguese inscription.

24.—A23. Ditto.

25.—A24.* Ditto. (Pt. I. No. 79.)

26.—A25.* Ditto. (Pt. I. No. 79.)

27.—A26. Ditto.

A27. This number was cancelled.

28 and 29.—A28a* and A28b*. Medallion of a Persian King with diadem and beard (A28b), and another of a Persian Prince (A28a); on the same stone (broken); the stone forms apparently the lintel of a door: Ionic volutes, showing that it rested on two pillars: two lions of the same description as B1 and B2 depend from the stone and are represented as supporting it. (Pt. I, Nos. 9-10.)

30.—A29.** Fragment of pillar twisted like A13, but thicker: found near the Priory kitchen. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

31.—A30.* Base for pillar with Ionic volutes, as shown by the arrangement of A55. (Photographed in 1921 with A43). (Pt. I. No. 12.)

32.—A31. Pillar from some choultry; lying in the S. verandah of the Cathedral in 1921. It may have belonged to the pilgrim-hall attached to the monastery near St. Thomas' tomb in Marco Polo's time (A.D. 1292-93).

33.—A32.* Pilaster. See A35. (Pt. I. No. 11.)

34.—A33.* Corbel, like A57. See A35. (Pt. I. No. 11.)

35.—A34.* Pilaster. See A35. (Pt. I. No. 11.)

36.—A35.* Triangular-shaped top of some decoration, with Ionic volutes. Photographed in 1921 with A32 A33, A34, A36, A38. (Pt. I. No. 11.)

37.—A36.* Pilaster with Ionic volutes. See A35. (Pt. I. No. 11.)

38.—A37. Base of pillar similar to A40, but without the slender column fixed in the centre of A40.

39.—A38.* Base of pillar with leaf decorations and a fine fleur-de-lis design in the centre, the fleur-de-lis showing at the top of the stone. See A35 (Pt. I, No. 11.)

40.—A39. Base of pillar with rope-border at top, and a leaf at each of the four corners below.

41.—A40. Base of pillar with slender column fixed in the centre; leaf at each of the four corners of base of pillar.

42.—A41. Stone like F2, which Mr. L. A. Cammiade. Madras, says belongs to the bottom of a flag-staff, such as are found in Hindu temples. Beautiful flag-staffs are used near the Churches of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.

43.—A42. Big top of pillar (?), hollow through and through in the centre; with projections in the stone to make it rest on a pillar passing through the aperture.

44.—A43.* Big stone vessel, hollow in the centre, with rope-border along the rim. Perhaps, an old baptismal font. (Pt. I, No. 12).

45.—A44.* State umbrella(?) for a statue; octagonal, with 16 lotus petals. Perhaps, from the pedestal of an open-air cross, such as are found in Malabar near Christian churches. (Pt. I, No. 14.)

46.—A45. Fragment of inscription with two or three European letters.

47.—A46. Base of pillar with leaf at each of the four corners, and a semi-circular projection at foot, in the middle.

48 and 49.—A47a* and A47b.* Two beautiful fluted pilasters lying alongside of the S. verandah of the Cathedral, each with two winged heads of angels. It is said that they stood at the north portico of the old Cathedral; if they did not stand there, probably they stood at the south porch. When taken down, one of them was broken, and it was then that the iron pegs were driven into the fragments to fasten them again; but they were not re-erected. Being too heavy to remove to the Bishop's Museum, they were left alongside of the Cathedral. (Pt. I, No. 23.)

50 and 51.—A48a* and A48b.* Two massive pillars with 16 facettes of flutes, and with leaf pattern at each of the four corners, both below and at top, standing at the gate of Bishop's House garden, along the San Thomé High Road. They stood formerly in the front line of the S. porch of the old Cathedral (Pt. I, No. 15.)

52.—A49. Fragment of inscription.

53.—A50a. Piece of cornice with curved line of carving.

54.—A50b. Ditto.

55.—A50c. Ditto.

56.—A50d. Ditto.

57.—A50e. Ditto.

58.—A50f. Ditto.

59.—A50g. Piece of cornice with curved line of carving.

60.—A50h. Ditto.

61.—A51. Top of decoration with ogive arch, to rest on other stones, as shown by holes at bottom.

62.—A52. Pillar broken at thicker end; a knob in centre of slender end, at the top, shows dove-tailing process.

63a.—A53. Fine beam of stone with scroll at one end; broken at the other end. The stone is whiter than the other exhibits.

63b.—A54. Ditto with scroll at both ends. Complete. Colour of stone as in A53.

64.—A55.* Huge stone box with scallop-shell at top under scroll. On either side of the aperture of the box, a pillar resting on a base like that of A30. Ionic volutes at top of pillars; at the bottom of the box a waving pattern of branches and leaves issuing from vase in the centre. Grooves on either side half way up along the aperture, to hold a board or shelf. An arrangement of two sets of holes, one behind the other at the four corners of the aperture of the box, seems to have been intended for a double folding-door. Supposed to be an ancient Christian altar. (Pt. I, No. 13.)

65.—A56. Heavy stone beam with star of seven rays in centre of clean face.

66.—A57. Corbel, like A33.

67.—A58. Stone with faint tracing of designs for intended sculpturing.

68.—A59. Broad waterspout.

69.—A60. Waterspout, less broad than A59.

70.—A61. Ditto, like A60.

71.—A62. Stone beam with two indentations.

B.—From the Luz Church, Mylapore.

72.—B1.* Large stone lion, seated on haunches, with molars meeting, and niche in front. (Pt. I, Nos. 16, 17.)

73.—B2.* Large lion, seated on haunches, molars not meeting; no niche in front, or niche broken off. Of same height as B1, but hardly forming a pair. Photographed in 1921 from in front with B1; in 1923, from the side with B1. (Pt. I, Nos. 16, 17.)

74.—B3.* Strip of Portuguese inscription. (Pt. I, No. 80.)

75.—B4.* Ditto. (Pt. I, No. 80.)

76.—B5.* Ditto. (Pt. I, No. 80.)

77.—B6.* Ditto.—B3, B4, B5, and B6 were photographed together in 1921. (Pt. I, No. 80.)

C.—From (Great) St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore.

78.—C1.** Fragment of trough-like stone with 4 lines of Tamil script; from the upper step of the small staircase near the Sisters' oratory on the top of the Mount. The stone may have been used as a holy water-stoup. (Pt. I, Nos. 21, 81.)

79.—C2.** Maltese cross, with rope-bordered medallion, on a rough base about 2 ft. high; dug up, from the Sisters' inner garden at the same place, in 1916. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

80.—C3.** Slender pillar, fragment, with rude twisted rope band round circumference. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

81.—C4.** Two arms (central limb, and right-side limb) of top of cross bottonnée, found in the Sisters' grounds on the same Mount. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

82.—C5.** Slender pillar, fragment, twisted in the shape of a rope. More elegant than C3. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

C3 and C5 were found under the pavement of the Sisters' verandah, in front of their dining-room. This indicates earlier occupation of the same place, centuries ago. The stones belonged either to the Church which stood on the top of the Mount in A.D. 650, as shown by the Cross and its Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription above the altar of the Church at St. Thomas Mount, or to the monastery which must have been close to it. The ground should be dug in the Sisters' inner garden wherever possible.

An inscription on a stone, some 2½ ft. long and 2ft. broad, was lying formerly near C1. It was shifted some five years before 1923, during some repairs, and could not be traced again in 1923, after a diligent search in which I participated.

D.—From Madre de Deos Church Grounds.

83.—D1.* Bulb-shaped pilaster from near sacristy. (Pt. I, No. 18.)

84.—D2. Fragment of stone with border; no flowers or intricate designs. Not worth photographing.

85.—D3. Fragment of pillar showing tracing of designs.

for future carving work. From near westernmost well of the Presbytery garden.

86.—D4.* Low piece of pedestal with lion design, and other designs, within lotus medallions. The lion turns his head backwards and shows his teeth. All these designs within lotus medallions would be worth taking rubbings and photographs of. The designs are very varied, as the principle seems to have been not to have twice the same design in the medallions of the same pillar. Photographed together with D1 in 1921. (Pt. I. No. 18.)

87.—D5.* Long piece of pillar with revolving sun (?) in lotus medallion. Other designs within lotus medallions, either in D4, D5 or D9: two deer sitting; a man standing and beating a drum; 2 chameleons with claws, head reversed and tongue protruding; a god sitting, etc. (Pt. I. No. 19.)

88.—D6.** Sun-dial with Tamil characters, found lying on the ground, turned on its smooth face (on the S.W. side of the Presbytery gate which bears the Cross and the two peacocks). It must be the work of the Jesuit Fathers, who were the occupants of the garden and of the Church from about 1575 to some time after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. (Pt. I. Nos. 20, 21.)

89 and 90.—D7a and D7b. Two beautiful stone brackets to support stone beams and to rest on top of a pillar. Reef-knots are among the designs on the sides.

91.—D9.* Base of a pillar from near westernmost well of Presbytery garden. D2 and D5 were found near it in 1921. See D5. (Pt. I. No. 19.)

92 and 93.—D10a and D10b. Two other stone brackets, like D7a and D7b. The four of them had been placed for their beauty at the entrance to the Presbytery gate on which are the Cross and the two peacocks.

94 and 95.—D11a and D11b. Two massive stone vases, which, on account of their beauty and antiquarian interest, had been inserted in the verandah wall on either side of the S. door of the Priest's room.

96.—D12.** A stone with seated image in niche, from steps of the N.W. staircase of the Priest's house. (Pt. I. No. 21.)

A stone with a fragment of Portuguese tomb-inscription was taken out under my orders in 1923 from the front staircase of the Priest's house; but, the moment after, we missed it and could not find it back.

Two stone pillars, slender, and forming a pair, formerly inserted in the S.E. part of the wall joining the chief gate of

Madre de Deos Church, in front of the Convent of the Indian Nuns, were also removed and taken to the Museum. The numbers of these two exhibits are not entered in the list I drew up at Mylapore in Jan.-Febr., 1923.

E.—From the San Thomé Boys' Orphanage, S. Thomé High Road.

97.—E1. Fragment of Portuguese inscription.

98.—E2 ** Big brick, triangular, with design (a scroll). (Pt. I, No. 21).

F.—From the San Thomé High School, attached to St. Rita's or the old Augustinian Convent.

99.—F1a. Fragment of Portuguese inscription from kitchen staircase.

100.—F1b. Ditto.

101.—F2. Stone like A41.

102.—F3. Stone waterspout.

103.—F4. Small portion of twisted round pillar, about 4 inches high; very elegant.

G.—From Mac Lodge, Sullivan Str., San Thomé.

104.—G1.** Snake coil with two rosaces (stone). (Pt. I, No. 21.)

105.—G2. Cannon-ball (iron).

H.—From No. ⁷₃₈₃, San Thomé High Road, adjacent to Bishop's House.

106.—H1.** Stone cannon-ball. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

I.—From No. ⁷_{380 81}, San Thomé High Road.

107.—I1.** Headstone of Muhammadan tomb with inscription in Arabic characters. Rubbing and photograph made. (Pt. I, Nos. 21, 79 bis.)

J.—From the St. Thomas Convent, Rosary Church Str., San Thomé.

108.—J1.* Cannon-ball with hole; hollow; iron. Photographed in 1921 with A6. (Pt. I, Nos. 3, 4c.)

109.—J2. Stone with some carving.

L.—From Westcot, Sullivan Str., San Thomé.

110.—L1.** Stone Maltese cross within rope-border medallion, on base. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

*M.—From Mrs. Watson's House, Rosary Church Str.,
adjacent to the Rosary Church.*

111.—M1.** Stone showing a man piercing a lion with two swords; also a dog. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

112.—M2. Stone slightly worked.

*N.—From No. 23¹/₁₀, Rosary Church Str., San Thomé
(Mrs. Boyton's House).*

113.—N1.** Hindu statue: Subramaniya with peacock and cobra. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

114.—N2. Piece of small grinding-stone.

*O.—From D. Dhanakōḷi Rāju's House, Victoria Works,
San Thomé High Road.*

115.—O1. Fragment of Portuguese inscription: worked into a scroll at both ends.

*P.—From the Convent of the Indian Nuns of Our Lady of Help,
near Madre de Deos Church, Mylapore.*

116.—P1. Strip of Portuguese inscription from the entrance to the Convent, staircase from the street.

117.—P2. Ditto, ditto.

118.—P3. Ditto, ditto.

119.—P4. Ditto, ditto.

Q.—From Mrs. da Silva's house, Sullivan Str., San Thomé.

120.—Q1.** Cannon-ball, iron, from Guindy. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

121.—Q2.** Ditto, ditto, ditto. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

122.—Q3.** Ditto, ditto, ditto. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

123.—Q4.** Ditto, ditto, ditto. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

124.—Q5.** Ditto, ditto, ditto. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

*R.—From the house of Messrs. Solomon, Photographers,
Rosary Church Str., San Thomé.*

125.—R1.** Cannon-ball, hollow, iron. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

S.—From Mr. Moses' house, Silver Str., (Great) St. Thomas Mount.

126.—S1. Cannon-ball, hollow, iron.

127.—S2.** Ditto, ditto, ditto. (Pt. I, No. 21.)

The following objects were photographed together in 1923.

		C3		C5		
Top row :	I1	A8	L1	C2		D6
2nd row from top :	C1	D12	G1	M1		A9
3rd row from top :		E2	H1			N1
4th row from top :	A29		C4	A17	A11	A12 A13
Bottom row :		Q2		Q5 R1	S2 Q1 Q3	Q4

4. *Some books in the Bishop's Library. S. Thomé.*

—*The Madras Roman Catholic Expositor*. Vol. 2 (May 1838—April 1839).

—*The Madras Catholic Expositor*.

—Vol. 1 (March 1841—March 1842). A notice in the beginning says: "I do hereby certify that I have resigned the future publication of the Madras Roman Catholic Expositor to Rev. Mr. Kennedy, who will conduct it on his own responsibility. —W. L. Johnston."

—Vols. 3 (March 1843—Febr. 1844); 4 (March 1844—Febr. 1845); 6 (March 1846—Febr. 1847); 7 (March 1847—Febr. 1848); 8 (March 1848—Febr. 1849); 9 (March 1849—Febr. 1850); 10 (March 1850—Febr. 1851); 11 (March 1851—1852).

A collection of several of the first volumes of this series, formerly belonging to Mgr. Carew, at one time Editor of the journal, is to be found in the library of the Editor of *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta.

—*The Madras Catholic Directory*.

The Bishop's Library has the following volumes of this valuable collection: 1872. 1874-1875, 1878, 1879, 1881-1884, 1886-1888, 1889 (2 copies), 1890-1895, 1897-1900, 1903-1908, 1909 (3 copies), 1910-1911, 1912 (2 copies), 1913-1914, 1915 (2 copies), 1916-1919.

—*Boletim do Governo Ecclesiastico da Diocese de S. Thomé de Meliapor*. Of this there is a collection in the Camara Ecclesiastica or Diocesan Secretariat. I noted only:

Vol. 1: No. 1 (Aug. 20, 1887), No. 2 (Sept. 19, 1887), No. 3 (Oct. 10, 1887), No. 4 (Nov. 25, 1887), No. 5 (Dec. 1887), No. 6 (Febr. 1888), No. 7 (Apr. 1888), No. 8 (May 1888), No. 9 (June 1888), No. 10 (July 1888), No. 11 (Sept. 1888).

Other numbers: Sept. 1889 (No. 2), May 1890 (No. 10), June 1890 (No. 11), July 1890 (No. 12), Aug. 1890 (No. 13); May 1894 (No. 5), June 1894 (No. 6), July 1894 (No. 7), Aug. 1894 (No. 8), March 15, 1895 (No. 15), April 1, 1895, (No. 16), April 8, 1895 (No. 17), May 1895 (No. 18).

—*The Catholic Register*. a monthly issued by the Diocese of Mylapore. This collection, not quite complete, is with the Editor of the paper. I saw of it only:

Vol. 1, May 3, 1890—Apr. 25, 1891 (2 copies).

Vol. 4, New Series, Jan. 4, 1902—Oct. 27, 1902 (2 copies).

Vol. 5, N.S., 1903; Vol. 6, 1904; Vol. 7, 1905; Vol. 8, 1906.

The latest number, received at the time of writing, is of Aug. 8, 1924, i.e., No. 8 of Vol. XXVI, New Series.

—J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *A jurisdição diocesana do Bispado de S. Thomé de Meliapor, nas possessões Francezas e Inglezas, Nova Goa, 1867.*

Cf. on him, Abreu, Miguel Vicente de. (Pt. III, 6.)

From Mgr. A. E. Medlycott's papers.

—[Memorial] To the Right Hon'ble the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for foreign affairs, Whitehall; dated Bombay, April—1890; pp. 13 + 11 f'scap. [From the Council of the Bombay Catholic Union, against the Padroado.]

—To His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. Rome. The Humble Memorial of the Catholic British subjects residing in the Presidency of Bombay and forming the Bombay Catholic Union; dated: Bombay, April—, 1890; pp. 10 f'scap.

—Office of the Bombay Catholic Union, Meadows Street, Bombay.—July 1890. To H.E. Monsignor A. Ajuti, Apostolic Delegate in the East Indies, Ootacamund; pp. 12 f'scap.

—A Letter to His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate in the East Indies from the Bombay Catholic Union with a French Translation and Appendices and Index. / Bombay, July 1890. Printed for Private circulation. / pp. 13 + (44 unnumbered); f'scap.

—Bureau de l'Union Catholique de Bombay, Meadows Street, Bombay, Juillet 1890.—A Son Excellence Monseigneur A. Ajuti, Archevêque d'Acrida, Délégué Apostolique aux Indes Orientales, Ootacamund; pp. 13 f'scap.

—To the Most Honorable the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for foreign affairs, the humble Memorial and Petition of the Madras Catholic Union, Dated: Madras—Oct. 1890; pp. 69 f'scap.

—Au très-honorable Marquis de Salisbury, Chevalier de la Jarretière, Secrétaire d'état de Sa Majesté pour les Affaires Etrangères, Humble Mémoire et pétition de l'Union Catholique de Madras.—Madras, 31 Oct. 1890; pp. 19 f'scap.

—A Sa Sainteté le Pape Léon XIII, Vicaire de Jesus Christ et Suprême Pontife de l'Eglise Universelle, Memorial of the Catholic Union of Madras; Madras, 10 décembre 1890; pp. 23 f'scap.

—[Memorial] To His Holiness the Pope Leo XIII, dated Madras, 16th December 1890; pp. 62 f'scap. Copy signed by Andrew Ambrose and W. R[ees] Philipps, the joint Honorary Secretaries of the Council of the Madras Catholic Union.

—Le 'Padroado' Portugais dans l'Inde Anglaise. Mémoire de l'Union Catholique de Madras à Sa Sainteté le Pape Léon XIII. Le 16 Décembre, 1890. Caleutta: Printed by Thacker, Spink & Co., 1891.

5. *Archives of the Camara Ecclesiastica, S. Thomé*

In 1923, continuing the investigations I made in 1921, I noted about some of the "collected documents" (which I explain in *My Journey to Mylapore, Pondicherry and Trichinopoly*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 13):—

—No. 4. Very valuable for the history of Pegu. It carries us much further back than 1784; even to 1742.

—A volume, without number, contains "an inventory of this Bishopric made in 1790."

—No. 7. Very valuable.

—No. 12. At the end a letter to Clive by the Bishop, asking redress and compensation; reference to Covelong and Little Mount. I copied it.

—No. 12. There is a 2nd volume marked 12: "Registo de Provisões, Pastoraes, e mais papeis attenentes a este Diocese de 1838 a 1845."

—There is a volume No. 23: "Contas da Capella de S. Lazaro, de 1884 a 1887."

—No. 40. Correspondence on the Luz Church, from Febr. 7, 1831; deals also with Negapatam.

—No. 42. This contains at fol. 7v-9r a letter of the Father of Monte Grande, of which I have made an English translation has also documents about Monte Grande of: 20.6.1763 6.12.1763; 13.1.1765; 18.4.1772; 28.6.1775; 28.10.1777 Dec. 1778; 1803; 14.10.1804; 18.12.1807; 13.2.1808.

—No number. Baptisms of Paliacate from May 1, 1715, to Febr. 3, 1748, re-copied by P^e Miguel de Lima, and continuing up to Dec. 26, 1761. In good condition mostly.

—No. 54. Registo do Hospicio de S. Domingos em Meliapor de 1825.—On the other side: Inventario do Hospicio de S. Domingos: 1822 a 1824.

—No. 56 (or 55?) contains a list of books belonging to the Administrator of the Diocese, which, I think, I saw in an earlier volume. It seems to belong to 1826 also.

—No number. Marriages at Chinsurah, 25. 1. 1768—27. 5. 1792; also some documents on Bengal, some of which I copied. See *My Journey*, p. 7, No. 6.

—No number. Marriages of 1867, 1868, 1869, at Tanjore and district, Trichinopoly, and other places, even in Madras and S. Thomé.

—List of persons confirmed: 21. 12. 1800 (518); 21 and 22. 12. 1803 (375); 22. 5. 1804 (7); Corpus Christi, 16. 6. 1805 (95); 31. 1. 1808; 21 and 22. 12. 1809; 1810; 1816; 1819; 1822; 1824; 1826; 1827; 1828; 1829; 1830; 1833; 1838.

6. *List of books and articles for a study of the St. Thomas question.*

This list has not the ambition of being exhaustive. The literature is enormous. We have left out the Fathers of the Church, the old travellers, the Portuguese historians, and generally all writers earlier than the 19th century. Some of the books we describe *de visu*, and of these some are mere curiosities. Working, however, far away from libraries, we have had to be satisfied for the greater number with describing them from notes taken since 1921 or with quoting them from the writings of others. Such as it is, we trust that those who are anxious to help on the study of the St. Thomas question in connection with Mylapore or Malabar will find this list a useful repertory.

Here in India the outlook on the St. Thomas question is too narrow: the horizon needs enlarging. Our Romo-Syrian friends in particular are too much concerned with the question of their orthodoxy through the ages. Could they not, for a time at least, drop these controversies and turn their attention to their own antiquities at home: ecclesiastical art and architecture, inscriptions, Syrian and Malayalam MSS., legends, songs, traditions, family histories, bibliography, etc.? It would presently raise their studies out of the narrow, shallow grooves into which they have drifted and stuck. Of late, a change has set in.

* * *

--Abreu, Miguel Vicente de.—Noção de alguns filhos distinctos da India Portugueza que se illustraram fora da patria. . . . Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1874.

At p. 132: a reference to: Bolletim do governo da India. Artigo sobre a demarcação dos limites do Monte Grande de S. Thomé em Madrastra na parte que pertence á Igreja portugueza. Trad. do Inglez. Bol. 49.

This must be by J. A. da Cunha Rivara. Another entry, mentioned as a MS., is surely by him: "Collecção de todas as inscripções, que achou nos igrejas portuguezas de Madrastra, e outros logares daquella costa; as quaes com as de Cochim, já publicadas no Chronista de Tissuary, Vol. 2º, 1867, formam como um appendice á Jornada as partes do Sul em 1863" (cf. p. 157, *ibid.*). "Assim como as Inscriptções de Diu, no Bol. de 1865, e depois em folheto (Vid. No. VII, pag. 97), e as Inscriptções de Damão, no Chronista de Tissuary, Vol. 2º, 1867, formam como um appendice ás Jornadas ás praças do Norte em 1854" (cf. p. 158, *ibid.*)

*—Altekar, Anant Sudasiv.—A history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad. Ind. Antiq., Aug.

1924, pp. 1-8 (special pagination). Interesting for a theory that the Gujrs are Georgians, though the author has not thought of such a theory.

—Anonymous.—The Portuguese in Madras. Vestiges of Madras. The St. Thomas tradition.—Four articles in *The Madras Mail*, June 13-16, 1921. The author examines the traditions and legends attaching to the various churches of S. Thomé and Mylapore.

—Anonymous.—Syrian Christians in Travancore. In: *The South India Christian Repository*, 1838, Vol. II, Madras, American Mission Press, 1838, pp. 189-205.—A document dated Trichoor in Cochin: 1820.

I have prepared it for republication. A copy in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta; Library mark: IX. 49.

—Anonymous.—In *Anal. Bolland.*, t. XVIII, Bruxellis, 1899, pp. 275-279; deals with Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 9^e série, t. IX (1897), pp. 27-42.

—Anonymous.—Ancient songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar (Malayālam). *Kōṭṭayam*, 1910.

A translation of this is greatly required. While in Malabar in 1924, I was told that a Professor of the Calcutta University, a man from S. India, had an English translation in hand.

—Anonymous.—Were the St. Thomas Christians Nestorians? A dialogue / between / Father Vanerello and / Mr. Raggio. In two parts, pp. 1-31. No place or date of printing. It is of 1902.

It refers: (1) to a note 116, by the Rev. E. A. Nidiri of Kuravilangad and the Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas of the Mannanam Monastery, in G. T. Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore* (p. 1);

(2) to *Historicus Philalethes*, in *The Catholic Register*, Mylapore, Apr. 26, May 3 and 10 "of this year" (p. 1);

(3) to P. P. M., in *The Voice of Truth*, Ernakulam, July 1 (p. 30);

(4) to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in *The Voice of Truth*, [June 11, 21, 1902], Ernakulam (p. 29).

—Badger, Rev. George Percy.—*Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, Masters, 1862.

—Bardenhewer, O.—*Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, Freiburg, 1913, I. 579 sqq.

—Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D.—*History of the St. Thomas Christians in Malayālam*; 2 vols.; the 1st volume was published at Pālā, 1916.

Writers unacquainted with Malayālam would be greatly helped if an English translation of this were published.

———. A brief sketch / of the / history / of the / St. Thomas Christians / by Rev. Fr. Bernard / of St. Thomas,

T.O.C.D. / Published as a Souvenir of the Restoration of the Syrian Hierarchy. Trichinopoly: / Printed by Rev. Bro. Joseph, S.J., Superintendent, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press. 1924. Price: 8 annas.

After inner title: illustration showing photographs of the Archbishop of Ernakulam and his three Suffragans; dedication; contents; foreword by the Editor, Fr. Romeo Thomas of the Immaculate Conception, T.O.C.D. (pp. VII-VIII); text (pp. 1-90).

—Besse, L., S.J.—Un ancien document inédit sur les Todas. In: *Anthropos*, Salzburg, Tom. II, fasc. VI (1907), pp. 970-975.

———, "A short account of the Missions under the charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies written to the Most Reverend the Father General of the Society in the year 1644. pp. 35. (Appeared as an App. to the Catal. of the Madura Mission, 1909. It is an English translation by Fr. L. Besse of an Annual Letter signed by Andrew Lopez, S.J.)

———, Appendix ad Catalog. Miss. Madurensis pro anno 1914. Nomina quorundam Sociorum qui in Collegiis S. Thomae et Negapatani aliquando versati sunt. Trichinopoly. St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1914; pp. 3-20.

———, Appendix ad Catalog. Miss. Madurensis pro anno 1917. Catalogus Operariorum Societatis Jesu qui inter Sancti Thomae Christianos Malabarenses aliquando laboraverunt. Trichinopoly. Typis Scholae Industr. S. Joseph. 1917; pp. 3-21.

———, Appendix ad Catalog. Miss. Madurensis pro anno 1918. Catalogus Operariorum Societatis Jesu qui in Ora Travancorensi aliquando laboraverunt. Trichinopoly. Typis Scholae Industr. S. Joseph. 1918; pp. 3-24.

———, Appendix ad Catalog. Miss. Madurensis pro anno 1919. Collegii Coccinensis Socii juxta Catalogos Provinciae Malabaricae ab an. 1604 ad an. 1655. Trichinopoly: Typis Scholae Industr. S. Joseph, 1919; pp. 3-29.

—Bihl, P. Michael, O.F.M., et A. C. Moule.—De duabus Epistolis Fr. Minorum Tartariae Aquilonaris an. 1323. / Extractum ex Periodico / "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum" / An. XV.—Fasc. I-II. / Typ. Collegii S. Bonaventurae / Ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam / Quaracchi presso (Firenze) / 1923. pp. 1-24, or pp. 89-112.

———, Tria nova documenta de Missionibus Fr. Min. Tartariae Aquilonaris annorum 1314-1322. / Extractum ex Periodico / "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum" / An. XVII.—Fasc. I. / Typ. Collegii S. Bonaventurae / Ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam / Quaracchi presso (Firenze) / 1924. pp. 3-19, or pp. 55-71.

—Bihlmeyer.—Writes on St. Thomas in *Revue bénédictine*, XXVIII., Maredsous, 1911.

—Bonnet, Max.—*Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi. I / Acta Thomae Graece partim cum novis codicibus contulit partim primum edidit Latine recensuit / praefatus est indices adiecit / Max Bonnet Lipsiae In aedibus Hermann Mendelsohn / MDCCCLXXXIII.*

Contains: *Acta Thomae* in Greek, pp. 1-95; *de Miraculis*, pp. 96-132; *Passio*, pp. 133-160.

A copy, formerly belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—Brou, Alex., S.J.—*L'évangélisation de l'Inde au Moyen Age*, in *Études*, Paris, V. Retaux, 38^e année, tome 87, 1901, pp. 577-605.

—Buchanan, Dr. Claudius.—*Christian Researches in India*, 5th edn., pp. 106-145. Quoted from Kennet, who at p. 5 refers to p. 134 of the 5th edn.

—Burkitt, F. C.—*Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*. Cambridge, 1899.

———. The original language of the Acts of Judas Thomas. *Journ. Theological Studies*, I. 280 sqq., III. 94 sqq. Shows that the original language is probably Syriac.

———. *Early Eastern Christianity. St. Margaret's Lectures 1904 on the Syriac-speaking Church*. London, J. Murray, Albemarle Str., W., 1904. Contains (Lecture VI, pp. 193-228): *The Acts of Judas Thomas and the Hymn of the Soul*.

A copy with Mr. J. A. D'Cruz, S. Thomé, Mylapore.

———. *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge, 1897 and 1903), V.

—Burkitt-Preuschen.—*Unchristentum in Orient*, Tübingen, 1907.

—Burnell, A. C.—*On some Pahlavi inscriptions in South India*. Mangalore, 1873.

———. *On some Pahlavi inscriptions in South India*. *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. 3 (1874), pp. 308-316; 2 plates. The picture of the cross at Mylapore is very imperfect. See also *Academy*, IV. 237 (June 2, 1873), by A. C. Burnell.

———. The oldest known South-Indian Alphabet. *Ind. Antiq.*, I (1872), 229-230.

———. Pahlavi inscriptions, *Ind. Antiq.*, II (1873), 273; see also p. 183.

———. The original settlement-deed of the Jewish Colony at Cochin. *Ind. Antiq.*, III (Dec. 1874), pp. 333-334, with 3 plates. See also under Collins, Richard.

———. *South-Indian Palæography*. London, 1878.

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In Fr. Heras we have a prolific, painstaking writer, still young, and full of promise.

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A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 5).

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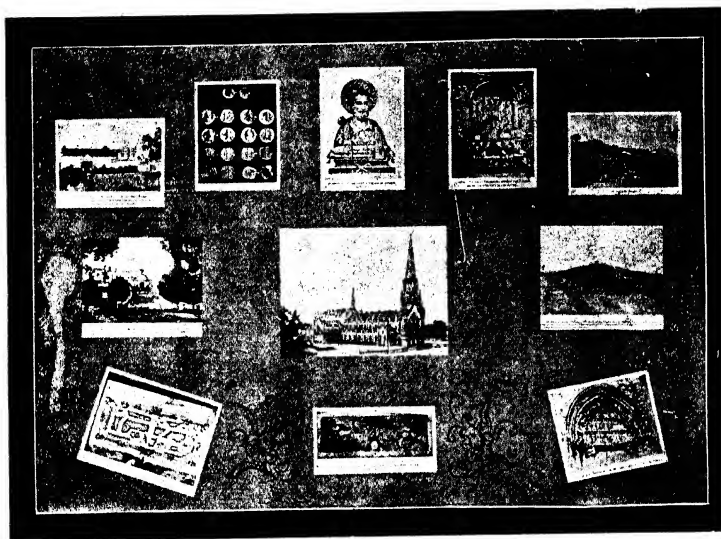


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B.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 6).

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A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 4a).

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Ch. X.—Inscription of Vikrama Chola (about A.D. 1118), 1922; pp. 141; 161–162; 181–182; 200–201; 219–220; 240–241; 261–262; 277–278.

Ch. XI.—Two other Indian inscriptions from Mylapore, 1922; pp. 297–299.

Ch. XII.—Some non-Christian antiquities:—I. A Jain statue and cannon-balls, p. 314.—II. A stone umbrella, p. 333.—III. Two stone tigers, p. 333.—IV. Leith Castle, pp. 333–334; 350–351; 369–370.

Epilogue to Part I., p. 370.

2. My journey to Mylapore, Pondicherry and Trichinopoly. Report submitted to the Indian Historical Records Commission, at their Meeting held in January, 1922. By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1922; pp. 1–46.

This is a reprint from : Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. IV. Fourth meeting held at Delhi, January, 1922. Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1922, pp. 57–102. The title at p. 57 is given thus : Report of the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, on his visit to Mylapore, Pondicherry, etc., in connection with the preparation of a history of Jesuit Missions in Bengal.—The journey lasted from Jan. 23, 1921, to Febr. 28, 1921.

This is chiefly a study of the Mylapore Diocesan Archives.

There was some idea that the diocesan papers anterior to 1780 were in the library of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1923 I

was told by Mr. Shutie of S. Thomé that he had seen in that library Portuguese papers and letters of Clive ; to the Collector of Salem he had shown three English letters by l' Abbé Dubois, which had subsequently been sent either to the Victoria Memorial or to the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

From the Record Department, Madras, I learned in 1923 that they had no papers from the Archives of the Mylapore Diocese.

3. The Si-ngan-fu stèle at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Mylapore Cross, in *The Catholic Herald of India*. Febr. 1 and 8, 1922, pp. 92 ; 121-122.

4. Christian Archaeology in Malabar, *ibid.*, 1922, Nov. 29. Dec. 6, 1922, pp. 829 ; 845 ; January 3. 10. 17, 1923. pp. 14-15 ; 30 ; 46.

5. St. Thomas and S. Thomé. Inter-borrowing of legends by Christians and non-Christians, *ibid.*, January 31—March 28, 1923, pp. 79 ; 94 ; 110 ; 126 ; 142-143 ; 158-159 ; 174-175 ; 189-190 ; 205-206.

6. Valuable inscription from San Thomé, Mylapore. *ibid.*, January 24, 1923, p. 62 ; April 4, 1923, p. 222. The second part ought to have appeared first. There is question of the inscription at the Madras Museum. See No. 383.

7. The St. Thomas Christians (1490-1504). Translated from Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. III, Pars I, pp. 589-599 :—*ibid.*, June 21. July 11 and 18, 1923, pp. 414 ; 444-446 ; 461-462.

8. St. Thomas at the Vatican Mission Exhibition of 1925, *ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1924, pp. 32-33.

9. Malabar Christian Art at the Vatican Missions Exhibition (1925), *ibid.*, Jan. 16 and 23, 1924, pp. 47-48 ; 63-65.

10. Fr. Hosten in Malabar (anonymous, reports by others on his doings), *ibid.*, Febr. 6, 1924, p. 96, from *The Standard*. Trivandrum, Travancore ; *ibid.*, Febr. 27, 1924, p. 147, from *The Englishman*, Calcutta ; *ibid.*, March 4, 1924, p. 159 ; p. 164.

11. Ruins of Ancient Christian Missions in India, in *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, June 11 and 18, 1924, pp. 385-386 ; 401-402.

12. A Tamil account of St. Thomas and Kándāpa Rāja, from the Latin.—Re-edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., in *The Indian Athenæum*, a monthly (26, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta), Vol. I. No. 1 (July), 1923, pp. 8-17.

Sir R. C. Temple, reviewing it in *Ind. Antiq.*, Febr. 1924, says : " Father Hosten's article is, like all his work, valuable and illuminating."

13. St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore.—I. Altar Crosses in Malabar and at San Thomé, in *The Indian Athenæum*,

Vol. 1, No. 2 (August), 1923, pp. 67–85, with 3 photographs : (1) the altar cross of (Great) St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore ; (2) two altar crosses in the Valiapalli Church, Kottayam, Travancore.

14. St. Thomas in India, or Tattah Fakirs and Fr. B. Burtney, S.J., in *The Indian Athenæum*, Vol. I, No. 3 (Sept.), 1923, pp. 28–33 (to be continued ; the review ceased after Sept. 1923, and is unable to resume publication. I am told that the fascicles and blocks were removed by the Bailiff of the Small Cause Court, Calcutta, and it is supposed they were sold.)

15. St. Thomas and San Thomé. Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends ; in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1, Park Street, Calcutta, N.S., Vol. XIX, 1923, No. 5, pp. 153–236, with a pen-sketch of the cross at St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore, by Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J. (1579).

16. St. Thomas and San Thomé. Some important discoveries. In *The Madras Mail*, Madras, Febr. 3, 1923.—In this connection see a note in *The Catholic Register*, Mylapore, Febr. 1, 1923.

17. St. Thomas and San Thomé, Excavations round the Cathedral :—in *The Madras Mail*, Feb. 7, 1923.

18. St. Thomas and San Thomé. Interesting finds :—*ibid.*, Febr. 13, 1923.

19. St. Thomas and San Thomé. Search for a Jain statue :—*ibid.*, Febr. 15, 1923.

20. Two Portuguese inscriptions in the Kapaleśvara Temple at Mylapur (Madras), by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., Vol. IX, No. 4, 1913, pp. 169–171 ; with 1 illustration.

21. St. Thomas and S. Thomé, Mylapore, Madras. Architectural Remains. (A list of exhibits shown by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February 1, 1922).

22. Some pre-Portuguese Christian relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China. In : *Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, paintings, etc*, exhibited at Calcutta in connection with the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in January 1923 ; pp. 19–21.

23. Pre-Portuguese Christian Relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China. In : *Calcutta Exhibition*. December 1923. *List of Historical and Archaeological Exhibits* ; pp. 30–41.

24. Pre-Portuguese Christian Relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China. In : *Historical Exhibition*. List of exhibits from Calcutta. Madras, 1924 [January] ; pp. 7–15. Cf. pp. 174–185 of : *Indian Historical Records Commission*. *Proceedings of Meetings*, Vol. VI. Sixth Meeting held at Madras. January,

1924. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1924.

25. Indian Christian Art at the Vatican Exhibition (1925). —In: *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, Dec. 3, 10, 17, 1924; pp. 767-768; 783-785; 800-801.

26. List of Photographs of Antiquities, Portuguese, and pre-Portuguese, mostly Christian, from San Thomé and Mylapore, India, the traditional place of the / Martyrdom and tomb of / St. Thomas the Apostle. Compiled for / The Vatican Exhibition (1925) on behalf of the Mylapore Diocese / by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., of the Archdiocese of Calcutta, Madras; / Printed by Hoe & Co., at the "Premier Press," Stringer's Street, G. T. p 1924. pp. 23-46 of: *Guide to / Vatican Exhibition / Diocese de Meliapor* Hoe & Co., Madras.

My list is dated: Aug. 28, 1923; pp. 25-29 do not refer to my exhibits; moreover some items not belonging to my collection have been inserted among my exhibits.

The value of the catalogue is greatly enhanced by the plates, showing all our photographs framed, and ready for transmission to the Vatican.

27. The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum, by W. Rees Philipps and H. Beveridge, edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.—J. and P. Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1910. pp. 437-461. —Refers to important documents on Malabar.

—Hough.—History of Christianity in India. Vols. 1 and 2, and Appendix to Vol. 4 (containing the Syrian Liturgies). Quoted from Kennet.

—Howard, Rev. G. B.—Christians of St. Thomas and their liturgies. Oxford and London, Parkers, 1864. Quoted from Kennet.

—E. Hull, S.J.—Jacobite Questions, in *The Examiner*, Bombay, Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23, 1922.—See also *s.v.* *Examiner (The)*,

—Hultzsch, Dr. E.—Tirunelli copper-plate grant of Bhaskara-Raviyarmān, Ind. Antiq., XX(1891), 286-289 (treats again of the Malabar copper-plates).

—Ittup.—History of the Syrian Christian Church of Malabar (Malayalam). First published in 1869: 2nd impression: Kōttayam, 1906.

—Jepharnion, Guillaume de, S.J.—La représentation de la croix et du crucifix aux origines de l'art chrétien. Etudes, Paris, 60^e année, Tom. 174, 5 Janvier 1923, pp. 26-51.

—J., F. C.—A short Life of / St. Thomas, / The Apostle of India, / by / F. C. J., Printed by Dowden and Co., Madras, 1906. /

Inner title: A Short Life of St. Thomas, / The Apostle of India. / With also / An account of the Church / in India. /

The preface by F. C. J. states that the short life was written as a souvenir of the Tricentenary celebrations of the erection of the Bishopric of S. Thomé (January 9, 1906.)—Text : pp. 1-61.

F. C. J. = the Rev. Francis Cherubin Joseph.

—Joseph, T. K. (Training College, Trivandrum, Travancore) :

1.—A Christian Dynasty in Malabar, in *The Trivandrum Daily News*, February 25, 1922. Also in *The Indian Antiquary*, LII, June 1923, pp. 157-159.

2.—Another Persian Cross in Travancore and a Greek inscription in Chāyal. He wrote about this other Persian Cross in Travancore (the third now known in Travancore) to *The Madras Mail*, before February 25, 1922 (exact date unknown). To him belongs the honour of having first drawn attention to this cross, one at Katamarraṁ.

3.—The Katamarraṁ Cross inscription in *Ind. Antiq.*, June, 1924; also in *Epigraphia Indica*.

4.—The Katamarraṁ Cross, in *Sudarśanam*, an English newspaper, Trivandrum, July 1, 1924.

5.—The symbolism of the Katamarraṁ Cross, *ibid.*, August 5, 1924.

6.—Nilakkal, in *The Trivandrum Daily News*, May 28, 1924.
 “My article on Nilakkal contained extracts from Ward and Conner’s *Memoir* (1816-20), and also from an unpublished Malayālam document, which, as a correspondent says, states that a king of Madura sent one Fakir Polygar, General of the Nawab of the Carnatic with an army of Pariabs and Pathans (Muhammadans) to Nilakkal on 1st Makaram 623, M.E. (A.D., 1448), and devastated the region, the headquarters of which were Chāyal. The inhabitants had to desert the region. According to our tradition, it was ‘*Vakkripuli*’ that drove us from Chāyal. *Vakkripuli* is taken to mean a tiger. But this document has Fakir Polygar, who may be the *Vakkripuli* of our tradition. I have not yet seen the document, and cannot confidently vouch for the veracity of my informant.” (Letter of T. K. Joseph, Esq., Training College, Trivandrum, September 11, 1924.)

7.—St. Thomas and the Cross, in *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, July, 1923.

8.—Malabar Miscellany, in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, 1923, pp. 355-357; LIII, 1924, pp. 93-97.

This contains four sections : (1) “Another Persian Cross in Travancore,” pp. 355-356 *i.e.*, the cross discovered by Mr. T. K. Joseph at Katamarraṁ, North Travancore, towards the close of 1920. Dr. Modi of Bombay (*Ind. Ant.*, June, 1924), says it is not, for the inscription, a replica of the Mylapore cross. We require a good estampage of the cross and its inscription. An eye-copy appeared in *Ind. Antiq.*, June, 1924 ;

(2) "Inscription in Chāyal" (Nilakkal). pp. 356-357. A facsimile, a tracing of an ink-impression, appeared in *Ind. Antiq.*, Dec., 1923. Here again we require the help of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore. These relics of Christian antiquity are so valuable that no expense should be spared to present them for discussion to scholars in the most perfect manner: Mr. T. K. Joseph interprets the letters of the inscription now at Nilakkal as XRI for 'Christos'; Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas and Fr. Brocard think they are I.N.R.I., which by the way are found under the Kaṭamarram cross too, and on any number of open-air crosses, some of which are apparently pre-Portuguese.

(3) Calamina: *ibid.*, May 1924, pp. 93-97.

(4) Some place-names in Travancore: *ibid.*, May 1924, pp. 93-97.

"The creatures on the Kaṭamarram cross are dogs or foxes, not dolphins, I should think. Dogs were held sacred by the Persians even in the Sasanian period. There is no incongruity or sacrilege in that dogs should guard a cross of Persian make. Again, the decoration above the cross is no dove. To me it is a torch of Western Asia, which combines the sacred fire of the Persians and the 'Light of the World' of Christianity. A mixture of Zoroastrian and Christian ideas is what we should naturally expect from the converts of those days." (Letter of T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., Esq., Trivandrum, August 2, 1924.) I still hold that the cross has two dolphins and a dove, as at St. Thomas Mount and in one of the crosses at the Valiyapalli Church, Kottayam.

9.—A Pahlavi inscription round a Persian cross at Katamarram, Travancore, in *Ind. Antiq.*, June, 1924, p. 123, with a copy of the inscription, scale 1/3.

—*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*.—London, 1843, Vol. 7, pp. 343-344: 11 plates of the Malabar copper-plate grants; hardly any text; no translations; unsigned.

—Kaliancara, Rev. A.—*Defensio / Indici Apostolatus / Div. Thomæ Apostoli et Orthodoxie Christianorum Thomæorum / auctore R. P. A. Kaliancara Cochín*. Printed and published / at / the Union Press, 1912, pp. 1-43.

—Kennedy, J.—St. Thomas and his tomb at Mylapore. In *The East and the West*, a quarterly review for the study of the Missions, Vol. 5, April 1907, No. 18, pp. 192-201.—Cf. also *s. v.* Medlycott.

A copy, formerly belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

———. *The Gospels of the Infancy*, J.R.A.S., 1917.

———. A review of Mgr. A. E. Medlycott's book, J.R.A.S., October 1906, pp. 1020-1029.

—Kennet, Rev. Ch. Egbert.—St. Thomas, the Apostle of

India. An enquiry into the evidence for his mission to this country. Madras, Addison & Co., Mount Road, 1882, pp. 32.

—Khayyatti, George E.—*Syri Orientales seu Chaldaei Nestoriani et Romanorum Pontificum Primatus*, Rome 1870.

—Kukkil Kelu Nayar.—Memorandum on the Syrian and Jewish copper-plates of Malabar Madras. *Journal of Literature and Science*, Madras, Vol. V., Nos. 9, 10 (N.S.); Vol. XXI, Nos. 48, 49 (Old Series) 1859-60; pp. 30-55.

—Lamy, Mgr. Thomas Joseph.—*Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones*. Tom. IV. Meehliniae, H. Dessain, 1902.

A copy, once belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—Land.—*Ancedota Syriaca*, Leiden, 1862, I., pp. 123-127. See *Ind. Antiq.*, IX. 312-315.

—LeBas.—*Life of Bishop Middleton*, Rivington, 1831, Vol. I, Ch. IX-XII.—Quoted from Kennet.

—Leclercq, H., O.S.B.—*Chine. Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne*, t. 3, col. 1355 (treats of St. Thomas). —*Edesse*, *ibid.*, col. 2074-2077.

—Lee, Prof. Brief history of the Syrian Churches in the South of India. In *Church Missionary Society's 17th Report*, Appendix, IV.—Quoted from Kennet.

—Lévi, Sylvain.—Notes sur les Indo-Scythes. III. Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo, in *Journal Asiatique*, 9^e série, t. IX (1897), pp. 27-42.

—Notes on the Indo-Scythians, by Sylvain Lévi, (Translated by W. Rees Philipps.) In *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Vol. 32, 1903, pp. 381-426, 407 ff; Vol. 33, 1904, pp. 10-16.

—Further notes on the Indo-Scythians, by Sylvain Lévi. (Translated by W. Rees Philipps.) In *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Vol. 33, 1904, p. 110 ff.

—Lipsius, R. A.—*Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883, I., 225 sqq.

—Lipsius-Bonnet.—*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Lipsiæ, 1891-1903; the 3rd part of this collection gives the full Greek text of the Acts of St. Thomas, critically edited.

See also 'Bonnet.'

—Lobley, Rev. J. A.—*The Church and the Churches in Southern India*. The Maitland Prize Essay for 1870. Deighton, Bell & Co.—Quoted from Kennet.

—Logan, William.—*The Manual of the Malabar District*, 2 Vols., Madras, 1887; in Vol. 2, see pp. CXV-CXVII: deed of the Jews; CXVII-CXVIII: deed of Iravi Corttan; CXVIII-CXXII: deed of Maruwān Sapir Iso; see also Vol. 1, 208; Vol. 2, App. XII.

—Love, Col.—Vestiges of old Madras, 1913.

—Mackenzie, G. T.—History of Christianity in Travancore. Contributed by G. T. Mackenzie, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired), late British Resident in Travancore and Cochin; in the Travancore State Manual by V. Nagam Aiya, B.A., F.R. Hist. S., Dewan Peishcar, Travancore (3 Vols.), *i.e.* in Vol. 2, Trivandrum. Printed at the Travancore Government Press, 1906. pp. 135-227.

———.The Syrian Christians in India. Dublin Review, Vol. 139 (July-October 1906). pp. 105-122.

—Maclean, Arthur John, and Browne, William Henry.—The Catholicos of the East and his people. London, S.P.C.K., 1892.

A copy, once belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—Maddox, Rev. R. H.—The Syrian Christian Church, in The Report of the Missionary Conference, South India and Ceylon, 1879, Vol. II, p. 181.

—Maistre.—Histoire de la prédication, des miracles et du martyre de S. Thomas. Paris, 1870. Quoted from Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexicon, Freiburg, Herder, 1899, Vol. II, col. 1624.

—Malabarian Syrian Church, (The).—In the Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 42-46; No. 3, pp. 68-70; No. 4, pp. 94-95.—Quoted from Kennet.

—Malan.—The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles (London, 1871), 187-220.

—Martin, M. l'Abbé.—Cf. Schröter.

—Mateer, Rev. Samuel, F.L.S.—The land of charity, London, John Snow, 1871.—On Travancore.

———.Native life in Travancore, London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1883.

—Medlycott, Mgr. A. E.—India and the Apostle Thomas, an inquiry. With a critical analysis of the *Acta Thomæ*, by A. E. Medlycott, Bishop of Tricomia, London, David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, 1905; pp. V-XVIII; 1-303.

For some reviews of the Bishop's book, see the Ave Maria, U.S.A., January 20, 1906, p. 86; the Civiltà Cattolica, January 6, 1906, pp. 61-71; The East and the West, a quarterly review for the study of the Missions, London, April, 1907, Vol. 5, pp. 192-201, by J. Kennedy, I.C.S.; J.R.A.S., October, 1906, pp. 1020-1029, by J. Kennedy; J.R.A.S., April, 1905, pp. 223-236, by J. F. Fleet; Anal. Bolland., t. XXV, Bruxelles, 1906, pp. 196-200, by Paul Peeters, S.J. See also: Examiner (The), Bombay.

—Mercati, Angelo.—Monumenta Vaticana Veterem Diocesim Columbensem [Quilon] et eiusdem primum Episcopum;

Jordanum Catalani Ord. Praed. respicientia iussu et impensis Revmi et Illmi Domini Aloysii Mariae Benziger Quilonensis Antistitis, collegit edidit Angelus Mercati in tabulario secreto Vaticano / vices Praefecti gerens Romae Typis polyglottis Vaticani MDMXXIII, / pp. 5-29.

I have prepared an English translation of this.

—Michel and Peeters.—Evangiles apocryphes: 1 Evangile de Thomas, Paris, 1911.

—Misset, E.—Les noces de Pélagie ou les évolutions d'une légende, Paris, Champion, 1905, in-8 vo: pp. 19.

—Motha Vaz, M.—Report of the Fourth Centenary Celebrations. The Luz Church, Mylapore, 6th August, 1916, Madras. / Printed at the "Good Pastor" Press, / Broadway, pp. 1-56.

Contains, among other illustrations: Our Lady of Light; the inscription to Fre Pedro da Atougia, 1516; two views of the Church of the Luz Church.

—Moule, A. C.—The Minor Friars in China. J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 533-599; 1917, pp. 1-36; 612-613; 1921, pp. 83-115.

—Müllbauer, Maximilian.—Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien von der Zeit Vasco da Gama's bis zur Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, von Maximilian Müllbauer, Cleriker der Erzdioecese München-Freyding. Eine von der theologischen Facultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München gekrönte Preisschrift. München, 1851. Druck von Franz Seraph Hübschmann.

This valuable work was translated into English in 1923-24 by the Revs. P. Schill and A. Rapinat, S.J., of St. Mary's College, Kurseong, but is still with me in MS.

—Nazareth, Padre Casimiro Christovão de.—Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente, 2ª edição, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1897. Contains Pts. I. and II. of the 1st edition.

———Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente, III Parte (1501 a 30 Junho 1878). Bombay, 1888. No "Portuguese Printing Press."—Another part was published in Nova Goa, 1887. These two older portions are in the Bibliotheca Nacional of Nova Goa.

—Olivera Xavier, Rt. Rev. Dr. Matheus de, Bishop of Cochin.—Some elucidations / on the occasion of the Rt. Rev. Dr. / A. Medlycott's article published in The Voice of Truth, 11th and 21st June 1902, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. / Matheus de Oliveira Xavier, Bishop of Cochin. / Ernakulam: Printed at the B.O.I. School Press, 1903, / pp. 4-5 (letter to Mgr. A. Medlycott); no p. 6; pp. 7-26, (text, signed, and dated: Cochin, Aug. 31, 1902); p. 27 (letter of Mgr. Medlycott to Fr. Polycarp, Nice, France, Apr. 25, 1902); pp. 27-36 ("An answer to the contents of the Note 16, p. 92, of pamphlet

“Christianity in Travancore” by G. T. Mackenzie—Trivandrum, 1901”: dated at p. 36: Nice, 12th April 1902).

Mgr. Medlycott’s “An answer to the contents . . .” had appeared in *The Voice of Truth*, a vernacular newspaper, Ernakulam, June 11 and 12, 1902.

———. *Subsidium ad Bullarium / Patronatus Portugalliac. Olisipone. Typographia Nationali editum annis / 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1879.* Allappe Orphanotrophii typographia Seminario Cochinchinensi adnexa, 1903.

—Panjikaran, the Rev. J. C.—*The Syrian Church in Malabar. Trichinopoly: St. Joseph’s Industrial School Press, 1912, pp. 1-57.*

“I wrote an article in our tri-weekly paper, the *Nazrani Deepika*, on the Gothuruthy document of [Thomas Cana’s] privileges, criticising it, rejecting some and adding others. That was followed by a number of articles both in the *Deepika* and in the Jacobite organ, the *Manorama*. As it opened an interesting field for research, I tried to gather as many documents as possible on the 72 privileges. I was fortunate in obtaining as many as 13 of these. Basing myself on these, I tried to find out the original 72 privileges, and wrote my conclusions in an article in the *Deepika*, which was published under a two-column headline. At the insistence of our Archbishop I am writing a short history of the St. Thomas Christians The first chapter on St. Thomas is ready. I have embodied in it the Malabar traditions, as also the results of the latest investigations into the subject. I wish I could spend a month in Calcutta to consult a few books found only in the Goethals’ Library If I could find six months’ free time, I think I could finish my work on the St. Thomas Christians We have painted a big life-size picture of St. Thomas with four incidents of his life for the Vatican Exhibition.” (Letter from the Rev. J. C. Panjikaran, Ernakulam, September 4, 1924). We must urge Fr. J. C. Panjikaran to publish all the versions of the 72 privileges for comparison, together with an English translation of each.

The Gothuruthy document turned up during my visit to Gothuruthy with Fr. J. C. Panjikaram as my cicerone, in February, 1924.

—Pecters, Paul, S.J.—Reviews of the St. Thomas question in *Anal. Bolland.*, tom. XXV, Bruxelles, 1906, pp. 196-200; (deals with: W. R. Philipps, *Ind. Antiq.* t. 32; t. 33; Sylvain Lévi, transl. by W. R. Philipps, *ibid.*, t. 32, and t. 33; J. F. Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 223-236; Mgr. Medlycott’s book, 1905; E. Missot, *Les nocces de Pélagie*). See also *ibid.*, 1908, p. 207.

———. A review of Fr. J. Dahlmann’s book on St. Thomas, in *Anal. Bolland.*, t. XXXII, Bruxelles, 1913, pp. 75-77.

—Pelliot, Paul.—*Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême Orient* par Paul Pelliot. Extrait du *T'oung-pao*, 2^e Série. Vol. XV. No 5. Décembre, 1914. Librairie et Imprimerie ci-devant E. J. Brill / Leide—1914. pp. 3–24, with an illustration at p. 24* of a Christian cross found by Father Arnaiz at Ts'üan-tcheou and photographed by him.

—Perera, the Rev. S. G., S.J.—*Early Christianity in Ceylon*. in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. VIII, 183–192.

—Perez, P. Lorenzo, O.F.M.—*Relación del P. Antonio de Santo Domingo su viaje a las Islas de Nicobar y su regreso a las Islas Filipinas*. Extractum ex Periodico "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum" / An. XI.—Tom. XI. Typ Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam Quaracchi presso (Firenze) 1918. pp. 3–19, or pp. 80–96.

P. Antonio came to Madras and Mylapore.

—Philipps, Rev. Edavalikel.—*Syrian Christians of Malabar*. Edited by the Rev. G. B. Howard. Oxford and London. Parkers, 1869.—Quoted from Kennet.

—Philipps, George.—*The doctrine of Addai, the Apostle now first edited in a complete form in the original Syriac, with an English Translation and Notes*, by George Philipps, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. / 1876. /

A copy, formerly belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—Philipps, W. Rees.—*The connection of St. Thomas with India*. in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, 1903. pp. 1–15; 145–160 :

————. *Calamina*, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1904. p. 31.

See also under Lévi, Sylvain.

—Pick.—*The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter and Thomas*, Chicago, 1909. Gives a translation of the *Acta Thomae*.

—Rae, George Milne.—*The Syrian Church in India*. W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1892. Contains some interesting illustrations. A view of the Cathedral before the present one can be found only here.

—Ramanatha Ayyar, A. S.—*Cheraman-Perumal-Nayanar*, in *Ind. Antiq.*, Jan. 1925, pp. 7–15.

————. A new Persian Cross from Travancore. in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. IX. April, 1924, pp. 188–196, with two photographs: 1. Cross in the Church at Kadamarram; the author thinks, as against me, that INRI is of later date than the rest of the inscription; 2. Cross in the Valiapalli Church at Kottayam, showing clearly the upper cross and its two peacocks.

————. *Government of Travancore. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State, for the year 1099*

M.E 1923-1924 A.D., Trivandrum, Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press; pp. 1-50; illustrations of the two Valiapalli Church crosses, Kottayam, and of the cross at Kadammarram.

On Dec. 1, 1924, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar wrote to me from Trivandrum of some other papers of his, published in 1924 or to be published:—

1. Udayagiri epitaphs; in Sudarśanam, a local paper; a paper on it was to appear also in the Modern Review "shortly."

2. Marble Mihrab at Quilon; in Sudarśanam; a paper on it was preparing for publication in some leading journal

3. Palayar plates; in Sundarśanam; a paper on these is included in the Travancore Archaeological series Vol. VI.

4. A few open-air crosses of Travancore; a paper was being prepared, to be sent to some journal.

5. The Udayamperur and Kandanaḍ epitaphs have been deciphered and have been included in a paper for the Travancore Archaeological Series.

—Rangacharya, V.—A topographical list of the inscriptions in the Madras Presidency (collected till 1915). 3 Vols., Madras, 1919.

—Rawlinson, H. G.—Intercourse between India and the Western World. Cambridge, 1916.

—Richards, Dr. W. J.—The Indian Christians of St. Thomas, London, G. Allen, 1908.

—Robinson, Archdeacon T.—Last days of Bishop Heber. Appendix, pp. 30-57. Madras, 1829.

———, Historical Account of the Christians on the Malabar Coast, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Madras, Vol. 1 (1834): 7-13; 94-104; 255-269; 342-350.

—Saintyves, P.—Le culte de la Croix dans le Bouddhisme, en Chine, au Nepal et au Thibet. Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte (VI^e), 1917, t. 75, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

—Samiel, Father.—A / conclusive proof of the St. Thomas Christians' adherence / to the true faith. / By Fr. Samiel. / Revised and re-printed from the *Malabar Herald*. Printed and Published at the "Union Press," Cochin, / 1917.

Dedication to H.H. Pope Benedict XV; pp. 1-? (copy incomplete). "An answer to H.E. Dr. Zaleski, the Delegate Apostolic of the East Indies, by Fr. Samiel, a Syrian, representing the Syrian Church in Malabar."

At p. 1, a reference to an article by Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, written from Nice, at the request of Fr. Polycarp of Verapoly,

“some 18 years ago,” and published in the *Sathianada Kahalam* of Verapoly.

The *Sathianada Kahalam* is *The Voice of Truth* of Ernakulam.

—Saulière, A., S.J.—Extracts from some Jesuit Annua. Letters. Malabar and the Fishery Coast. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. A. Saulière, S.J., with introduction and notes by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.—In: *The Indian Athenæum*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, No. 2, Aug. 1923, pp. 49-58.

Contains (pp. 51-58) the Annual Letter of 1581.

———.The Annual Letter of 1582.—In: *The Indian Athenæum*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1923, pp. 11-16.

Owing to financial difficulties this review came to an end after Sept. 1923, and the remaining MSS., containing translations of four or five other Jesuit Annual Letters, appear to have gone to Persia, with the editor of the review.

—Schröter, Dr. R.—Gedicht des Jacob von Sarug über den Palast, den der Apostel Thomas in Indien baute. Z.D.M.G., G. Kreysing, Leipzig, Vol. 25 (1871), pp. 321-377.

A copy, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore, formerly belonged to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott. With it are other papers from the Z.D.M.G.: (1) Vol. 31, 360-405, by Schröter: (Jacob of Sarug's 'Tröstschreiben' to the Himyarite Christians of Najran, with a German translation); (2) Vol. 28, 1874. (Nachträge zu dem in dieser Zeitschrift Bd. XXV S. 321 ff. veröffentlichten Gedicht des Jacob von Sarug "über den Palast, den der Apostel Thomas in Indien baute"), pp. 584-626; (3) by Schröter (Erster brief Jakob von Edessa an Johannes den Styliten, pp. 261-276); (4) by l' Abbé Martin (Discours de Jacques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles, pp. 107-144); (5) by the same (Lettres de Jacques de Saroug aux moines du Couvent de Mar Bassus et à Paul d' Edesse, pp. 217-275).

I cannot indicate more precisely the reference to Z.D.M.G. for Nos. 3, 4, 5.

—Sewell, Robert.—Archæological Survey of India. Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of S. India, Madras, Vol. 1 (1882), pp. 175 (on Little Mount); 175-176 (on St. Thomas Mount); p. 176 (on S. Thomé).

For information regarding early Jewish and Christian settlements especially in S. India, he refers us at p. 176 to: Asiatick Researches, VII. 364 (Wilford's article, which he calls very fanciful); J.R.A.S., I. 171; II. 51, 234; VII. 343; IV (New Series), 388; Madras Journal, I. 7, 73, 94, 255, 342; IV (New Series), 79-80; VII; IX. 365; XIII. Pt. I, 115, 123; Pt. II, No. 1; XXI. 30; VI. 366; Ind. Antiq., I. 195, 229; II. 98, 180, 273; III. 308, 310, 333; IV. 153, 181, 311; V. 25; VII. 343 (this leads to nothing; but see p. 234); IX. 77; Buchanan's Journey, II. 31, 51, 139; Burnell's South Indian Paleography, Pl. 32, and p. 140; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS.,

Book 58, c. 1027; J.A.S., Bengal, XV. 224; XX. 371. 382; Dr. Haug's Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, 80. 82; Fryer's Travels for an account of the Mount in 1673.

For the Jewish copper-plates of Cochín, he refers to: Madras Journal, XIII, Pt. I, 116-123; Pt. II, No. 1; J.R.A.S., N.S., IV. 388; Ind. Antiq., I, 229; III. 310. 333; VI. 366; Haug, op. cit. supra, 80-82; Burnell, op. cit. supra, p. 140, Pl. 32a.

—Silva Leitão e Castro, Padre A. T.da.—Os livros indianos e o martyrio de S. Thomé. / Carta A proposito da "India Christiana" do Reverendo Frei Pedro Gual dirigida ao ex^{mo} e rev^{mo} / Monsenhor Pinto de Campos pelo Padre Antonio Thomaz da Silva Leitão e Castro Vigario Geral da diocese de Meliapor, commendador da Ordem de Christo, membro da comissão de Missões Ultramarinas, socio ordinario da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa. — antigo vigario geral de Bombaim, / visidador e governador das missões da Archidiocese de Goa, substituto eventual do Arcebispo Primaz do Oriente na Delegação Apostolica sobre os Bispados suffraganeos, etc., etc., Lisboa. Typographia do Diario da manhã 7—Travessa da espera—7 1882. pp. 89; p. 1 blank; p. 1 of errata; p. 1 blank.

Very valuable for the history of the Portuguese period at Mylapore; but, instead of quoting Faria y Sousa, the author ought to have gone back to the authors utilised by Faria y Sousa, to Correa, Castanheda, de Barros, do Couto, etc. Worth translating.

A copy in the Bishop's Library, S. Thomé.

—Siouffi, M. N.—Etude sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens: leurs dogmes, leurs mœurs; Paris, Maisonneuve, 1880.

—South India Christian Repository, Vol. I, pp. 263-266; Vol. II, pp. 189-205. Madras, 1837, 1838. Cf. under Taylor, and Anonymous. Quoted from Kennet.

—Stapleton.—Tres Thomæ, seu de S. Thomæ Apostoli rebus gestis, etc., Duaci, 1588. Quoted from Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexicon, Freiburg, Herder, 1899, Vol. II, col. 1624.

—Subrahmanya Ayyar, K. V. — Published two Palayur plates and the Valiyapalli epitaphs in the Travancore Archaeological Series, Vols. III and IV.

—Sundaram Pillai, P.—Some early sovereigns of Travancore. Ind. Antiq., XXIV (1895), 249-259; 277-285 (from 301 M.E.—491 M.E.); 305-311; 333-337; XXV (1896), 184-193 (some sovereigns of Travancore in the 6th century, M.E.)

———Miscellaneous Travancore Inscriptions. Ind. Antiq., XXVII. 113-118; 141-146.

—Swanston, Capt. Ch.—Memoir of the primitive Church of Malayála, J.R.A.S., 1834, pp. 171-172; 1835, pp. 51-62, 234-247.

—Syrian Church in Malabar. (The).—In the *Indian Review*, July, 1912.

—Taylor, W.—Brief notice and translation of a Tamil Manuscript, containing a legendary account of the Apostle St. Thomas, with his miracles in Keraladesam, and at Mayilapur, or St. Thomé. In *South India Christian Repository*, 1837, Vol. 1, Madras, Church Mission Press, 1837; pp. 263–266.

Contains an English translation of a Tamil account translated by Nanaprakasā Pillai from the Latin. The Tamil MS. is among the Mackenzie MSS. I have republished it in *The Indian Athenæum*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1923, pp. 8–17. (see Hosten, H., No. 12).

The same volume of the *South India Christian Repository*, pp. 406–407, contains an English translation of a passage on Mylapore in Niecampius' book of 1747.

There is a copy in the St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta: Library-mark: IX. 49.

—Textor de Ravisi, Baron.—The Udaipur Tablet.—A translation by the Very Rev. Mgr. A. M. Teixeira of Baron Textor de Ravisi's paper on this subject read at the 12th International Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1899.

First published in *The Catholic Register*, Mylapore: reproduced in *The Examiner*, Bombay, November 27, 1915 (pp. 477–478); December 4, 1915 (pp. 487–488).

—Thilo, J. C. *Acta S. Thomæ Apostoli ex Codd. Pariss. primum edidit et adnotationibus illustravit Joannes Carolus Thilo / Philos. Doctor et Theol. Profess. P.E. in Academia Fridericiana. / Præmissa est notitia uberior Nova Codicis Apocryphi Fabriciani editionis. Lipsiæ, clbcccxxiii [= 1823]. / Sumtibus Frid. Christ. Guilielmi Vogelii.*

A copy in the Library of Bishop A. M. Benziger, Quilon.

—Thoma, P. J. (Professor of Economics, University College, Colombo):—

1. Malabar trade and Syrian Christians, in *Bhasha Poshim*, a magazine, 1917.

2. Did Bāna Perumal become a Buddhist? In *Bhasha Poshim*, a magazine, 1919.

3. Christian influences on Indian Culture: four articles in *The Christian College Magazine*, Madras (1919–22).

Of these articles I have seen only the last, which the author kindly communicated to me: *Christ and the Krishna Cult*. (*The Christian College Magazine*, Madras, July, 1921, pp. 6).

“The first number dealt with the prevalence of Christianity in various parts of India; the second, with Christian influence on Buddhism; the third, with the Bhakti movement; the fourth, with Christ and the Krishna Cult Some scholars in England read these and urged me to give them wider publicity. Some continental scholars also have read them, particularly

Prof. Otto of Marburg, and Prof. Jarl Charpentier of Upsala.” (Letter of P. J. Thoma, Esq., Colombo, September 7, 1924).

I see from the fourth article that the third appeared in May-June, 1920.

4. St. Thomas in Malabar, a Malayalam booklet published at Mannanam, Travancore, 1920.

5. Christian colonies in Malabar (awaiting publication).

“I intend bringing out a larger work on Early Indian Christianity, embodying the results of my studies; but it will take some time. I do not deal with the period after A.D. 1600.” (Letter of P. J. Thoma, Esq., Colombo, September 7, 1924.)

6. A Hindu tradition on St. Thomas, by P. J. Thoma, M.A., B. Litt., Balliol College, Oxford. (A paper read at the Sixth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Madras in January, 1924. Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1924. pp. 1-8.

This is a reprint from: Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings of meetings. Vol. vi. Sixth meeting held at Madras, January, 1924, Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1924; pp. 121-129.

7. The South Indian tradition of the Apostle Thomas, in The Centenary Supplement of the J.R.A.S., 1924. Very good, and different from his other papers.

—Thomas, Saint.—Traslazione e miracoli / del glorioso Apostolo di N. S. Gesù Christo S. Tommaso, Descritta dell' Eccellente M. Gio. Battista de Lectis di Ortona. Opusculo / ristampato per cura del Rev. Sac. A. Napoleone, e degli editori fratelli Bahier. Ortona, 1879. pp. 64.

G. B. de Lectis wrote on April 1, 1576.

—S. Tommaso ed Ortona versi / di / Teodoro de' Baroni Bonanni. Aquila Tipographia Gran Sasso d' Italia di Carlo Langelotti. 1854. pp. III-VIII: 1-55.

—Vita di S. Tommaso Apostolo protettore della Città di Ortona a Mare / ristampato nell' anno 1858 / in ricorrenza del sesto centenario della sua gloriosa traslazione Chieti Tipografia di Federico Vella. pp. 3-56.

—Novena del / glorioso Apostolo S. Tommaso. / Aquila Tipografia di Tribunali. / 1858. pp. 16.

At p. 7: “La stessa bocca della Sapienza Incarnata si piacque renderne irrefragabile testimonianza, quando in passando per Ortona la sua diletteissima serva S. Brigida, le rivelò, che quivi riposavano le sacre Ossa del suo Apostolo Tomasso (ex rev. S. Birgit. Lib. VII, cap. IV e VI).”

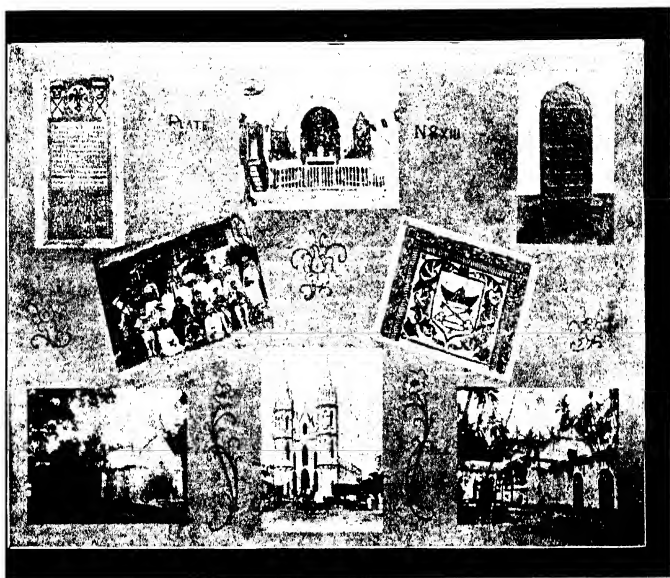
These four are in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—St. Thomas, / Apostle of Our Lord / Jesus Christ. / A souvenir of his feast, celebrated yearly / on the 21st December at San Thomé, Mylapore. Printed at the “Good Pastor” Press. Broadway, Madras, / 1917. pp. 23.

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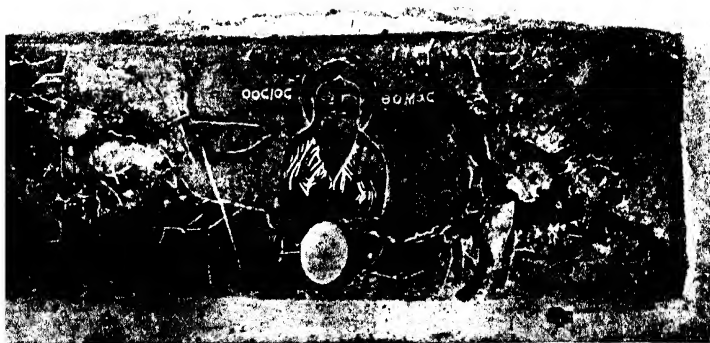


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A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 13).



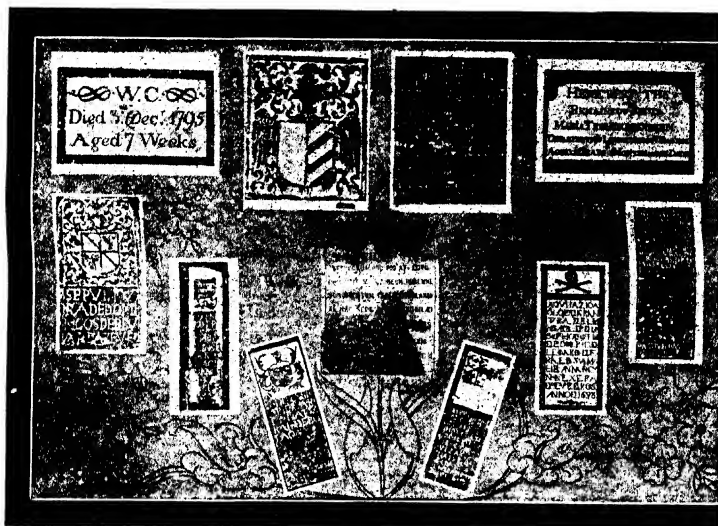
B.—Relief of Chalcedony which covered the Apostle's relics at Chios, now in the Cathedral of Ortona à Mare (Italy), showing figure bust and Greek inscription.

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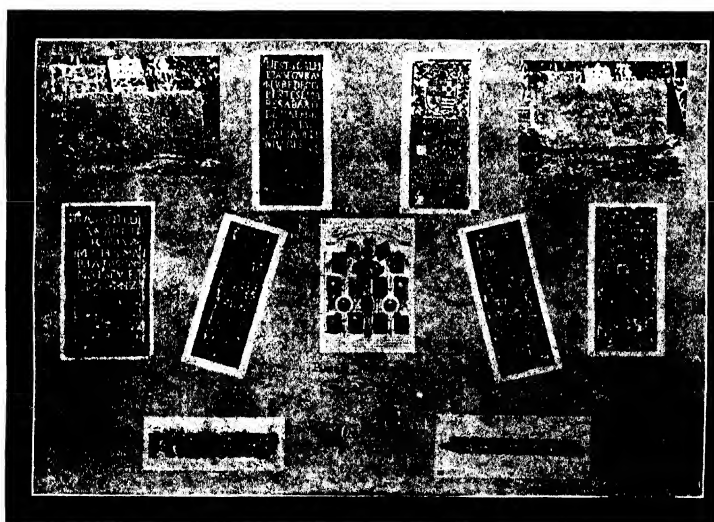
A.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 11).

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B.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 12).

Reproduces the booklet by Rev. Ch. Egbert Kennet (pp. 9–19), and gives an English translation by the Rev. A. Wescott of the Latin hymn from the Mozarabic Breviary, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1775, which Kennet had published: “Festum. Christe Rex, per orbem / Inluxit almificum.”

—T., R.I.C., The date of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, in *The Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, October 31, 1923, pp. 690–691; signed R.T.I.C.

R.T.I.C. is evidently Fr. Romeo Thomas of the Immaculate Conception, T.O.C.D. (= of the Third Order of Discalced Carmelites).

See also *s.v.* *Catholic Herald of India* (The).

—Thurston, Herbert, S.J.—Christianity in the Far East. The Month, London, Aug. 1912, pp. 153–163; see also *Catholic Encyclopædia*, *s.v.* Thomas (St.).

—Tischendorf.—*Evangelia apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876.

—Tixeront, L. J.—*Les origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse et la légende d'Abgar*. Paris, Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 25 Quai Voltaire, 1888.

A copy, once belonging to Mgr. A. E. Medlycott, in the Library of the Bishop of Mylapore.

—Trichinopoly. St. Joseph's College Archives.

De Schismate Christianorum S. Thomæ (II. 49); de erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India versantur (II. 51), by Bishop Francis Rodrigues Garcia, of Cranganore, December 8, 1654; sobre as cousas do Apostolo S. Thomé (III. 15); and see further the catalogue of other papers on S. India and Malabar in: *My journey to Mylapore, Pondicherry and Trichinopoly*, *s.v.* Hosten, H. (No. 2).

—Väth, Alfons, S.J.—*Der heilige Thomas der Apostel Indiens. Eine untersuchung über den historischen Gehalt der Thomas-Legende von Alfons Väth, S.J., 1918, Xaverius-Verlag, Aachen. [Kosterplatz 8].—Viertes heft of Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde and Missionsgeschichte herausgegeben im Auftrage der Franciskus-Xaverius-Missionsvereins; pp. 5–47.*

The author is preparing a new edition.

—Vaz, Padre F. X.—*Bispo Theophilo, o Indo*. In: *O Oriente Portuguez, Nova Goa, Vol. V, (1908), No. of March-April, pp. 89–97.*—He is in favour of Diu rather than of the Maldives.

—Vigouroux, F.—*Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Vol. 5, Paris, 1912, col. 2198; Art. on St. Thomas.

—Visseher, Jacob Canter.—*Letters from Malabar*. Edited by Major Heber Drury, Madras, 1862.—Letter 16, pp. 100–109.—*Letters of a Dutch Chaplain, 1743.*—Quoted from Kennet.

—Weber, A.—*An investigation into the origin of the*

festival of Kṛishṇajanmāshtami. *Ind. Antiq.* 1874. pp. 21–25 : 47–52.

—Wecker, O.—Christliche Einflutz aus den Buddhismus! (Theologische Quartalschrift, XCII, Tübingen, 1910, pp. 417sqq., 538sqq.—The first part deals with the art of Gandhāra; the second, with the St. Thomas question.

—West, E. W.—Some remarks on the Malabar copper-plates. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. 4 (N.S.), 1870. pp. 388–390.

—Whish, C. M.—The Jews in Malabar. *Asiatic Journal*, New Series, Vol. 6. (1831), pp. 6–14.

—Whitehouse, Rev. Thomas.—Lingerings of light in a dark land, being researches into the past history and present condition of the Syrian Church of Malabar. London, W. Brown, 1873.

—Wilford, Capt. F.—Origin and decline of the Christian Religion in India. *Asiatick Researches*, Calcutta, Vol. X (1808), pp. 27–126. Contains two crosses from a MS. given by a Jāt pilgrim to Wilford at Benares.

—Wilhelm.—*Deutsche Legenden and Legendare*. Leipzig, 1907.

—Wilson, H. H.—In *Transactions of the R.A. Soc.*, I. 161. Quoted by Kennet, p. 5.

—Wrede, F.—Account of St. Thomé Christians on the Coast of Malabar. *Asiatick Researches*, VII, p. 364 sqq

—Wright, W.—*Apoeryphal Acts of the Apostles*. London, 1871.—Gives the Syriac text of the Acts of St. Thomas.—Vol. II, p. 298. Contains an English translation of the Acts.

—Yeates, Thomas.—*Indian Church History*, London, Maxwell, 1818. See under Gordon, Mrs. E. A.

—Yule, Col. Henry.—*Cathay and the way thither*, London. Hakluyt Society, 2 vols., 1866.

———.The book of Ser Marco Polo. the Venetian; 2 Vols., London, J. Murray, 1875.

———.Malifattau. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1875, pp. 8–10.

—Zaleski Mgr. L. M.—*Les martyrs de l'Inde*, Calcutta. Catholic Orphan Press, 1896. There is also an English edition.

———.The Apostle St. Thomas / In India / History, Tradition and Legend / By / The Most Rev. Ladislav-Michel Zaleski / Archbishop of Thebes / Delegate Apostolic of the East Indies / This book is not to be / had at the Booksellers. Mangalore / Printed at the Codialbail Press, / 1912, pp. 9–230

On the inner title: All rights reserved.

There is also a French edition: *L'Apôtre St. Thomas et l'Inde*.

———.Les Origines / du Christianisme / aux Indes. St. Barthelemy. St. Thomas. / St. Pantene. St. Frumence.

Par / Mgr. L. M. Zaleski Archevêque de Thèbes Délégué Apostolique des Indes Orientales. This book is not to be / had at the Booksellers. Mangalore. / Printed at the Codialbail Press, 1915. / pp. 7-485.

On the inner title : All rights reserved.

———.The Saints of India. Ladislav-Michel Zaleski, Archbishop of Thebes. Delegate Apostolic of the East Indies, Mangalore. Printed at the Codialbail Press. 1915. (All rights reserved.) pp. 7-424.

Additional.

—Joseph. T. K.—The *Magna Charta* of the Malabar Christians. In : Asiatic Review, April, 1925, pp. 299-304.

The article refers to "Armenians in Southern India" by S. M. Gregory, in Asiatic Review, January, 1925, pp. 113-123.

Mr. T. K. Joseph writes to me (Taikad, Trivandrum, 24-5-25) :

"Herewith two copies of an article of mine on "The Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians." One of them is to be sent to the Vatican Exhibition. It may help in discovering the two plates of Thomas Cana.

"I have just published a book of 110 pp. in Malayalam on "The Malabar Christian copper-plates." It gives improved readings and translations of the four sets of plates (the first of the 4th or 8th century ; the next two of the 9th century, and the last of the 14th century), and a history of the old Manigramites (perhaps Manichæans) and Taxisas (perhaps Nestorians) of Malabar. The 72 privileges also are dealt with. Ch. XI is on the language of the plates....

"The Koravalangad bell inscription is in Greek. I have arranged for its publication in three journals. The Greek scholars I consulted could not decipher the whole of it."

I had the pleasure of first calling attention to this interesting bell in that extremely old Christian settlement of Koravalangad. A copy of the inscription was sent by me to the Vatican Exhibition at the end of November, 1924.

—Nazareth, Padre Casimiro Christovão de.—The Catholic Register, S. Thomé, Mylapore, May 1925, p. 18, col. 1, mentions a 2nd edition of "Mitrás Lusitanas," Vol. II. "Its erudite author, . . . , a nonagenarian in age, has been at much pain in publishing this work at a time when he is totally deprived of his eye-sight."

—Ramanatha Ayyar, S. A.—He writes to me (Trivandrum, 8-5-25) among other things :

"5. The Kadamarram Cross.—I am convinced that I.N.R.I. is a distinct interpolation, and my suggestion that it may have been inserted by a R.C. is because of its connection

with the Latin formula. I don't think that a Pahlavi record and an I.N.R.I. could go together; anyhow, that is my way of thinking. Of this, however, I am positive, that I.N.R.I. was an after-thought suggested by the contiguous five oblong ornamental depressions of the pedestal, and that the letters could not have formed part of the original design.

6. The Nilaikkal statues.—I only vaguely expressed a wish that they had been brought [by your party to the Trivandrum Museum]. The statues are unusual: so the Director of Archaeology, Mysore, tells me, and he agrees with me in identifying them as Nāga and Nāginī. I have, however, seen slightly similar copies of these statues at two other places recently: so the loss is not great, after all.

7. The Kuvappalli fragment.—I climbed up the hill and secured two copies of the damaged and fragmentary writing on the Cross limb. I don't know how people have been able to see Greek letters in that smudge. One copy is now on its way to the Royal Asiatic Society for decipherment, but I am not hopeful of any greater success from those defaced smudges. I am sending you a print of the view of the Cross on that hill. The strain of climbing, etc., gave me the malarial fever, and I hurried back to head-quarters.

8. You may have seen Mr. K. N. Daniel's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1924, regarding the dates of Vijayarajadeva and Bhaskara Ravivarman (6th century). I have recently discovered a record which fixes the date of the latter as the end of the 10th century. I just mention this to you, so that you may not commit yourself to the 6th century in a paper on hand, in which you may have had occasion to refer to Bhaskara Ravi of the Cochin plates.

9. Mannanam cave.—I had heard of the existence of this, when I visited Mannanam Seminary last time, and I had intended visiting it this time, but the Kuvappalli fever (!) unsettled my programme."

I have suggested to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar that the elephants of the Forest Department should be made to bring the Nilakkal statues out of the jungle where we found them to the nearest civilised parts, whence they could easily be carted to Trivandrum.

I have some vague suspicion that the smudge on the Kuvappalli fragment of an open-air cross (?) formerly at Nilakkal, might after all be another I.N.R.I., in which case we would have a clear sample of pre-Portuguese Roman script in Malabar.

I have not changed, yet my view about the antiquity of the I.N.R.I. on the Kadamamram cross.

PART IV.

1. *Inter-borrowing of legends by Christians and non-Christians.*¹

In *A Primer of Tamil Literature* by M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, Madras Ananda Press, 1904, we find a number of legends connected with the life of some ancient Tamil poets. Some of these legends seem to have been borrowed from the Christians, whilst others may have been borrowed by the Christians from their non-Christian neighbours.

This subject is worth going into more deeply by our Tamil scholars. Tamil literature is so old that it takes us back to the first centuries of the Christian era, and perhaps even beyond. We find in it traces of the Roman settlements in Malabar and Madura. We might expect therefore that, if Christianity is as old in India as the first centuries of our era, allusions to it should be found, especially as Mylapore and Malabar then lay both within the area of Tamil-speaking countries.

It is surprising how many of the legends of the St. Thomas Christians we find echoed, more or less clearly, in the course of only a few pages of our small hand-book. Indeed, Mylapore was the birth-place of Thiruvalluva-Nayanar (the author of the *Kurral*), of Peyâr, one of the first Alvars (A.D. 600-1100 ?), of Thirut-thakka-Thevar (A.D. 100-600 ?), and possibly of many others.² This alone would show the importance of Mylapore in the past and the probability of inter-borrowing of legends.

MANIKKA VĀSAKAR.

The first story which we proceed to examine concerns the poet Manikka Vāṣakar. The chronology of Tamil history and literature for the first centuries of the Christian era is unfortunately still a hopeless tangle. In section 3 of our hand-book his date is set down as between A.D. 600 and 1100.

In the analysis of his story (*op. cit.*, pp. 85—89) we read :—
[P. 86.] “The real name of Manikka Vasakar was Vathavurar, from the place of his birth and from the name of its local deity. His parents were Brahmins of [the] Amāthiar gotra. His precocity and rapid achievements reached the ears of Arimarthana Pandyan, who sent for him and appointed him

¹ Reprinted with some changes from *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1923, Jan. 31 (p. 79); Febr. 7 (p. 94); Febr. 14 (p. 110); Febr. 21 (p. 126); Febr. 28 (pp. 142-143); March 7 (pp. 158-159); March 14 (pp. 174-175); March 21 (pp. 189-190); March 28 (pp. 205-206).

² See *op. cit.*, pp. 51-58, 72, 96.

his prime minister. Further, he honoured him by conferring a title : 'thennavan-pirama-royan.' Manikka Vasakar proved his best administrative ability in various ways, and his official work never clashed with his spiritual life. He was in the world and yet not of it. At one time the king sent him with a commission to purchase horses in an eastern port.¹ In implicit obedience to his master's command, the minister, accompanied by the fourfold force, reached Perunthurai with bags of money. There his eyes lighted on Siva with his congregation seated under the shade of a Kuruntha tree and he forgot his mission altogether. Inspired by the god, he began to sing sweet and thrilling songs and spent the bags of money with him in repairing old Siva temples in decay and ruins. The king, who had anxiously awaited his return with splendid studs, could not put up with the delay and sent a missive to him. Without a pie in his hands, but implicitly believing in the divine grace, the minister returned to Madura and told the king that the horses would arrive after a few days. The appointed day arrived and no horses came. The king's wrath knew no bounds, and he ordered his men to recover the money from the minister. The latter burst into tears and [P. 87] invoked the aid of Siva. The ever-ready god to his devotee turned jackals into horses and sent them to the king. The horses pleased him so well that he gave presents to the bringers and had them stalled for the night. During the night they resumed their shapes, ate away the horses already in the stall, and got out of it howling. Once more the king was put out, and he had the minister thrashed and tortured in custody. Once more the proud minister appealed to Siva. Suddenly the floods breached the dam in Vaigai and *ottars*² were in great demand. Siva appeared as one of them and was punished for slack work. The blow was felt on the back of every living or sentient creature, not excepting the king. This incident was traced to the pidity of the minister, and the king begged forgiveness. The minister forgave him and resigned his office. He went on a tour of pilgrimage and visited the Siva shrines."

The story of St. Thomas at the court of the Indian king Gondophares runs on lines not a little similar. The merchant Habban brought Thomas to the king, who ordered him to build him a palace. Thomas was given a large sum of money; but, when the king had gone to a distant part of his realm, after seeing Thomas measure out the palace on the ground, Thomas spent all the money on the poor. Two years later Gondophares returned, and, seeing that no palace had been built, he waxed wroth, cast Thomas and Habban into prison and thought of putting them to death by flaying and burning them alive. While they were in prison, Gad, the king's younger brother, died. He

¹ In Marco Polo's time South India depended on Arabia and Persia for its horses.

² Makers of dams, as a Tamil friend informs me.

revived, however, and declared that he had seen in heaven the palace which Thomas had built for his brother and asked him to sell it to him. Thomas was released, and Gondophares, praying for forgiveness, was converted with his brother Gad.¹

We would not insist on the similarities between these two stories, which to some may appear trivial, but for the resemblances to be quoted still, and because the *Acta* in which this story of St. Thomas is related dates, according to the best authorities, of A.D. 220 or earlier. Moreover, this same Manikka Vāsakar plays an important part in the legends of the St. Thomas Christians. He seems to have been their Simon Magus.

Matthew, a Jacobite priest of Malabar, after recording, immediately before, St. Thomas' martyrdom at Mylapore, wrote (about A.D. 1730): "Now, after 92 years, India and Malabar was made a widow, deprived of priests and presbyters, and there were only the faithful of both sexes. However, at this time, there arose a magician, called Manikbosa, one of the infidels. He too came to Mylapore, where through his magical arts he performed many miracles, scandalized the leaders and chief ones of the faithful and drew them away from the true faith: and there was no one to oppose his orders. On this account the rest of the faithful fled and found an asylum in Malabar. Seeing them, their brethren, the faithful of Malabar, rejoiced with the greatest joy, and, according to the custom of the faithful, they became bound to one another by the ties of affinity. Afterwards, however, when 160 truly Christian families had long been without presbyters and leaders, dissension arose among them, for what cause I know not: that is, some of them renounced the orthodox faith, and others did not. Those who renounced it were 96 families; on the other hand, those who retained the orthodox faith were 64 families."²

In the letter of the Dutch preacher Visscher, addressed to his father in November, 1720, we find a similar story. "Among others appeared a certain magician, called Mannacavasser, who by his false miracles led many away from the faith of Christ. At that time there were 160 Families (by which understand like great clans—*quas tanquam generationes magnas habere debes*), which adhered to Christ; these families, for want of Doctors and owing to their daily intercourse with the Idolators, were reduced to 96, and finally to 64. Such was briefly the state of Christianity on these shores up to the year 700, when some merchants from Jerusalem landed in these countries."³

Whitehouse, in his *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*,

¹ Thus briefly Mgr. L. M. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas*, Mangalore, 1912, pp. 109-117, depending on the *Acta*, *Passio*, and *de Miraculis*. See also *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. 32 (1903), p. 4, and Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, pp. 15-20.

² Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, Leyden, tom. 1 (1862), p. 123.

³ W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, p. 99, n. 3, quoting Bibl. Brem. Fasc. 4, Class. 5, p. 763.

London, 1873, pp. 46-54, tries to make out that this Manikka Vāsakar was a Manichean, and that Mānigramam, a village near Cranganore, was Manichean. He writes: "Passing on to the Syrian traditions, we get some further particulars about this sect (of Manes). They tell us that in the third century a certain sorcerer, called by them Mānikāvachakar, arrived in the Chola country¹ (on the east coast of India), and having deceived and perverted many Christians by his wiles, and sown the seeds of heresy among them, found his way round by land to the Malayalim country. At that time there were many Christians settled in the southern part of Travancore, between Quilon and Kottar (which adjoins the London Missionary Society's station of Nāgerecoil); and in this district he laboured, and by his pretended miracles obtained much the same influence over them as Simon Magus did over the people of Samaria. If any one was taken ill with serious illness, or there was disease among their cattle, the sorcerer was sent for to breathe over them or mutter his charms and apply his sacred ashes. He taught them to use *muntra* or cabalistic sentences in verse, and also taught them that, if they partook of a mixture, composed of the five products of the cow (a heathen compound), they would find it a specific for all kinds of sickness, and secure long life for themselves. Eight families were perverted by him, and these so far increased as to form at length a community of ninety-six houses,² whose members had renounced the worship of the true God. The reigning Raja, or Perumāḷ Prince, as before stated, having granted to their headman, Iravi Corttan, ground, whereupon a settlement was formed called Mānigrāmum, they were called Mānigrāmakar or (as we should say) the people of the village of Manes, and the remnant of their descendants still bear the same name among the Syrian Christians."³

Germann refutes this theory and holds that Manikka Vāsakar, with whom he identifies Manikboṣr, was a Sivaite, an enemy of Buddhism, who lived about the year 500 A.D., and that the Christians, being mistaken for Buddhists, may have suffered likewise.⁴

¹ Coromandel.

² Note that, according to the priest Matthew the 160 faithful families were reduced to 64; according to Visscher, to 96, and finally to 64.

Gordon T. Mackenzie, referring to *Madras Journal*, XIII. 146, says that 96 families yielded and were called Manigramakar, while only 8 families stood fast and were called Dhariyaikal. "Some of the Manigramakar lived in a village near Quilon until recent times." Cf. *Travancore Manual*, II. 138.

³ Cf. p. 47. And more to the same effect. This theory is voiced by the writer on Manicheism in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, IX, 594d.

F. Wilford, though holding that Manicheism existed, not only in Northern India, but also in Southern India, had already shown against La Croze that Manikka Vāsakar was a poet. Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, X (Calcutta, 1808), pp. 78, 89.

⁴ Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-118.

The following from Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* (3rd edn., 1914, App. M.), represents in brief the latest research on Manikka Vāsagar.¹

"Historical traditions of India and Ceylon, when read together, seem to carry the existence of the Church in Malabar back to the third century. We learn from the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. XXXVI), composed about the beginning of the sixth century, that in the reign of King Gothakābhaya or Meghavarnābhaya, whom Geiger places in A.D. 302-15, a learned Tamil heretic overcame an orthodox Buddhist theologian in controversy and gained the favour of the king, who placed his son under his tuition. The *Mahāvamsa* represents the victor in the disputation as being a monk named Sanghamitra, 'versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth.' Mr. K. G. Seshar Aiyar interprets this statement as meaning that the successful controversialist was a Hindu and identifies him with the famous Śaiva Manika (or Māni) Vāsagar.² The Tamil lives of that personage affirm that the saint actually converted the king of Ceylon towards the end of his career. That king may be identified with Gothakābhaya, and it is possible that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* may have misrepresented the Śaiva Hindu Manikka Vāsagar as Sanghamitra, a Buddhist heretic.

"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story of the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with Gothakābhaya of the *Mahāvamsa*, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Manikka Vāsagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendants of those families who are still known as Manigramakars are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A.D. 270. If that date

Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo in his *Systema Brahmanicum*, Romae, 1791, p. 161, has the following curious statement: "The Malabar Brachmans say that St. Thomas the Apostle is Buddha, and they call the Christians Baudhenmar, as if they had received the teachings of the Christian religion from Buddha or from a man full of God's spirit and piety." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105 n. 1.

The Manicheans seem to have been known in India by the name of Tanovis, and Wilford (*Asiatick Researches*, X, 62-64, 82-86) has adduced some evidence to show that in Southern India the Christians were called Buddhists or Peshkar Brahmins. "Peshkar" would show that they followed trade or were skilled craftsmen. These two lines of research, about the Tanovis, frequently mentioned by the Muhammadan historians, and about the Peshkar Brahmins, deserve to be followed up.

¹ I have to thank for large extracts from this book Mr. F. A. D'Cruz, K.S.G., the editor of the *Mylapore Catholic Register*, as in the earlier editions V. A. Smith differs considerably from his last treatment of the St. Thomas question.

² "*Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 54. The writer does not cite the statement in the *Mahāvamsa* correctly. The Tamil legend is given *ibid.*, p. 66, and in Pope, *Tiruvāṣagam*, p. xxxi."—(V. A. Smith.)

be at all correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of arguments from the history of Tamil literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Manikka Vāṣagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.¹ If he really lived so early, his relations with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

We must leave it to our Christian friends in Malabar to compile from what Syrian and Malayalam records they may have an account of Manikka Vāṣakar and his connection with their Church. A great step would be made in the direction of the authenticity of their St. Thomas traditions, if they could fix the chronology of Manikka Vāṣakar at so early a period as the third century.

Wilford (*As. Res.*, X, 79) interpreted 'Mani-Cavissar' as 'Mani, the chief bard; the prophet Mani.' After reading St. Thomas' Hymn of the Soul, or Hymn of the Pearl rather, in the Gnostic Syriac *Acta* (Wright's edition), I suggest that the name means 'the divine bard of the pearl.' The name might have been applied appropriately by the Gnostics to St. Thomas, and might have been taken by a Gnostic intent on preaching the false Trinity embodied in the Hymn of the Soul. The persecutions organised by Manikka Vāṣakar might represent a Gnostic oppression of the orthodox Christians.

TIRUVALLUVA-NAYANAR.

All that is known for certain about Tiruvalluva-Nayanar is that he was a pariah and a weaver, that he lived at S. Thomé, or Mylapore, and had an intimate friend, probably a patron,

¹ T. Ponnambalam Pillai, quoting various authorities, in *Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 73-9; see also *ibid.*, pp. 53-55; and Mackenzie, [*History of Christianity in Travancore*, 3rd edn., in *The Travancore State Manual*, 1906, vol. 2], p. 138. The notion that the tradition about the origin of the Manigramakars has anything to do with Manicheans is untenable. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Manikka lived not later than the fourth century. (*Tam. Ant.*, *ut supra*, p. 54.)—(V. A. Smith.)

I do not know on what authority V. A. Smith states that the reconversion of some families to Hinduism occurred in Malabar in A.D. 270. In favour of the second century we might quote the priest Matthew cited above. If St. Thomas died in A.D. 78, as several Indian accounts make out, 92 years later would bring us to A.D. 170 for Manikka Vāṣakar's period. But to what extent can these dates be relied on?

For a short account of Manikka Vāṣakar see *The Tamil Plutarch* by Simon Casie Chitty, Jaffna, 1859, pp. 54-55, which states that he was a Śaiva saint "who flourished during the reign of King Arimārta Pāṇḍyan, which some place between the fifth and the eighth century after the Christian era." Compare with pp. 56, *ibid.* His story is contained in the *Tiruvēḍāvēr Purāṇam*, of which S. C. Chitty published an English translation in No. 2 of the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

called Êlêla-çinkan, *i.e.* "Lion of the surf," who was the captain of a small vessel.¹

Mârka-çakayan, struck with Tiruvalluvar's virtues, offered him in marriage his daughter Vâçukî.

"Tiruvalluvar was inclined to marry, because domestic virtue is the highest, yet he resolved first to try the maiden's temper and gifts; accordingly, he replied: 'If she will take this sand and make it into rice for me, I will take her as my wife.' Vâçukî meekly took the basket of sand, and, feeling sure that what the holy man ordained was possible and right, proceeded to boil it; and as the virtuous woman is said to have power with the gods, so it came to pass with her; a miracle was wrought on her behalf, and she brought him the rice for which he asked. So she became his wife, faithful and obedient."²

In our series of texts on St. Thomas will be found several versions of a similar marvel.

According to Barbosa (*ante* 1516), when St. Thomas built his church or house at Coulam (Quilon) with the log from Ceylon, he paid the workmen at noon with sand, which changed into rice, and in the evening with a little bit of the wood which he was sawing, and it turned into fanams, "a small coin of inferior gold."³ Barbosa stands probably alone in placing these facts at Coulam. The scene is generally shifted to Mylapore.

As early as 1348, Bishop John de' Marignolli places at Mylapore the story of the log from Ceylon. At Mylapore St. Thomas built a church with his own hands, "besides another, which he built with the agency of workmen. These he paid with certain great stones which I have seen there, and with a log cut down on Adam's Mount in Seyllan, which he caused to be sawn up, and from the sawdust other trees were sown."⁴ In this legend we have the two elements of Barbosa's story, the sand and the sawdust. Indeed, the connection is plain between the sand mentioned by Barbosa and the great stones mentioned by Marignolli. We are left to understand that, as the sand was changed into rice, so the great stones were changed into bread. Again, not only did other trees spring from the sawdust, but St. Thomas paid the workmen with it. And, since at the arrival of the Portuguese the only church then standing was that near the tomb, which they were told was the church built with the log, all the woodwork of the church being supposed to have come

¹ Rev. G. U. Pope, *The 'Sacred' Kurral*, London, 1886, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. X. "The Tiruvalluvar *Çarittiram*," says Pope, "and the *Mahâ-nîti-çulâmani* will satisfy the most enthusiastic lover of traditions." These then seem to be books where other similarities between Christian and non-Christian legends should be sought.

³ Cf. *A description of the Coasts of East Africa* . . . by Duarte Barbosa . . . Henry E. C. Stanley, London, Hakluyt Society, 1866, p. 161.

⁴ Cf. Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London, 1866, II. 374.

from the original single beam, it is likely that Marignolli was told that St. Thomas had paid with sawdust the workmen working at the church of the tomb. As for the other church built by the agency of workmen, it may have been the church of St. Thomas Mount,¹ or Great Mount, which, though in ruins at the advent of the Portuguese, would yet have been extant in Marignolli's time. This church would have been a church of stone, built from the boulders on the slopes of the hill, and these same boulders may have been shown to Marignolli as having been used by St. Thomas to pay the workmen with.

When the Portuguese came to Mylapore after 1517, the legend of the sand and sawdust was still known there. According to Correa, Miguel Ferreira made a thorough inquiry into the legends of Mylapore (1531), and he picked up there, among other information given by Christians, Hindus, and Muhammadans, "that the Saint made the house with the wood of the log; and he sawed it, and with the dust paid the workmen; and at times he gave them sand, which he took from the ground, and it turned into rice to the amount which their work was worth."²

Besides his story of the Mylapore log, Correa has a duplicate one for Coulam. Two brothers, Apreto and Thór,³ went to preach in Ceylon, and a log which they took from an idol-temple came floating, at their order, up to Coulam, where they made a house or church with it.⁴ In this case, Correa says nothing of the sand and sawdust. Both appear, however, at Coulam in connection with St. Thomas in Barbosa's account.

Barbosa's version of St. Thomas' story at Coulam re-appears for Correa's two brothers at Cranganore in a document of 1604. Two Armenian brothers, Bishops apparently (Mar Sapor⁵ and Mar Phiroz?), landed at a point of the sea opposite Paliporto and close to Cranganore. They brought with them a big log of wood wherewith to build a church, and having no money to pay the "coolies" working at the church, they gave them sand which turned into rice.⁶

Why the visit of the two brothers to Ceylon, which we have in Correa? Did they go there on a visit to Christians, some of

¹ I said "may," because we do not find a pre-Portuguese church mentioned for Little Mount; yet we know that the cross on the rocky entrance to the cave is pre-Portuguese.

² Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, III, 421.

³ There is much variety in the names of these two brothers. Gouvea and the Synod of Diamper call them regularly Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh. Cf. Raulin, *Hist. Ecclesiae Malabaricae, Romae*, 1745, p. 435.

⁴ Cf. Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London, 1866, III, 423. This log from an idol-temple in Ceylon, which came floating to Quilon, makes one think of the two amorphous-wooden figures which came by sea to Puri in Orissa and are venerated there in the temple of Jagannāth.

⁵ The inscription round the newly discovered cross of Kadamarram, Malabar, appears to have the name of this Bishop Sapor.

⁶ Cf. *Relação da Serra*, Brit. Museum, Addl. MSS., 9853, dated A.D. 1604. A copy of this document is in my possession.

whom we have solid reason to think resided there in the 9th century, the time when the two brothers appear to have come to India? Or did the story-tellers feel the need of bringing them into line with St. Thomas, who, when he was at Adam's Peak, ordered two slaves to take a huge tree to the sea, and then ordered it to go and tarry for him at Mylapore?¹ Ceylon had a wonderful fascination on the mind of the St. Thomas Christians of the Middle Ages. It was considered the site of the Earthly Paradise. Trees hailing from there would have been specially sacred, and they would have imparted their sacredness to the churches built from them. In 1348, Mylapore even boasted a vine, the stocks of which St. Thomas had brought from Ceylon.

This miracle of sawdust and sand changed into rice, or fananis used to pay the workmen seems, therefore, to have been a favourite theme both with Christians and non-Christians in Malabar and on the Coromandel Coast. From this to a change of stones into bread, the transition was easy. Moreover, it may have been suggested by the stones of the desert which the devil asked Our Lord to change into bread.

I find an example of such a miracle in connection with the Church of Kuravalangad, in Malabar. A tradition regarding the origin of the Church of Kuravalangad is as follows: "Christian children were studying in a school near the place where the Church now stands. When these boys were once returning from school, an old woman called them from a forest near the way in 'Kulakandam nirappoo' and she gave them stones taken from the ground, which were at once changed into bread, and they ate of them to their satisfaction. On reaching home, they narrated the wonderful occurrence to their parents. To ascertain the truth of what the children had said, they went to the above-mentioned place with some bread to be distributed to the poor in the Church. Immediately an old woman, of a very respectable appearance, came out of the woods, and told them that they should build a Church in that place, and she showed them a spring near at hand. This fountain is still to be found there to-day. The old woman then disappeared. The faithful believed the venerable lady to be the Blessed Virgin Mary, and resolved to build the Church in her honour."² The Church is supposed to have been first built in A.D. 335.³

Élêla-Çinkan, Tiruvalluvar's friend, "was the proprietor of many ships, and, on one occasion, one of them had stranded

¹ Bishop John de' Marignolli, in Yule's *Cathay*, *op. cit.*, II, 374.

² Cf. ch. 13 of Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas' Malayalam book on St. Thomas. Vol. I. Chapters 11, 12, and 13 were translated for my sake. I wish the whole of Vol. I had been translated.

³ *Ibid.*—In 1924 I found at Kuravalangad a bell with crosses and an inscription cast in the metal, the inscription being in a language which I could not identify. Some think the language is Greek. Rubbings have been sent to scholars for study.

and could not be hauled up. When this news reached Tiruvalluvar, he went to the stranded vessel, and, putting his hand to the rope, pulled it, saying 'Elaiyah' and telling others to follow suit. The ship was moved out of the shoal, and it fared on as usual with its traffic. This incident has given currency to the term used even now by boat-rowers and other work-day labourers."¹

More or less the same thing happened in the case of St. Thomas' log, according to de' Marignolli (A.D. 1348) and many writers of the Portuguese period. The King of Mylapore with ten thousand men could not make it stir from the shore where it had been stranded. St. Thomas came, and, "loosing the chord wherewith he was girt, ordered his slaves² to tie it to the log and draw it ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the king was converted." Later versions of the story represent St. Thomas as dragging the log ashore single-handed with his girdle.

We have, moreover, at least one Christian version of a legend in which St. Thomas, travelling by sea from an island (Ceylon?) to Japan, is said to have pulled a ship off a shoal where it lay stranded and in it went to Japan. It occurs in that very curious work, *Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ, d'après les visions d'Anne Cathérine Emmerich*, Tournai, H. Casterman, 1860, vol. 6, pp. 372-373. I have little doubt that, if the scene is not one of pure imagination and the similarity with the Tiruvalluvar episode purely accidental, it must have been taken, like most of the other scenes in Sister Emmerich's account of St. Thomas, from the legends to be found copiously in Abdias and in European writers after the Portuguese conquest. Be that as it may, I have not discovered yet any other account in which St. Thomas' journey to Japan is mentioned. China is often spoken of as one of the fields of the Saint's labours, and that appears already sufficiently remarkable. It is even said that he went to China in a Chinese ship. Sister Emmerich surpasses the most wonderful accounts of St. Thomas' travels. Not only does she make him go twice to China by land, but she imagines him going to Japan in a Japanese ship. One more instance, perhaps, and the most striking, in which the Sister, or more correctly, in my

¹ Cf. *A Primer of Tamil Literature*, Madras, 1904, *op. cit.*, p. 56. St. Thomas' friend was Habban, the merchant, who brought him in his ship to King Gondophares.

² The two slaves mentioned immediately before by de' Marignolli as taking the log from Adam's Peak to the shore.

Sir John de Maundeville (1322-1356) says that "not far from the place where our Lord wept over Jerusalem, i.e., on coming down from Mount Olivet, is the place where our Lady appeared to St. Thomas the Apostle after her Assumption, and gave him her girdle." Cf. *The Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Maundeville*, Westminster, Constable, 1905, p. 117.

³ I did meet such a statement after I wrote this in 1923, but do not now recollect where.

opinion, her self-constituted secretary, the poet Clement Brentano, affects to correct and complete former writers, even Abdias.¹ The Sister is made to say:—

“He was delivered from this prison² exactly as St. Peter had been from his, and he landed in an island where he stayed a rather long time.³ One day, when he was at sea, they saw from his ship a Japanese barque which was exposed to great danger: she had run against a sandbank at some distance from there, and could neither continue her course nor get afloat again: she was half filled with water and seemed about to capsize. Thomas having proposed to his people to go the help of these unfortunates, they would not, fearing to expose themselves to the same danger. But he said to them: ‘If you are willing to render assistance to those poor people, my Master, whom I have seen several times commanding to the surging waves, will make you get near the barque without any difficulty.’ They promised to do as he asked; then, he began to pray and commanded to the waves in the Lord’s name; at once the storm was stilled before them, and they arrived happily near the ship. Thomas and his companions helped the shipwrecked people to unload the barque and to set her afloat again. When the damage had been repaired and everything had been set in order, the captain of the barque begged of Thomas, whose miracles, doctrine, and charity he had heard praised, to accompany him to Japan. The companions of his journey agreed to being separated from him only when the captain had promised to bring him back to them. Thomas, leaving in that country disciples who were instructed, set out with the captain of the barque for Japan, where he was to spend only five or six months.”⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, *Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ*, VI, 379.

² The prison was at the capital of King Mazdai (the King’s name not given by Catherine Emmerich), which according to us would have been Mylapore. Even according to the Sister, the place was Mylapore; for the Saint returned to it and suffered martyrdom there, on which occasion she mentions Mylapore (VI, 375). She even says that it was at Mylapore that an angel delivered him from prison (VI, 376).

³ This would be Ceylon. The Sister does not make the identifications.

⁴ We should discuss in a special chapter Catherine Emmerich’s account of St. Thomas’ apostolate in India. It is very unsatisfactory.

The Sister says nothing of St. Thomas’ doings in Japan during the five or six months that he was there, nor does anybody else. She makes him come back to Mylapore, though not without making a prediction which he engraved on the walls of “Givivia,” a harbour in the northernmost island of Japan, named Jesso or Matsmai. The prediction is rather remarkable, as it seems to point to events later than the death of the Sister (1824) and even of the poet Brentano (1842). Our Missions in Japan were not resumed till 1844; but until 1858 the Missionaries of the *Société des Missions Étrangères* of Paris had to remain at Hongkong or in the neighbourhood. A treaty between France and Japan signed on October 8, 1858, and ratified on September 17, 1859, allowed the Missionaries to reside in the open ports. Only on March 17, 1865, did Père Petitjean discover that near his church at Nagasaki about 50,000 Christians had outlived

An adaptation of this very story of St. Thomas' log and of the useless exertions of the King's elephants (as some Mylapore legends have it) may perhaps still be heard in Bengal in connection with a statue of Our Lady's at Bandel, Hugli. I remember reading some twelve years ago in a printed account about the Convent of Bandel, that the statue had come floating up the river, against the current. It was contained in a box, if I remember well, and a light shone over it. When it came to Hugli, the people flocked to the river and tried in vain with all the strength of their elephants to pull it ashore. The Prior of the Convent, Father João da Cruz (therefore about 1632), awoke, saw the light, went to the bank of the river, and had no difficulty in bringing it to land. The statue was installed in great pomp on the altar: but the next morning it was found to have of its own accord shifted its position to the niche where it now stands, above the façade of the Church. This transference of the Mylapore legend to Hugli is the more easy to understand as there was continual intercourse between the Portuguese ship-owners of Hugli and Mylapore, both clergy and laity moving to and fro between the two places.¹

We ought to be on our guard against this story of St. Thomas' log, which we hear of for the first time about 1348. Such stories are not unknown in other parts of the Christian

nearly two centuries and a half of persecution and neglect. Yet, in the *Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ*, according to Catherine's visions, published for the first time in German in 1858-60, St. Thomas announces that one day a great servant of God would revive the religion preached by him (St. Francis Xavier?), but that ere long it would disappear again (the persecutions which swept over Japan at the end of the 16th century?). "Later, a half-Christian people [the French?] would find back the almost obliterated traces of the Gospel, and the country would be opened again to the preaching of the faith." (French edn., *op. cit.*, VI, 373-374.) But, curiously enough, Catherine declares that other Religions preceded the Jesuits in Japan. Is there the slightest proof that St. Francis Xavier was preceded by other Religions? The MSS. of Brentano should show whether these seeming allusions to events later than 1844 were recorded by Brentano.

¹ At Negapatam, in a pagoda, there was before 1611 a stone pillar with a candle carved on it, which was said to be fixed underground with iron bars. The story was that the pillar had come floating on the sea and that the candle was burning. Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, Bk. 10, Ch. 5, Lisbon, 1783, p. 473. If this pillar is still in the courtyard of the pagoda, underground, and could be unearthed, the iron clamps might perhaps be found to be similar to the colossal iron crosses in the form of an X which have been found in China and the explanation of which has not yet been given. Some believe them to have served for mooring ships. We think the more readily of China, because of the Chinese trade with India, particularly with Coromandel, and because of the Chinese tower of Negapatam. Cf. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edn., II., 320. Gaspar Balbi even connects the seven Pagodas of Mahabalipuram with the Chinese. See Yule's *Cathay* (1866), II, xxvi. Several of the early Portuguese historians repeatedly speak of traces of Chinese occupation on the Coromandel Coast. The fragments of chinaware found during our excavations near St. Thomas' tomb in 1923 may be referred to here.

world. We find them current already among the Greek writers. Père H. Delehaye, S.J., writes in *The Legends of the Saints* (transl. by Mrs. V. M. Crawford, London, Longmans, 1907):

[P. 30] "At Valence, in the Church of San Salvador, there is preserved a figure of Christ which drifted there miraculously by sea and up-stream; at Santa Maria del Grao, the port of Valencia, there is another figure of Christ together with a ladder, the one used at His crucifixion, which was also carried by sea in a boat without crew or cargo. As the vessel came to a halt in mid-stream, an altercation arose between the inhabitants of the opposite banks for the possession of the sacred relics. To settle the matter, the boat was towed out to sea, where it was once more left to take what direction it pleased. Straightway it sailed up the river and became stationary close to Santa Maria del Grao."¹

"In a similar strain Pausanias describes the coming of the statue of Hercules to Erythræ. It arrived by sea on a raft and came to a halt at the promontory of Juno called Cape Mesata, because it was half-way between Erythræ and Chios. From the moment they espied the god, the inhabitants of each of the two towns did their utmost to attract it in their own direction. [P. 31.] But the heavens decided in favour of the first. A fisherman of that town, named Phormio, was warned in a dream that if the women of Erythræ would sacrifice their hair in order to make a cable, they would have no difficulty in drawing the raft. The Thracian women who inhabited the town made the sacrifice of their locks, and thus secured the miraculous statue for Erythræ. Except for the final details, the two legends are identical."²

"Nothing is more common in popular hagiography than this theme of the miraculous advent of a picture or of the body of a saint in a derelict vessel; equally common is the miracle of the ship that comes to a halt or of the oxen who refuse to move or go any further, in order to indicate the spot mysteriously predestined for the guardianship of a celestial treasure, or to confirm some church in the legitimate possession of the relics of a saint."³

¹ [See Fages, *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, vol. II, pp. 46, 47. — H. D.]

² [Pausanias, VII, 5, 5-8—H. D.] Pausanias lived in the 2nd century A.D.

³ [In our own country (Belgium) it is not unusual to employ oxen for the transport of sacred objects. Hence, in the legend of "Le Christ des Dames Blanches" of Tirlemont, it is the Canons of Saint Germain who find themselves incapacitated from carrying their precious burden any farther. P. V. Bets, *Histoire de Tirlemont*, Louvain, 1861, vol. II, p. 88. The same story is related of the relics of St. George by Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, c. 101.—H. D.]

A similar theme, e.g., about the cars of Hindu temples refusing to move until some heavenly influence intervenes, is extremely common in India. In most of the Portuguese versions of the log St. Thomas takes the log to the place where he built his church, the distance being tradition-

"These miraculous voyages of crucifixes, Madonnas and statues of saints are particularly abundant in Sicily, as has been proved by recent researches.¹ A similar [P. 32] inquiry in other countries would probably be rewarded with equally numerous discoveries.²

"It would be an endless task to draw up a complete list of the stock incidents of hagiography. We have already been able to show from examples that some of them go back to a very remote antiquity. That is [P. 33] a point that cannot be too strongly insisted upon. A number of the legendary themes to be found scattered through the lives of saints, in the histories of the foundation of celebrated shrines, and in the accounts of the origin of certain miraculous pictures, are to be met with in the classics. The people of ancient times would themselves have experienced great difficulty in indicating their origin. For them, as for us, they were as leaves carried hither and thither by the wind."

When all is said, however, about St. Thomas' log, and when we feel most inclined to reject the story as apocryphal, there remains the very singular fact that between May 30, 1582, and September 13, 1583, at Mylapore itself, an enormous log did arrive and stranded in front of the newly-built Jesuit church. It came quite providentially: for want of beams sufficiently long the Fathers were covering their church provisionally with thatch. The beam was of the required length, and when it was sawn, it emitted such a fetid smell that it was argued it had been a long time at sea and had come from very far. It yielded just the amount of timber needed. We have this curious story in Balbi, an Italian traveller, who was one of the many who ran to the shore in the early morning to witness the marvel. The people and the Fathers cannot have failed to comment in this connection on the local legends of St. Thomas' log. At any rate, it was the occasion of many conversions among the natives.³

A Muhammadian story from Covalong⁴, in the close vicinity

ally 10 or 12 leagues from the shore; but in at least one text it is the log rather that takes the Saint along and then stops of itself, thus intimating where the church was to be built.

¹ [G. Pitre, *Feste patronali in Sicilia*, in *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari Siciliane*, vol. XXI, Turin and Palermo, 1900, pp. XX-XXII.—H. D.]

² Among the many authorities, here cited, which see in the work quoted, I find A. de Nino, *Usi e costume Abbruzzesi*, vol. IV, Florence, 1887, p. 151, in connection with the advent of the relics of St. Thomas at Ortona, and I wonder if the popular story was that the relics arrived by sea, much in the same way as St. Thomas' log at Mylapore. Nothing of the kind, however, can be deduced from Mgr. Medlycott's account of the removal of the relics from the island of Chios. Cf. his *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1905, pp. 113-118.

³ Cf. *Viaggi dell' Indie Orientali di Gasparo Balbi* (1579-1588) Venetiis, M.D.X.C. fol. 85 v-86 v.

⁴ Reprinted with changes from J.A.S.B., 1923, pp. 231-233.

of Mylapore, about the finding of a box, a coffin, that came by sea, the impossibility of moving it, and the receding of the sea, bears a close resemblance to the story of St. Thomas' log from Ceylon, the inability of the King and his people to move it, and the story that the sea was formerly 10 or 12 miles from the present site of the Cathedral of S. Thomé.

We owe the story to L. A. Cammiade, Esq., Presidency Magistrate, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras, who, on sending it, favoured us (April 29, 1923) with the following remarks :—

"I also enclose a brief history of the Muhammadan saint Tamim, whose tomb is venerated at Covalong, 18 miles south of San Thomé. You will find there further evidence of inter-borrowing of legends. The history I am sending was given me by one of my Muhammadan clerks. I have also obtained a printed pamphlet on the same subject, which I shall send you as soon as I can get a translation.

"As you know, there are, all along the Coromandel Coast, ancient settlements of Arabs and others who now go by the names of Lubbai, Marakayar, Cholia, Rowther, etc. These people have traditions and histories which nobody has so far troubled to investigate. As the historic spirit is far stronger among them than among Indians, their traditions and old books may serve to throw considerable light on the history of Christianity on the Coromandel Coast. I would suggest that you induce the Jesuit Fathers in Madura and Tinnevely to get all information they can from the Lubbai.¹ I was told that there is a place in the Nanguneri Taluk in Tinnevely, which, according to tradition, is one of the early settlements of the Lubbai. I forget its name. It begins with an E (Erradai?). Pulicat is another place where information might be available among the Lubbai."

Certainly, if the Lubbai have histories, one would expect the Christians and their Church of St. Thomas and some of the St. Thomas legends to have found a place in them. We are still in the dark for instance about a fight between Christians and Muhammadans which ended the Christians' settlement of Mylapore between 1340 and 1498 in the destruction of the place. Rather striking is the name of the Muhammadan saint of Covalong: Tamim. It sounds much like Thomas, Thoma. If borrowing there was, it would have been on the side of the Muhammadans, from the early Persian-Christian community of Mylapore. Though the story of St. Thomas' log appears for the first time only in de' Marignolli's account (A.D. 1348), it may be considerably older.

Here is the Covalong story, with as little change as possible, only a few incorrections of style having been removed.

¹ We may succeed better by making the story more accessible in these pages. Some information on the Labbāis will be found in Dames' notes on Duarte Barbosa (II. 120 n. 2); see also *s.v.* Navāyat. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Choolia and Lubbye.

“ The burial of Hazareth Thameemul Ansari at Covalong.

“ Hazareth Thameemul Ansari was Ashabi (disciple) of the prophet Muhammad. He was buried about 700 years back at Covalong. A *durga* (tomb) was erected on his remains by Nawab Sadatullah Sahib of Arcot, about 150 years ago, and the two villages of Vedakadambadi and Perumalleoy in Chengalpet Taluq were endowed for its maintenance, which is still enjoyed by trustees.

“ Covalong was then inhabited by fishermen and Cholia Muslims¹ only. One morning, the fishermen came across a box dancing on the waves and tried to seize it, mistaking it for a treasure trove. But, however much they tried to capture it, it would slip away from their hands, evading their grasp. Disappointed, they informed the Cholias about the mysterious box. The latter were overjoyed when they were able to take possession very easily, the box having ceased its obstinate tendencies. They tried to lift it and remove it to a better position : but the box could not be shifted, in spite of all their physical efforts. Finally they resolved upon opening it at the very spot, and, when they did so, to their great surprise and awe, they found a corpse fresh and prepared for burial. They found a *chit*² in the cask, which said that the dead man was an inhabitant of Mecca, a disciple of the Prophet, and that, due to reasons of his own, he had ordained his family to put him in a box and throw it into the Red Sea ; and it instructed the finders of the box to bury him on the spot where it halted. From the *chit* it was apparent that the box must have been floating up and down for about 500 years without being shattered and putrified.

“ But the Cholias were in a great fix as to how the body could be buried on the spot, since it was in the bed of the ocean. To their great surprise the sea was found to have receded about a furlong off. Accordingly, the corpse was buried with all ceremony at its present site, where it has continued to remain since long. The Sunni Muslims, after settling in the neighbourhood of the Durga, seized, about 150 years ago, the ceremonial rites and duties connected with it from the Cholias, and enjoy them to the present day, paying a yearly tribute to the Cholias, the original finders of the box.”

Does it not look as if these Cholias, now Muslims, were apostate Christians who had a Church at Covalong dedicated to St. Thomas, and that the traditions and legends about St. Thomas have by them been attached to one of their later saints ?

Gover places Tiruvalluvar in the third century A.D.³ V. A. Smith considers that his Kural, “ the most venerated

¹ Cholia Muslims seems to mean Muslims of the Chola or Coromandel Coast.

² Letter ; note.

³ Gover, *Folk-songs of Southern India*, p. 217.

and popular book South of the Godāvāri . . . the literary treasure, the poetic mouthpiece, the highest type of verbal and moral excellence among the 'Tamil people,' belongs, with the epic of the Anklet and the Jewel-belt, to the first three centuries A.D.¹ Balfour places him in the ninth century A.D.,² whilst the Rev. G. U. Pope believes him to have lived between A.D. 800 and 1000.³ Such are still the vagaries of South Indian chronology.

Some of the Rev. G. U. Pope's reflections on Tiruvalluvar commend themselves as very judicious. They would have appeared to himself all the more felicitous, if he had noticed the resemblances between the Christian legends and the legend of the ship, and of the sand turned into rice, which he quotes from the poet's life.

"The poet's home," he writes, "was a place around which still lingers a strange oriental beauty, and which has probably not changed much since the passer-by might have heard the click of the shuttle mingling with the low chaunt of his melodious verse.⁴ I may be pardoned for dwelling on my recollections of this interesting spot, since in 1840 my missionary life began there, and, while visiting the villages around, that enthusiasm for the great Tamil poet was first kindled which has been an important factor in my life. Mayilāpūr, or Mayilai, is 'the town of peacocks,' and the name seems to indicate a place of groves and gardens around old temples. There is a sacred tank still, with a belt of cocoanut palms, and a square of old leaf-covered houses, in any one of which the poet might have lived. The sea-shore is close by, and Êlêla-çinkan's successors (I fear much degenerated)⁵ dwell there yet. The poet could hear the boom of the surf-waves, and pondered often, doubtless, on the shore of what he calls the *nāma-nir*, 'the gruesome wave.' (149)

"A higher interest is imparted to the spot and its neighbourhood, at least to Christians, by the tradition (so long and lightly discredited, but now generally acknowledged to be authentic) that here St. Thomas preached, and here met his death by a spear (*vêl*) such as the poet often speaks of.

¹ V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, p. 144.

² Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India*, 3rd edn., 1885, III. 894.

³ G. U. Pope, *The 'Sacred' Kural*, London, 1886, p. IV.

"Some place the date of his existence in the third or fourth [century], and others in the eight or ninth century of the Christian era; but the last is generally considered the most probable." Cf. *The Tamil Plutarch*, by Simon Casie Chitty, Jaffna, 1859, p. 101, and compare *ibid.* with p. 14, where Tiruvalluvar's brother, Athigamān, is identified with Chérāmān Perumān, who, according to *Asiatick Researches*, VII, 349, was crowned in the Kali year, 3538, or A.D. 438.

⁴ Probably. Mylapore was a famous weaving centre long before the Portuguese.

⁵ Why much degenerated? Because so many are Catholic fishermen?

and was here buried.¹ Mayilâpûr to us is better known as S. Thomé. In the neighbourhood a Christian community has existed from the earliest times. Here are fine old Armenian² and Portuguese churches, and a Christian inscription of the fifth century.³ Here Pantænus of Alexandria taught;⁴ and we are quite warranted in imagining Tiruvalluvar, the thoughtful poet, the eclectic, to whom the teaching of the Jains was as familiar as that of every Hindû sect, who was not hindered by any prejudices from familiar intercourse with foreigners, whose one thought was to gather knowledge from every source, whose friend the sea-captain would bring him tidings of every stranger's arrival (coming from Ceylon, perhaps, in his own dhoney): we may fairly, I say, picture him pacing along the sea-shore with the Christian teachers and imbibing Christian ideas, tinged with the peculiarities of the Alexandrian school,⁵ and day by day working them into his own wonderful Kural.

"The East and the West have influenced one another in a very real and not yet thoroughly understood way from the earliest times. It is undoubtedly a noteworthy fact that from this Mayilâpûr, on which the eyes of Christendom have ever rested as the one sacred spot in India of Apostolic labour, comes the one Oriental book, much of whose teaching is an echo of the 'Sermon on the Mount'

"There are no data whatever which may enable us to fix with precision the period at which our poet flourished. I think between A.D. 800 and 1000 is its probable date. The style is not archaic, far less so than that of the *Çivaya Çintâmani*. Remembering that its author was not fettered by caste prejudices, that his greatest friend was a sea-captain, that he lived at S. Thomé, that he was evidently an eclectic, that Christian influences were at the time at work in the neighbourhood, and that many passages are strikingly Christian in their spirit, I cannot feel any hesitation in saying that the Christian Scriptures

¹ "The reader may find a full discussion of this subject in Dr. Germann's learned and instructive book *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*." (Rev. G. H. Pope) It is one of the best books on the subject. Neither Mgr. Zaleski nor Mgr. Medlycott quotes it.

² The usual mistake of making an Armenian Church out of the Church of St. Thomas Mount or Great Mount; perhaps, because many things in it are Armenian, inscriptions, the pulpit, pictures, etc.

³ We wish we could make it out as old as the 5th century. But our authorities, those who deciphered the Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription, do not go higher than the middle of the 7th century. We cannot, however, rely greatly on their verdict.

⁴ It is not impossible that Pantænus came to India, but we have nothing to show that he came to Mylapore. The date would be about A.D. 189-190. Cf. Mgr. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 171, who is not, however, in favour of Pantænus' apostolate in our India.

⁵ We might doubt whether the peculiarities of the Alexandrian school had continued at Mylapore, granting that they were ever introduced there, till Tiruvalluvar's time, i.e., according to Pope, till A.D. 800-1000.

were among the sources from which the poet derived his inspiration."¹

Other writers are not less enthusiastic about Tiruvalluvar's poetry. He "taught ethical doctrine of singular purity and beauty, which cannot, so far as I know, be equalled in the Sanskrit literature of the North." Thus V. A. Smith.²

Balfour supplies some other particulars about the poet's career and his Kural, "a book of Buddhistics," as he calls it. "He is said to have been the son of a Pariah woman by a Brahman father, and to have been brought up by a Valluvan, a priest of the Pariah caste, at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras. His real name is not known, but he is generally supposed to have lived about the ninth century. During the reign of Vansa Sekhara, a Pandiya ruler, a college had been established at Madura, with a counsel or *sangattar* of 48 professors, whose successors seem to have abandoned the teaching of Tamil and devoted their attention to the cultivation of Sanskrit literature. The influence of Tiruvalluvar, however, induced the Pandiya ruler to reintroduce the Tamil, on which the professors are said to have drowned themselves; but the Tamil progressed, and in the course of the ninth century there appeared a number of most classical Tamil writers, amongst whom were the poetess Avayar, and the poet Kamben, the translator of the Ramayanam. The Kural advocates moral duties and practical virtues above ceremonial observances and speculative devotion; but it inculcates respect to Brahmans and ascetics, and alludes to Indra and to various parts of the Hindu pantheon. It is a didactic poem, with maxims on the moral aims of man, full of tender and true ideas, but adhering to the view of transmigration of souls, from which release is to be sought in the Buddhistic method. His principal work is the Kural of short lines with four and three-footed strophes, with initial rhymes and alliterations in the middle. It is a tradition that he was the brother of Anveyai or Avayar."³

We are led to believe that, as Tiruvalluvar was born in a Christian milieu, the two legends about the rice turned into sand and about the ship may have been adapted by his biographers from Christian legends. We do not thereby mean to attach any historical value to the facts embodied in the Christian legends themselves, since they do not occur in the earliest literature on St. Thomas.

The Hindus and Muhammadans on the Coromandel Coast, according to clear evidence from Marco Polo's time (A.D. 1293),

¹ G. U. Pope, *The 'Sacred' Kural*, op. cit., pp. II-IV.

If Pope means our "written" Scriptures, we might ask in what language Tiruvalluvar, the Śaivite, would have read them: in Tamil, Syriac, or Persian?

² V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, p. 145.

³ E. Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India*, 3rd edn., London, 1885, 111, 894-895.

had the greatest devotion to St. Thomas' shrine. They knew therefore its legends. Moreover, as late as about 1600, they had pictures of the Saint representing incidents of his life; for instance, the miracle at the wedding of the daughter of the King of Sandarūk (Cranganore?). A servant, who had struck the Saint at the banquet, went out to fetch water. A tiger pounced on him, and, biting off his hand, let it drop on the ground; but a dog came into the banquetting-hall holding the hand in his mouth. Thereupon, some Malabar songs appear to add, the Saint applied the hand to the arm and made it sound again. "This miracle," says do Couto,¹ "is still very famous nowadays among the Gentios² of Meliapor, and they have it painted in their pictures, as I saw in some." Another picture at Mylapore was perhaps that of the Saint dragging the log ashore. Anyhow, de Marignolli (A.D. 1348) says that when St. Thomas went to the shore, he rode "on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, and a mantle of peacock feathers, and attended by those two slaves of his and by two great lions, *just as he is painted*."³

The pictures mentioned by do Couto might be taken for an argument that many Native Christians on the Coromandel Coast had fallen off before the arrival of the Portuguese and had become Hindus or Muhammadans. It would seem, indeed, that all along the Coromandel Coast up to Cape Comorin, at all the ancient vantage-points of commerce, there had been Christians before A.D. 1500. In 1502, at their second visit to India, the Portuguese seized off Calicut a ship from the Coromandel Coast and, bent on reprisals or on ruining Muhammadan trade, they decided to kill all the inmates. A number of Gentios in the ship asked to be baptized before execution, and called on the name of St. Thomas. They were told that even so they would not be spared. They insisted, resigned to their fate, received Baptism, and were shot with arrows.⁴

JĒANA SAMBANTHER AND SUNDARA.

The *Primer of Tamil Literature* (Madras, 1904) contains still the story of two marriages which came to an end on the day of the wedding. The *Acta* of St. Thomas, as spoiled by the Gnostics, who looked upon married life as debasing and sinful, have several such instances. On the day of the wedding, St. Thomas prevails on the daughter of the King of Sandarūk and her husband (Pelagia and Denis of later literature) to vow chastity.⁵ At the court of King Mazdai (Mylapore?), Mygdonia,

¹ Diogo do Couto, *Du Asia*, Dec. 12, Bk. 3, ch. 4, i.e., Tom. 8, Lisbon, 1788, p. 277.

² Hindus.

³ H. Yule, *Cathay*, 1866, II. 375.

⁴ Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, Tom. I (1858), pp. 804-305, sub A.D. 1502.

⁵ Mgr. Medleycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 256.

the wife of Karish (a kinsman of the King's), and Tertia, the King's wife, deny themselves to their husbands in consequence of the Saint's teaching.¹ We cannot, it is true, lay much stress on these parallels. Similar teachings are probably found in Buddhist literature, and perhaps too in Jain literature. If we quote them, it is in the hope that others will search for resemblances still more striking.

Jñāna Sambanther, a precocious sage (A.D. 600–1100 ?), in his sixteenth year marries the daughter of a pious Brahman called Nambanther. At the end of the wedding, a miraculous fire appears in answer to the prayers of the bridegroom, and all present, including the married couple, depart this life for heaven. During Sambanther's life, a poem of his remained unconsumed when cast into the fire and floated in the river against the current.²

Sundara was another poet, who lived during the same vague period of A.D. 600–1100 (?). When he grew up, his father arranged for his marriage with a daughter of Sadangili Sivachariyar of Thanthuvoy Puthur and took him thither decked out as a bridegroom. The young man had no sooner taken his seat than Siva appeared in the marriage pandal in the form of an aged Brahman and claimed him as his slave, according to his contract in a former birth. All remonstrated with the old Brahman, but he proved his contract. The marriage came to an untimely end; and the young man, who saw the vision of God, became a staunch devotee.³

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 263–265.

² Cf. *A Primer of Tamil Literature*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

"Both he and his wife died on their wedding day, while worshipping in the temple of Tirumellūr." He lived in the reign of Kūna Pāndyan. Cf. *The Tamil Plutarch*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

At the court of King Mazdai St. Thomas was made to stand on red-hot iron plates, but water issued from the earth and flooded the court-yard. Cf. Mgr. Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 265, quoting the *Acta*; Bonnet's *Acta Thomæ*, Lipsia, 1883, in *De miraculis*, p. 115; in *Passio*, p. 156.

³ Cf. *A Primer of Tamil Literature*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95. In the *Acta* and other early literature on St. Thomas, Our Lord sells St. Thomas as a slave. He also assumes several times the shape of St. Thomas, "his twin-brother." Cf. Mgr. Zaleski, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–175, 177. The original *Acta* show this more clearly. See Mgr. Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 269, where Our Lord, in the shape of Thomas, causes the daughter of the King of Sandarūk and her husband to vow chastity.

Simon Casio Chitty writes of Sundara in *The Tamil Plutarch*, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–97: "When he came of age, his father, by the King's [Narasinghamuniyer's] command, negotiated a marriage for him with the daughter of a Brahman at Puttūr; but just on the day for its celebration he broke off the match, and assuming the ascetic life visited the different Siva fanes in Southern India. . . . He died at Tiruvānji, in the Chera country, in the eighteenth year of his age, whilst he was visiting a temple there in company with the King Cheramān Perumān, whose friendship he enjoyed. In our opinion, as the date given in the *Cholapūrvā Patayam* for the accession of Cheramān Perumān seems to admit of no doubt, we may therefore place the period of the existence of Sundarar and his two

Much more could be written about other legends borrowed by the Hindus from our Christian books, whether canonical or apocryphal, even without touching the story of Barlaam and Josaphat or Kṛishṇa's childhood. But the subject is too vast and has been treated by others more competent, and we must limit ourselves to legends bearing on St. Thomas. Even so, one feels as if one could render a public service by republishing in its entirety Captain F. Wilford's *Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India*.¹ There are adverse criticisms on his study; R. Sewell calls it extremely fanciful; but no Orientalist seems to have risen to the necessary height to refute Wilford's bewildering statements. The similarities between Śālivahana and Christ, or his Gnostic duplicate, St. Thomas, are more than surprising, and not less astonishing are the chronological questions involved; for, according to Wilford, not only would the Vikrama era be the era of the Emperor Augustus, but the Śālivāhana era, that other bone of contention among Orientalists, would be the Christian era adapted in a peculiar way.

fellow-champions [of Śaivism, Apper and Sambanther] in the fifth century of the Christian era for a certainty, and thereby clear it from the monstrous chronology of the Puranas."

Tiruvauji is close to Cranganore, and does not this increase the probability of a borrowing of legends from the Christians there?

Śiva disguised as an aged Brahman at the marriage feast resembles Christ in the form of his double, his twin, St. Thomas, at the marriage of the daughter of the King of Sandarūk (Cranganore). But who will insist?

¹ *Asiatick Researches*, X (Calcutta, 1808), pp. 27-126.

2. *Tamil Account of St. Thomas and Kandapa Raja
from the Latin.*¹

In *The Catholic Herald of India*, August 31, September 7, and September 14, 1921, I discussed a stone at Bishop's House, San Thomé, Mylapore, one side of which represents most likely St. Thomas, the other apparently St. Bartholomew. This stone seems to be the one found underground in 1729, near the accredited tomb of St. Thomas. It would be one of the many pre-Portuguese Christian relics of San Thomé now in the Bishop's Museum. The popular idea among the Indian Christians was that, indeed, one side represented St. Thomas; but, to my astonishment, I was told in 1921 by some Indian Christians there that the other figure was Kandapa Raja, whom they described as the King of Mylapore who had been converted by St. Thomas. I was also told that there were Tamil books in which Kandapa Raja was mentioned as the King of Mylapore.

Kandapa Raja sounded so much like Gondophares (Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar in Syriac), the King of N.W. India, whose coins have been found in large numbers, and who is considered to be the Gondophares of the Acta of St. Thomas, written about A.D. 220, that the question came to this: Was there, in addition to the Gondophares of N.W. India, a contemporary Gondophares at Mylapore, none of whose coins and inscriptions have been found, but for whom St. Thomas might have built the palace which Indianists were prepared (?) to admit he had built, according to the Acta, for the Gondophares of N.W. India? Was it not significant that so many people in Southern India bore the name of Kandapa? Moreover, the traditions of Malabar knew nothing of the Gondophares of N.W. India. They agreed that St. Thomas had built a palace for the King of Mylapore, Chosha or Chola² Perumal, a name meaning simply the Great One of Chola or Coromandel, and concealing the tradition of the palace built for Gondophares, whoever he was. Pressed for the name of the Chosha Perumal, would not the Malabar Christians give that of Kandapa?

Had we to say perhaps that at an early period, the Christ-

¹ Republished with some changes from the defunct *The Indian Athenæum*, Calcutta, June 1923 (Vol. I, No. 1), pp. 8-17, where I re-edited this account.

² The *r* in "Coromandel" is of a peculiar kind, difficult to represent in European letters. *Chosha* and *Sholay* are merely attempts on the part of the Indians themselves to do so. Chosha is the pronunciation in Malabar, at least to European ears. More and more I am inclined to think that Chosha, Chora, Chola are only other forms for some of the many forms of Kushana, XOPANO.

ians of Malabar and of the Coromandel Coast had appropriated for Mylapore the story of the Gondophares of N.W. India, that they had celebrated him in their songs, and made him so popular that even their non-Christian neighbours had come to regard him erroneously as one of their kings ?

I was naturally very keen on getting hold of some of the versions of the Kandapa story in the Tamil books. Such a Tamil story was said to have been translated by the Rev. W. Taylor in the *South India Christian Repository*, Madras, 1837, vol. I, pp. 263—266. After much searching and disappointment in January, 1922, I succeeded at last in January, 1923, on the occasion of another visit to Calcutta, to secure a copy of the *Repository* in the St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta.

Of Nanapracasa Pillay, who translated the Kandapa story from the Latin into Tamil, and who is supposed to have been a pupil of the Jesuits of Pondicherry, I know nothing. Yet, I know that Maridas Poullé and Malcapa had both studied Latin under the Jesuits of Pondicherry, with the view of becoming priests, in the latter half of the 18th century. Was Jñanaprakāśa Pillai another such pupil ? Neither can I say what Latin document he may have used. Had he a Latin document at hand at all ? Or did he use a literary device sufficiently common in the India of his days to arouse suspicion, viz., the device of pretending to quote a non-existing original, thereby to impose on the credulity of his hearers ? The device was once as common in all branches of Indian literature as it is still among our novelists. Every book had to be attributed to some Rishi or to some god.

Was the story of Kandapa Raja in all its parts, as we have it here, contained in the Latin document, or only the portions concerning Kandapa's connection with St. Thomas ? In the former case, what historic document did the Latin compiler use ? A Syriac one, or a South India one ? In the latter case, it is surprising that the story of St. Thomas' building a palace for the Chosha Raja is omitted. Are there in existence Tamil or Telugu or Malayalam accounts in which Kandapa Raja is mentioned as the Chosha Raja for whom St. Thomas built the palace ?

Nanapracasa Pillay seems to know very little about Kandapa Raja. His information about his learning, his patronising letters, his spirit of religion, his fighting qualities, are apparently mere generalities which may have been borrowed from the history of any other South Indian Raja. However, I remember having seen in the Rev. W. Taylor's summaries of the Mackenzie MSS., of which our Tamil fragment forms part, other allusions to Kandapa Raja and the Curumbas. These ought to be collected, as they might contain facts of South Indian history. The Rev. W. Taylor was so impressed with them that he was prepared to regard Kandapa Raja as a historical ruler of Mylapore.

Could any of our readers on the Madras side tell us whether

the study of the story of Kandapa Raja has made any advance since the days of the Rev. W. Taylor?

I shall assume for the moment that the Rev. W. Taylor is right in considering the Curumbas as the wild people of Kandapa Raja. Would it mean that Kandapa Raja was himself a Curumba? Who were the Curumbas? My idea is still that the Rajas of Mylapore to whom St. Thomas would have come were Persians. Were the Curumbas Persians, Kushanas or an Indian, a Dravidian, tribe, subject to a Persian overlord, Kandapa Raja? The Curumbas are said to have been of a religion different from Kandapa's, to have had a fort at Pattipulam Nerumbur, and to have fought him in the plains of Payyanur. Where are these places? Can they be identified? And are these facts borne out by the other references to Kandapa in the Mackenzie MSS.?

Kandapa, we are told, was a Samunal. This term seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *sramana* (Pali, *samana*), which is generally understood to mean a Buddhist ascetic. Was Kandapa a Buddhist or a Jain? There is no doubt that Jainism was strongly represented in S. India in the early centuries of our era. Buddhism too had its adepts there about the same time. But, should we not expect that, if 'Kandapa' is equivalent to 'Gondophares,' a Persian name, as I think it is, he was a Buddhist rather than a Jain, and a fire-worshipper rather than a Buddhist.

Three incidents of the St. Thomas story are related, one in connection with Kandapa Raja.

1. The story of the banquet in honour of the marriage of the daughter of the King of Sandarūk or Andrapolis. The narrator does not seem to know the name of the town; but, with the St. Thomas Christians, who mention Cranganore, he places the town in Kerala or Malabar. He does not appear either to know on what occasion the concert was held, or why the Saint was struck on the cheek by one of the King's servants. The tiger who bit off the man's hand, and the dog who brought the bleeding hand into the hall are here made into one and the same animal, a tiger; but the tiger is compared to a dog. A search for the Saint is made in the *Acta*; a proclamation would naturally follow.

2. The story of the water held suspended in the air. This is not in the *Acta*, or in the *de Miraculis*, or the *Passio*. We have it in Mgr. L. M. Zaleski, where it is said to have happened at Palayur, i.e., Palur, in Malabar, and to be taken from the Thoma Parvam or Carmen Thomae Rabban (A.D. 1601), and other Malabar songs. It must be found in the 'other songs': for it does not occur in the Carmen Thomae Rabban, of which I have a complete translation. Cf. Mgr. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas in India*, Mangalore, 1912, pp. 132-133, and compare with pp. 91, 127 n. 2. I do not remember to have seen the story

in the Portuguese accounts. Is this story not a comment on the name of St. Bartholomew, by some interpreted as 'the son of him who suspends the waters'?

3. The story of the Brahman who, at the capital of Kandapa Raja, killed his own son and accused St. Thomas of the crime. St. Thomas recalled the boy to life to prove his innocence. This again is not in the *Acta*, or the *de Miraculis*, or the *Passio*. Mgr. Zaleski, op. cit., pp. 170-171, takes it from de Barros' *Asia*, vol. 6, p. 231. But it can be shown that de Barros had it from the St. Thomas Christians, either in Malabar, or at Mylapore, or from both places. It was related as having happened at Mylapore.

A Malabar song (cf. Mgr. Zaleski, op. cit., p. 136) has yet another resurrection, that of a child at Neranam, raised to life by St. Thomas to prove that he was not the child's father.

Whether the story really happened to St. Thomas is a very different matter. It seems to have been a favourite legend in Malabar. See *Conversão de um Rei da Índia ao Cristianismo. Homilia do Archanjo S. Michael por Severo, Arcebispo de Antiochia. Estudo de crítica e historia litteraria* por F. M. Esteves Pereira, Lisboa, Imprensa Lucas, 93, Rua do Diario de Noticias, 1900. There the scene of a similar miracle is laid in India, apparently in the days of Thomas Cana, the story of the merchant Ketsôn (Qesôn, Qisôn, after baptism Matthew) of Qonya, of his wife Helena, and of his four sons (John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel) being possibly a mixture of the story of the merchant Thomas Cana and of that of Meropius and his nephews Frumentius and Edesius. King Kasititos or Kesanthos, before whom the dead man was brought to life to establish the innocence of Ketsôn's sons, would be the King of Kerala: for doubtless Ketsôn's story resembles greatly that of Thomas Cana the moment King Kesanthos, at the instigation of Ketsôn's son, John, writes to Emperor Constantine for a bishop from his dominions. John, the Archbishop of Ephesus,¹ came to India with three deacons and a priest, the homily goes on to say, and with church-books and church ornaments. He built a church at the King's capital and baptised the King and his people. Next he ordained John, Ketsôn's son, a bishop, one of his brothers a priest, and the two others deacons. Agelas or Echillas, the King's son, was also ordained a deacon. After this the Archbishop of Ephesus returned home.

This story is found in a Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic text, and, according to E. Drouin, writing to Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira (18-11-1900), it is also found in a Georgian chronicle.

¹ *Sic.* Edessa is generally the place whence in the Thomas Cana story bishops and priests are made to come. This at least seems to be the Nestorian version. But the Jacobites, who even before the Portuguese came occasionally to Malabar, drag in Antioch instead, which I fear is a case of party-spirit on their side.

No Greek, Syriac, or Armenian text is yet known to exist. The homily in which it is found is, it would seem, falsely attributed to Severus, Archbishop of Antioch (A.D. 512), who died in exile at Alexandria in Egypt (A.D. 539). The author of the homily says he had the story from trustworthy persons. If Constantine, who reigned from A.D. 308 to 337, was really written to, and if the identification of Thomas Cana with the merchant Ketsôn of Qonya can with sufficient plausibility be established, we should have to shift Thomas Cana's arrival in Malabar to a period somewhat earlier than the generally accredited date A.D. 345, and the homily would contain proofs of the existence in India of Christians and of a bishop before Ketsôn's arrival at Kesanthos' capital, the name of which Qalonya, in the Coptic text, appears to be identifiable with Coulam, Quilon, the country of Philippoïs (Coptic text), where it was, being perhaps the country of the Pahlavas. I have translated into English the whole of Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira's study, and hope to publish it with the necessary comments as a contribution to the Thomas Cana episode.

During my journey in Malabar in 1924, on January 22, I picked up, close to Cape Comorin, at Kottar, a place long since famous for its Church dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the Mylapore legend of St. Thomas and the dead child, but attributed here to St. Francis Xavier. What led to the discovery was that among a number of statues of a remote past, which I got photographed that day, there were two strange figures, one a Brahman and the other an Indian judge. At my request the story was afterwards written out by the man who related it to me. I quote it here, as an instance of how this legend has travelled in South India in the same way as we have seen the story of St. Thomas and the log established at Quilon.

"The tradition is that there was a Hindu temple just behind the present Chapel. St. Francis Xavier used to say Mass at the door of the temple and to perform miracles. This the *pūjārī* (priest) did not like. His hatred became so great that he killed his own son and accused St. Xavier of the crime.¹ The saint performed a miracle in front of the magistrate, bringing to life the child, who confirmed the truth. The magistrate decided to give the temple itself and the land adjoining to St. Francis, who built the present Church in front of the temple, now gone. There are also two old statues in connection with this tradition."

I did not leave Kottar without telling my friends there how their story seemed to have been borrowed from St. Thomas and Mylapore. I did not, however, expect them to destroy their two statues.

¹ My reminiscences are that my informant said the *pūjārī* had hidden the body of the boy under the Saint's bed.

Stories of dead persons raised to life to prove the innocence of accused persons are not unknown in the lives of much later saints in the West. St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr, raised to life one Peter, from whom he had bought a village and who had died three years before, in order that he might prove to King Boleslas of Poland the Bishop's just possession of the lands. See the Roman Breviary, May 7.¹

After these comments we have but little to add to the Tamil account translated by the Rev. W. Taylor in *The South India Christian Repository*, 1837, vol. I. Madras, Church Mission Press, pp. 263-266.

[P. 263.] Brief notice and translation of a Tamil Manuscript, containing a Legendary Account of the Apostle St. Thomas, with his Miracles in Keraladesan, and at Mayilapur, or St. Thomé.--By W. Taylor.

In the process of investigating portions of the Mackenzie manuscripts, in charge of the Madras Literary Society, to which investigation I have at various times paid considerable attention, occasionally I have met with most curious traditional lore gleaned by Colonel Mackenzie's agents from among country-people, or wherever they could learn, or hear, any thing new or strange. Among others occurred a paper quite *sui generis*; being wholly dissimilar from the general nature and contents of those documents; but supplementary, apparently, to various notices which occur amidst those Mackenzie MSS. of the Curumbar, or wild people of Candapa Raja, a petty King or Chieftain, whose capital was Mayilapur, or modern St. Thomé, and other crude traditions concerning persons and places, distant or adjacent. Without feeling myself at liberty to print or publish any portion of this matter of my own accord, I yet suppose that there may be an exception altogether void of blame as regards the paper in question, because it would be irrelevant to objects contemplated by a solely Literary Society, and except to those persons who are intimately and anxiously concerned in the dissemination of Christianity in this country, it would possibly be thought little other than contemptible. The most zealous Christians will not regard the document as any authority, because they will readily perceive it to contain internal marks of fiction, and legendary construction. Still its existence in the

¹ In *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLI (fasc. 1 and 2), 1923, p. 137, I find in an article by A. Coulon, on "Notes d'iconographie chrétienne d'après des sceaux des Archives de Zurich": "In connection with the hagiography of the place [Zurich], let us mention St. Fridolinus, bringing before the King a dead man whom he had recalled to life to make him witness to the gift of a property which was disputed to his abbey of Seckinggen (seal of Henry of Widen, 'curé' of Glaris in 1277: fasc. V., No. 83)." Fasc. V refers to "Siegelabbildungen zum Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zurich" (1893-1920: 10 fasc.) published by P. Schweizer, Zeller-Werdmüller, and F. Hegi.

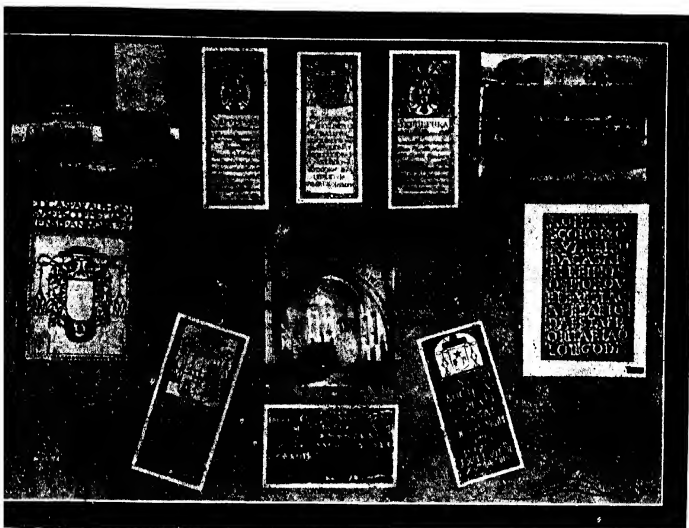
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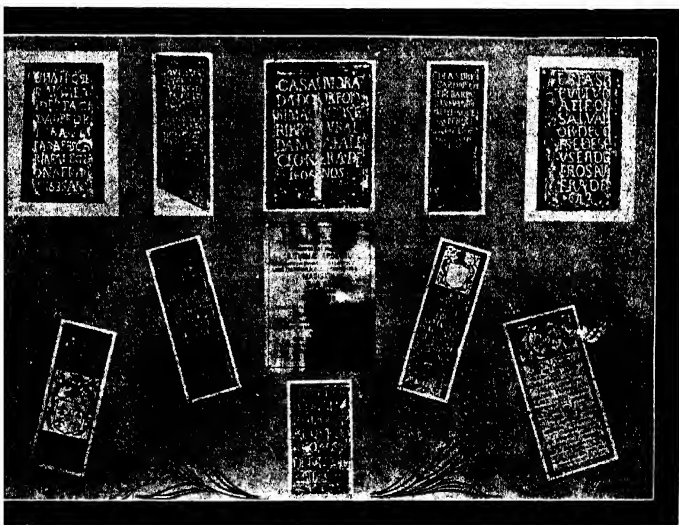
A.-- Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 9).

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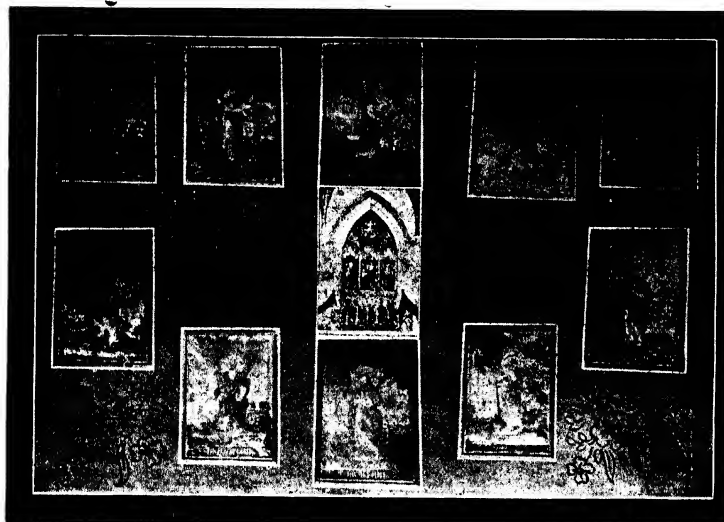
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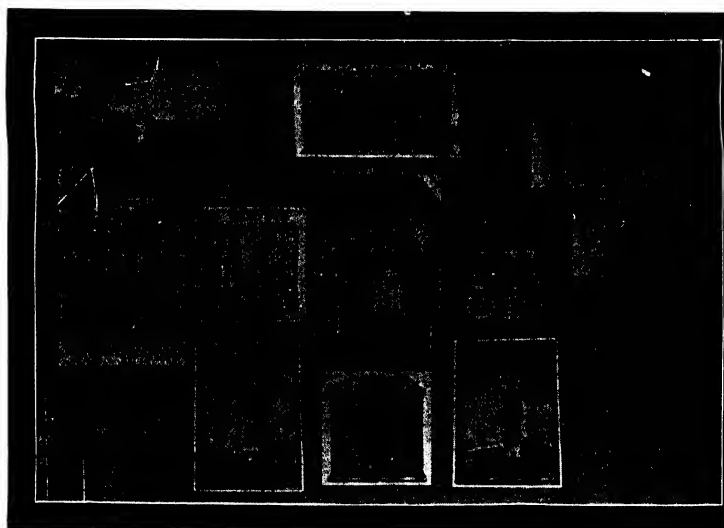
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B.—Photographs sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 7).

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Pictures sent to the Vatican Exhibition (No. 8).

place where it is found is a curiosity, and not the less from being, as represented, a translation from Latin into Tamil by a native Christian, a circumstance which, going back some years to the time when the record was entered among the Mackenzie MSS., might be thought as great marvel as any related in the legend itself, were it not remembered that heretofore the Jesuits of Pondicherry gave a superior education to some of the natives trained by them in the college at that place. Among those scholars, I suppose Nanapracasa Pillai may be numbered, and he probably took the narrative from some legend found in the college-library at Pondicherry. I have no decided knowledge as to any particular Latin authority or original, though possibly such may be known or discovered on publication. Without further introduction I here offer a plain and literal translation, made from a copy of the paper now before me.

[P. 264.] In connexion with the History of the King named Candapa, there is a special account of St. Thomas. This was translated out of the Latin language by Nanapracasa Pillai.

Candapa Raja ruled in Mayilapur. He was a perfectly equitable and very good prince. He was also learned, and a benefactor to the people. In his hall of audience books of religious law were constantly read and quoted, and being himself a Samunal (Bauddhist or Jaina), the teachers of that system were continually engaged in giving him explanatory instructions.

He built some places for worship. He gave many substantial tokens of honourable consideration to the votaries of Siva, and to the Siva Brahmans. As he was much attached to equity and beneficence, he was greatly beloved by his subjects. But the Curumba people of the Fort of Pattipulam Nerumbur, through hostility on account of religion, often joined battle against him, and fought in the plain of Payyanur. But though many were slain on both sides, victory was gained by neither party. Although he had many elephants, horses, and troops, yet (from not sending them first, but) from his advancing himself in the van at the onset he acquired the title of Viren (or champion).

In the days when this prosperous King Candapa ruled, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, having ascended to heaven, St. Thomas, according to the command just before then given to him, was appointed to the charge of the country of India. Accordingly after having preached the holy gospel, and made disciples, in various parts of Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, he landed at first in the Maleiyála country. Having travelled much therein, he at length came near to a palace of the Kérala raja and halted. Immediately on arriving there he heard the sounds of splendid music, and from wishing to satisfy himself as to what it was, he went directly to the public hall of the palace. On doing so, he was astonished at seeing dancers exert-

ing themselves, with certain musical instruments being performed on, and vocal musicians singing. As a stranger, and unacquainted with the customs of the country, these things were to him new and surprising. Being desirous of seeing more of the palace of the King of the country, he there remained. Soon after, one of the persons belonging to the palace, having charge of the interior, came up, and seeing the stranger, and from his appearance and inferior kind of dress judging him to be of low or vile caste, struck him a hard blow on the cheek. The stranger, though the blow was a severe one, received it with great patience; and, retreating forthwith, went away outside. The officer of the palace also went forth into the street, and thence aside for a particular purpose. But while there, a tiger that had pro-[P. 265] ceeded from a neighbouring mountain, seized and killed him. Thereupon, as if it had been a dog, it ran at full speed towards the palace having first bitten off the dead man's right-hand, and holding the same in its mouth, it carried the severed member into the midst of the King's assembly. The King, being astonished, eagerly made enquiry concerning the prodigy from the learned men about him: they replied that it must be the hand which had struck a servant of God. In consequence the King caused an investigation to be made among the bye-standers who were looking on at the exhibition. These having narrated what had occurred, the King was greatly astonished, and sending out many people, directed them to invite the stranger with all courtesy to his hall of assembly. The men having gone out and made proclamation, he (the stranger) came to them. The King then personally caused him with great civility of attention to be invited, and assured him of protection. Subsequently he instructed the King concerning the true God. The King gave instructions to the Brahmans to dispute with him. Among the Brahmans not one of them could successfully oppose him in argument. Whereupon the King, giving assent to the truth of his doctrines, granted him permission to plant and spread the Christian religion throughout his country, in consequence of which permission he converted one hundred persons to the Christian religion.

One day when some Brahmans were performing their evening ablutions in a river, he went near and entered into a discussion with them. At length he bid them cause the water with which they were performing their evening ceremonies to rise up even to the sun. They tried what they could do, and failing, they at last said to St. Thomas, "Is it possible to cause water to rise up to the sun?" Whereupon he looking up to the All-powerful God, first prayed, and then poured out water, which immediately rose and went to the sun. These Brahmans then embraced the Christian religion, and being ordained to the sacred office by the hands of Thomas, they

became spiritual instructors termed Casanayananars (Catanars?).¹

In this way having turned many hundreds of persons to Christianity, and having placed an inspector (overseer or bishop) in charge of them, he proceeded and came so far as to Mayilápur. He lodged there, in a Dévastánam (or place of worship), belonging to Mayilápur, and working many miracles, turned a great many persons to Christianity. Such being the case, the Brahmans, finding their religion to be losing its influence and authority, took counsel to effect by contrivance his being publicly hanged. To this end, when Thomas was asleep, the principal Brahman of that temple killed his son in the most [P. 266] sacred recess of the shrine, and then accused Thomas of the crime of doing so, before Candapa-rajá. The King caused Thomas to be called, and enquired into the charge. Thomas said, that if he had killed the child, that child on being interrogated by the King, would return no answer, but if he had not killed the child, then on being interrogated it would answer. Accordingly on the King calling out, the child rose up alive: and said that Thomas had not committed the crime, but that its own father had done so. The King was greatly incensed against the Brahman, and bestowing large praise on Thomas, took him under his protection. Besides, on giving him leave to dispute with the Brahmans, he always conquered in the discussion. The King then commanded him to disseminate the Christian religion, which command he also fulfilled.

It might seem superfluous to offer any remarks on this legend,² except that the existence of such a chieftain as Candapa-rajá seems tolerably well authenticated. It is yet disputed among the learned whether St. Thomas himself, or a later Thomas, a Christian from Syria, first disseminated Christianity in Malayalam. That it was early planted we have ample proof, and there is also evidence that the Christians in early time enjoyed very considerable immunities from the native princes of that land. On the question of the Apostle St. Thomas' labours and martyrdom at St. Thomé, and the adjacent country, I will not enter further than to remark, that within the precincts of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at St. Thomé, there is a plain old building of small size still shewn as being the heathen fane wherein the Apostle resided and taught, and wherein his tomb is still exhibited to the curious enquirer.³ In

¹ Only the footnotes are ours. —H. Hosten.

² These final comments have at times been taken as being those of the editor of the *Repository*. I take them to be remarks by the Rev. W. Taylor. Was he perhaps also the editor?

³ This reflexion that the tomb was originally the house of the Brahman who killed his own son out of hatred for the Saint, who had received the King's permission to occupy the site, is not to be found in any document, known to me, before the Portuguese accounts. It is common in the

like manner at the little Mount, there is shewn a stone said to have gradually formed from indurated clay, whereon are marks narrated to have been made by the feet of St. Thomas, when after crossing the Adiyar river, hotly pursued, he stepped with his wet feet on the clay and gave his pursuers an advantage.¹ Within the Church, on the rocky eminence, is a cave, said to have been hewed out by St. Thomas for his retirement and safety, into which he was followed; it has a square aperture window, in the very act of getting through which, they say, he was speared and slain.² Much, or all, of this is no doubt legendary fiction. The early ecclesiastical writers have however written enough to yield some ground on which to build the various legends that have been constructed. but beyond this remark it is not my present intention to advance further in the discussion.

At the risk of appearing extravagant, let me, by way of that further comment from which the Rev. W. Taylor refrained, quote here a letter which I wrote to a priest in Malabar some time in 1924. I tone it down in places, stress it in others, and enlarge it as fancy leads.

You are afraid that some of your old MSS. and accounts of St. Thomas may be found to contain inaccuracies? How do

Portuguese accounts, according to which the Saint was allowed to occupy any site where the miraculous log from Ceylon would stop, and it stopped, they say, at the place occupied by a *jogī*. The Saint thereupon made his house there, and there he was buried. Was the reflexion on which we comment suggested perhaps to the writer, as it was in older times, by the Hindu appearance of the structure covering the tomb, as the churches of the St. Thomas Christians before the Portuguese advent were built like the pagodas of the country? The Tamil writer also implies perhaps that the *devastānam* where the Saint lodged became the Saint's house. It would therefore have been the site of the tomb, and the Tamil writer would in this have been inspired by other accounts in which this is stated more explicitly. The notion that the site of the tomb is that of a heathen temple may not be dead yet at Mylapore. During some excavations made near the tomb this year (1923), when an Indian inscription was found which no one could read, one writer wrote to the *Madras Mail* to insist that the church was on the site of a Hindu fane. This writer would have been greatly puzzled if we had asked him at what time the place became Christian.

¹ Some sort of print, popularly taken to be the footprint of St. Thomas, is shown on the right side of the brim of the perennial spring at the top of Little Mount, Mylapore. Two other prints, one of his knees, the other of his hands or feet, I cannot now say exactly which, are shown under two small domes, within a few feet from each other, at the foot of the same Mount, on the east side. But, as all these seem to be merely natural formations, little attention is now paid to these points. They are valueless in an argument. The more so as certain prints existed at the time when the Portuguese first came to the place which have disappeared.

² The various stages in the development of the story of the cave at Little Mount will appear when the materials we have collected have been published. The question is full of confusion.

you judge of that? By the fashionable theories of the present time?

In 1662, Father Henry Roth, S.J., of Agra, took with him to Rome a Latin translation of a Syriac MS., which he may have obtained from the Jesuit Bishop of Cranganore. Now, Father A. Kircher, S.J., in his *China illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1667, quotes from that Latin translation what looks like an itinerary of St. Thomas. To me, formerly, it seemed to be the most absurd thing possible, but might we not begin to understand it? It is said there that St. Thomas went from Judea to Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Soldania (Sultania), a town in Persia, Candahar, Cabul, also called Calabór, Gavorstan (Kafiristan, in Afghanistan, where in 1627 Father Joseph de Castro, S.J., reported there existed a tribe, some of whom, having come to ask him to make them Christians, said they were descended from Abraham), Lesser Guzarat, Tibet (whence Father de Andrada, S.J., wrote in 1624-29 that he had seen crosses in the books of the Lamas of Toling and a strange cross with unknown characters painted in a temple at Tsaparang, near Toling, Western Tibet), Bengal, Maliapur (p. 91). This is a most astonishing account, describing less, perhaps, St. Thomas' travels than the regions where, according to Malabar or Edessan traditions, there had been Christians in the first centuries.

The Huns under Attila (A.D. 441-453) brought to Europe a White Christ. Who were the White Huns of India? Were they not the Rājputs (Royal Huns?), the Jāts (Getae), and the Gujrs, Guzrs or Gurz of Gujarat (the Georgians and Hyrcanians from Mount Caucasus and East of the Black Sea)? Eventually they were everywhere in India, and to this day the Rājputs at any rate are everywhere in India, only that their whilom near neighbours, the Armenians, now hold first place as merchants where they had held it as warriors. From the symbolism on the coins of the White Huns (1st-6th century A.D.) and other data I suspect that some of them, the Hyrcanians or Georgians, were imbued with Jewish practices before the Christian era, that in the first centuries of Christianity they adopted Christianity to a certain extent, and that from them Hinduism may have borrowed some of its strange notions about Vishnu-Yesu, Krishna (Christ), Bhagavati (Mary?) and the Trimurti. That warrior-saint without a history, your St. George and our own St. George, riding on a white charger, spearing the dragon and saving the maid, is possibly the White Christ of the White Huns, the Saint of the Georgians, delivering the individual soul from the clutches of the demon.¹ In the Cathedral of

¹ What we say of St. George must be said with all possible reserve. The rider on the white horse (Apoc., VI. 2) lends little countenance to the theory, as he is represented otherwise. "And behold a white horse. And he that sat on him had a bow: and there was a crown given him."

Auxerre Christ is seen riding a white horse, and attended by four angels similarly mounted.¹ I am not without suspecting that Urghien, a Tibetan saint or god, might have been borrowed from a Hyrcanian or Georgian St. George.

Where is that Syriac book of which Fr. Roth took a Latin translation to Rome? There ought to be copies still in Malabar. Where? The most absurd legends may contain pearls of fact and truth.

The MS. goes on to say, or Fr. Kircher, quoting from some other source: "According to a trustworthy account it is said that, in the archives of the Maliapur Church, letters written in Syriac on a very old parchment are still kept, by which St. Thomas had called to the Council of Maliapur from Candahar, Cabul, Caphurstan, Lower Guzarat, and other neighbouring places Bishops consecrated by him in the said kingdoms" (p. 91).

I never heard of such a document for Mylapore in the Portuguese historians, and I do not believe that anything in Syriac, whether written on paper or parchment, and earlier than the Portuguese, was ever discovered at Mylapore by the Portuguese. Kircher may, however, easily have written Mylapore instead of Cranganore, on the opposite coast.

We are only beginning to find for India, I am afraid. China and Japan seem to hold clues for early Christianity at Candahar and Cabul, clues for Christianity among the Kushāns (my Georgians and other White Huns?), who carried it to Manchuria, Korea, China, nay Japan (?).

Might we not find these Georgians and perverted Christian notions among the Gurkhas of Nepal and Western Tibet? The coinage of Nepal deserves attention. The treatment of the eight-petalled lotus on the Nepal coins, and of the fleur-de-lis, a derivation of the lotus, is exactly the same as in the Christian art of your Malabar.² Some of these coins have a triangle resting on three balls,³ exactly as we find on an ancient Chinese vase, a baptismal flagon (?), which has, moreover, such Christian emblems as a cross, worshipped by two dolphins, and three rams' heads.⁴ Other Nepal coins combine an equal-armed cross with the swastika.⁵ All these Nepal coins are comparatively modern. Some, undated, with the legend *Śrī Mānāñka*, exhibit a lion, in front of whom there is a standard with ribbons.⁶ This lion with a banner ought to be compared with the coins of Armenia,

¹ Mr. E. A. Gordon, *World-Healers*, I. 39.

² V. A. Smith, *Catal. of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. 1, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, Pl. 28 facing p. 292, Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 28 facing p. 292, No. 7.

⁴ Cf. L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, seconde édition, Chang-hai, 1904, p. 194, fig. 183.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *Catal., op. cit.*, Pl. 28 facing p. 292, No. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 283, No. 2 under *Mānāñka*

which show the lion of Juda (?) and a staff surmounted by a cross (A.D. 1224-1269),¹ and with the present postage-stamps of Ethiopia, showing a lion, crowned with a triple crown and holding up in one of his paws, like our Agnus Dei, a cross-surmounted staff whence floats a streamer. V. A. Smith does not know what to make of the name of a King of Nepal, Aramudi, whom he places at the close of the 8th century.² Very mysterious too is the exotic character of certain ruined temples in Kashmir, notably at Martanda,³ built by Yaśovarman, King of Kanauj (c. A.D. 740).⁴ Mysterious too is the cruciform shape of many temples in various parts of India.

I have some notion that the labarum of Constantine was anticipated by some of the Bactrian Kings of Candahar,⁵ that α and ω were part of the symbols on their coins,⁶ and probably too $\chi\rho$ for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, 'anointed';⁷ for it would seem that the practice of anointing Kings on a sacring-stone was as common in India in early times as we know it to have been in Constantinople, among the Franks, in Spain, in Ireland, Scotland and England. The Kings of Calicut and Cochin fought for the possession of a sacring-stone,⁸ and Akbar, if not anointed on a sacring-stone, was however proclaimed from a stone still shown at Kalānaur, in the Gurdāspur District.⁹

I find a heart surrounded by flames on a Kushān coin bearing on the reverse the word *Sarwayāsa*.¹⁰ Whose heart? Buddha's or Christ's? What must we think too of that bronze statuette from Taxila representing a child with graceful looks hanging down on his shoulders and holding the index of the right hand on his mouth?¹¹ Above his head a triangular peaked cap or niche holds a vessel. Is that Buddha again, or is it Christ, with the flagon of baptism to be used in the Triune Name, name symbolised by the triangular cap or niche? Christ, Wisdom incarnate, who would not speak until his time had come, the Bambino of Italian art? If that were so, the Kushān coins show many a nimbed figure with what some have taken for an ear of corn.¹² Who are they? Mere Kings? Might not

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, I (1874), p. 44.

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1908, p. 344.

³ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 343.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *Catal., op. cit.*, Pl. VII, Nos. 46, 47, 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, Nos. 14, 15, 29, 30, 108.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, Nos. 46, 47, 48.

⁸ I find a tribe called Nagais in Circassia. (Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, Edinburgh, 1911, Pl. 29). Might not this name be compared with that of the Nairs of Malabar, sometimes explained as connected with the Nāgas?

⁹ V. A. Smith, *Early History*, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

¹⁰ V. A. Smith, *Catal., op. cit.*, Pl. XIV. No. 10 reverse.

¹¹ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (1922), Pl. XXXII, No. 86, and p. 647.

¹² V. A. Smith, *Catal., op. cit.*, Pl. XII. Nos. 8, 10, 14, 15, and p. 75 n. 1.

some coins of the Kushāns be religious medals, like some coins found on the China side? ¹ Nay, Christian medals?

The wooden churches of Norway and Sweden, mysteries of architecture in Europe, are some of them round like the Hindu temples of Malabar; they have multiple stories (seven?), and are in appearance like Chinese pagodas. How is that? Also the work of the White Huns of many clans?

I find traces of Christianity before the Portuguese from Sindh to Kanara, which formerly linked up through Calicut with the Christian settlements of Malabar and Mylapore of Coromandel. I find a Bishop in the Maldives in the 9th century and as late as Marco Polo's time (A.D. 1292-93).² We should find worshippers of the cross (the Śālivāhanas, Salwans, Saluns) all over the North of India, in Nepal, Kashmir, Western Tibet, thus linking India with China and Korea. They were heretics, Manicheans, Gnostics, whatever you like, half-Hindus, half-Buddhists, but at one time were they not in embryo Christians? We have still to explain that picture of a cross on a platform with triple step which Capt. F. Wilford obtained before 1808 from a Jat pilgrim to Benares,³ and strange pictures of crosses with a crucified figure used during an annual feast in Nepal.⁴ We have to admit or to refute Wilford's theories on Śālivāhana and the legends of his crucifixion which he quoted from Kashmir chronicles and the history of the ancient dynasty of Warangal.⁵ The deterioration and obliteration of Christianity in so many parts of India would not be stranger than the similar phenomenon in China, or in Malabar itself, where some Christian churches, according to a missionary writing about 1680 A.D., had become Hindu temples, where pictures of the Madonna continued to be worshipped. When the Portuguese came to India, Mylapore was in ruins. A Muhammadan kept a lamp burning before the tomb of St. Thomas.

The Catalan map of A.D. 1375,⁶ based apparently on much earlier materials, notes three Christian kingdoms in India, one near Colombo (Quilon), one near Diogil (Deogil, Dwaigir, Daulatabad, where it places a cross with double horizontal bar),⁷ and one in the direction of Coromandel. "Here reigns King Stephen, a Christian. In this land lies St. Thomas. Look for the city Butifilis."

¹ L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, op. cit., p. 159, fig. 170, (see also pp. 149-150 n. 3).

² Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1874), pp. 395-396.

³ *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), plate facing p. 124.

⁴ *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, t. LXXV, No. 1, Janv.—Févr. 1917, p. 34. Article by P. Saint-Yves, to be used with caution.

⁵ *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), pp. 27-126.

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), map at the end.

⁷ This cross is not shown on Yule's reproduction of the Catalan map, but see W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, p. 206.

There is little difficulty about Quilon, as the Christians in Malabar had a King or Captain of their own till the advent of the Portuguese. King Stephen ought perhaps to be placed at Warangal, Butifilis (by Yule changed to Mutifilis and identified with Mutapali, on the coast) being apparently its harbour of approach.

Less troublesome is the identification of Diogil with Daulatabad. But how could there have been Christians there? Perhaps not in A.D. 1375, but possibly several centuries earlier. Should we not identify it with Romogyris, *Ῥωμογύρις*, whither the Patriarch of Antioch still sent a Katholikos, according to the Archimandrite Nilos Doxopatrios, notary of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote (c. A.D. 1143) a history for King Roger of Sicily? ¹ Was not Romogyris the *giri* or Fort of the Rumis, of whom we hear from the Arab traveller Sulayman (c. A.D. 851)? Who were these Rumis? Why not Georgians, or people closely allied to them ethnographically? The Sabaio of the Deccan, at the arrival of the Portuguese, claimed connection with Rum and Saba or Sawa in Persia,² the place whence, says Marco Polo, came the three Magi. The Queen of Saba, visited by de' Marignolli in 1347,³ would have been his ancestress. In her kingdom was the Mount of the Prophet Elias, to be identified through the 'Cavo de Eli' of Fra Mauro's map⁴ with Mount Dolly on the Malabar Coast, between Cannanore and Mangalore. The Catalan map marks it as a Christian city.⁵ The Papal Legate, de' Marignolli, rode on her royal elephant, and she honoured him with a great banquet and rich presents for the Pope. Allied to the Kings of Deogir in 1292-93 was the Queen of Warangal, of whom Marco Polo speaks in such glowing terms as a most enlightened ruler.⁶ North of Deogir was Malwa, on whose undated coins we find on a triple step a cross with double horizontal bar, like a patriarch's cross, each extremity of the bars of the cross being triple-buttoned, fleur-de-lisé, as I take it.⁷

Once more who were these Rumis? Was not Prester John of India one, I mean the Prester John who about 1122-1145

¹ W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 163 n. 1.

² Cf. Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, I, 172 n. 1.

³ I take the chronology of P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., quoted in my bibliography, Pt. III. For de' Marignolli's text see Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 391-392.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 452.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II (1866), p. 451.

⁶ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 348, n. 1, where Rudrama Devi is said to have been the daughter of the Raja of Devagiri. Friar John de Montecorvino, later Archbishop of Khanbaliq (Pekin), possibly paid her a visit in 1392, for after speaking of Siu Simmoncota (also read Giu Gimmoncota by Kunstmann), which Yule is inclined to identify with Samalkot, and which would have been in her dominions, he says, "the rest I have not seen." (Yule, *Cathay*, *op. cit.*, I, 216.)

⁷ V. A. Smith, *Catal.*, *op. cit.*, I (1906), Pl. 20, No. 5.

wrote a letter to the Emperor of Rum or Constantinople congratulating him on being a Christian too and boasting that St. Thomas' tomb lay in his dominions? Do we not come back in this way to the White Huns of the 6th century, and had they not a tincture at least of Christianity?

What supineness in Malabar! You had better burn what is left of your old books, if you fear you were not the only Christians in India so long ago, or if you anticipate danger from our raking up Christian infiltrations in Hinduism. What if the tenth *avalār*, that of Vishnu-Yesu, that of Kalki, of the White Horse, were but an echo of the White Horse of St. George and were the White Christ who is to come on the last day?

Naturally. I am afraid to give utterance in public to such theories; much of it may be mere dreaming, a mirage, which will vanish before the wand of competent wizzards, but some of it could be worked out more fully and made more plausible.

3. *A Hindu version of St. Thomas' death.*

Mr. P. J. Thoma gives us in *Indian Historical Records Commission: Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. VI, January 1924*, pp. 121-124, a "Hindu tradition on St. Thomas," which was first published in a Tamil Journal, *Samitren*, 1906, and then translated into French in the *Annales de la Société des Missions Etrangères*, Paris, 1906 (?). We republish the story here with our comments.

The author of the story must have been an inhabitant of Mylapore. Had he been a Christian, he could not, we think, have related the legends as he has done. To make St. Thomas die on the site of the Luz Church instead of at St. Thomas Mount or at the Little Mount is quite unexampled on the side of the Christians. On the strength of this observation, we call this a Hindu version of St. Thomas' martyrdom.

The earliest date we can assign to this composition is some time after the building of the Descanço Church, which appears to fall between A.D. 1650 and 1688.¹ If there had been an earlier church, of which we have no evidence, the date even so should be later than 1624, when S. Thomé was enclosed with walls and became a Portuguese Fort; nay, later than 1639, the earliest date when we might expect Madras to be mentioned. The latest possible date must be the end of the 17th century, when S. Thomé ceased having a Fort; for the writer refers twice to a Fort.²

The narrative has no value, except for determining the antiquity of some late-Portuguese legends, *e.g.*, about the Descanço Church and the Luz Church. The chronology is lamentable. In the mind of the writer Vikramaditya, the advent of the Portuguese (Firanghis), St. Thomas, and Kandapa Rajah appear to be contemporaneous.

[P. 122] In the days that Vikramaditya reigned in India, people from the land of the Firanghis³ came to us to trade. The city and country of Tiru Maiyilā⁴ was ruled in those days

¹ Cf. p. 128 above.

² The demolition of the Fort, begun in 1675, was completed in 1697. Cf. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, IV, 152, Col. 1.

³ Could the author have thought of the Roman traders of the 1st century of our era? It is much more likely that he thought of the Europeans (Franks) such as he knew, the Portuguese and other later foreign arrivals.

⁴ *Lit* : 'holy peacock.' If Mayilā could be used by the Indians as the name of the town, of which we have examples in European writers, the 'town' of Mayilā might have been Mayilāpur or Mayilāpattam at will. Hence Molofatan and Molepur, in Friar Jordanus (A.D. 1330), can be understood as applying both to Mylapore.

by Candappa Rajah, of the fishermen caste.¹ Among these Firanghis was one named Thomas, who, with his disciples, fixed his abode on our mountain.² He was also called "Saint Thomas," because he was consecrated to God and lived entirely detached from the world. So from that time Tiru Mayila has been called "St. Thomas Mount" or "The Mountain of the Firanghis."³ As Thomas was a foreigner and a Christian, the Hindus of high caste generally refused to have anything to do with him, but a certain number of the lower people⁴ embraced the religion of Christ, and through the love which they bore to their guru, Thomas, they came and settled in the lands near his dwelling-place.⁵

Sometime after this there was seen one day from the summit of the mount⁶ an immense piece of wood floating out at sea towards Madras.⁷ King Candappa hearing this ordered the fishermen to man their boats and to make for the castaway and bring it to land.⁸ Hundreds of fishermen obeyed the Rajah, but all their efforts were in vain. The Christians having told this to their priest, St. Thomas, the latter replied: "If the King desires, I will very soon put him in possession of the floating

¹ What authority had the writer to say that Candappa Rajah was of the fishermen caste, except perhaps that the Christian fishermen of Mylapore claimed him as a former king of the place and a Christian?

² This shows that the writer was from Mylapore.

³ The name first given to St. Thomas Mount by the Portuguese was Monte Grande, in contradistinction from Monte Pequeno, or the Little Mount. "St. Thomas Mount" should be later than the discovery of the Cross on the top of the Mount (A.D. 1547). "The Mountain of the Firanghis" should be later still. It must have taken some time before the Portuguese could settle peacefully near it, at such a distance from their base near St. Thomas' tomb. All through the 16th century they were very insecure near the church at the tomb, as the place was not walled in. At the end of the 17th century, Mylapore became English, and the gardens of the foreigners extended southwards from Madras to St. Thomas Mount. By what name was Monte Grande called before the arrival of the Portuguese? I could not say: but there was, it would seem, a place in Mylapore called by the strange name of Antinodor.

⁴ The writer seems to mean the fishermen, converts of the 16th and 17th centuries, though possibly there had been Christians in their caste in pre-Portuguese times. A large number of them were living near Madre de Deos Church at the end of the 16th century. They live there still, chiefly near their own little chapel of St. Lazarus.

⁵ A reference apparently to the 'casa' or 'house' of St. Thomas, i.e., the church near the tomb. Could our Malabar friends prove that it ever was called by them Beth-Tuma? Most of the commentators of the Arab traveller Sulayman (A.D. 851) try to get rid of the name Beth-Tuma. We might wish that some new commentator brought it back.

⁶ A mere flash of fancy.

⁷ The name 'Madras' is probably not known in European literature before 1639, when the English settled there and called it 'Fort St. George.' I had to be very patient when in 1921 I heard a Portuguese priest trying to derive it from 'Madre de Deos.'

⁸ A new feature: the fishermen and St. Thomas putting to sea to bring in the log.

wood." This offer was reported to Candappa Rajah. He sent for the man of God and asked him to do him this service. Thomas entered a boat, and, when he reached the spot where the flotsam was, he simply sailed round it and touched it with his holy hand, then returned to the shore. Then, wonderful to relate, the wood without being towed, started of itself and followed Thomas' boat as a dog its master.¹ Candappa Rajah could not contain the joy in his heart. Learning by this sign that the man of God had the power of miracles, he wished to attach him to his person and entrusted him with the education of his son.² So Thomas took possession of the apartments prepared for him by the Rajah in the fort close by his palace,³ and made use of the influence which his high station gave him to build several Christian churches, one of which still exists at Tiru Mayila in Fort Street⁴ and bears the name of Thomēyâr Cōvil (Thomas Church).

[P. 123]. The ministers of Rajah Candappa, much annoyed to see the prince himself and his son had fallen into the snares of the Firanghi priest, realised that they must oppose his designs by all possible means, as otherwise there would be an end of the Hindu religion in Tiru Mayila. At first they plotted all kinds of intrigues to oblige the man of God to leave the country and to force the Rajah to send him away. Their efforts in this direction were fruitless. They then conceived an atrocious plot and carried it into execution without delay. One day, as the prince was returning from his preceptor's house towards nightfall, they fell upon him unexpectedly and beat him to death. Then, running to the palace, they shewed the Rajah the inanimate body of the young man and said: "The teacher whom you have given to your son is more ferocious than the tiger of the jungle. He has beaten him so cruelly that he is dead. Behold!"

Candappa believed the words of his ministers and flew into such a rage that he ordered Thomas to be seized and put to death before his eyes. The holy man was led before the Rajah, who reproached him bitterly with his supposed crime. The saint

¹ No allusion to St. Thomas' girdle.

² The Saint as preceptor to the king's son is new.

³ We may remember how a nun at S. Thomé said that the palace of king Mahadevan (Mazdai) stood formerly on the site of St. Bede's High School, in front of the Cathedral. Naturally, that site was within the 17th-century S. Thomé fort. Cf. p. 180.

⁴ The name of this street would show that S. Thomé was still walled in when our author wrote. The European inhabitants, and perhaps the Indians too, are very punctilious in distinguishing between S. Thomé and Mylapore, at least Mgr. Ribeiro Vieira de Castro was (1921). He corrected me more than once. To the Bishop S. Thomé was the portion which had once been walled in. How is that to be made out now by a newcomer, after more than 225 years?

said : " I will restore your son to life : you may then ask him if it is I who murdered him. "

Saying these words, he spread his hand over the corpse and said : " Young man, arise. " As though awaking from a profound sleep, the youth rubbed his eyes and sat up. Candappa, mad with joy, pressed him for a long time to his bosom, then said : " O my son, whom I love as the apple of my two eyes, speak : who killed you ? " The young prince's only reply was to point his finger at the murderers : then he explained to his father the black motives that had driven them to the crime.¹

Canda Raja² had them all put to death, after which he and his son embraced Christianity. The Hindus of Tiru Mayila conceived a violent hatred of St. Thomas and determined to get rid of him at all costs. One day that the rajah was absent, they attacked the man of God and beat him severely. The saint, in order to save his life, fled and hid himself in the jungles of Sinna Malé (Little Mount). It is said that the Muni Bharadvāja³ was at that time living there and took the saint under his protection. What is certain is that a chapel was built at Sinna Malé (Little Mount) in memory of the event.⁴ An annual feast is still celebrated there and pilgrims are shown the impression of the feet of St. Thomas in the rock.

However, Candappa Rajah at last discovered the holy man's retreat and brought him back to the fort. But the hatred which the Hindus had conceived against the Christian priest soon blazed forth again, like a fire which has smouldered under the ashes, and they swore to put him to death. One day, whilst the man of God was at prayer, his enemies came in great numbers to seize him. He had only time to escape by a back door⁵ and, unknown to [P. 124] them, to take refuge in a church which he had built to the west of Tiru Mayila. On his arrival, as he was now very old, he fell down from fatigue. This church still exists : it used to be called " The Chapel of

¹ P. J. Thoma notes aptly (p. 123 n. 1) : " A similar tradition is recorded by the Portuguese historian de Barros (Dec. III, ch. 11 ff.) But the murdered boy was the son of the Brahmin and not of the king. And that very Brahmin was the accuser. " If our author was a Brahman, we shall not be surprised that the story was studiously planned in such a way as to avoid all reference to a Brahman here, as also in the account of the death, which is attributed to old age, fatigue and privations.

² P. J. Thoma (*op. cit.*, p. 127 n.h) notes that the king is called both Candappa and Canda.

³ Is that the name of the *jogī* whom, according to the narratives derived by the first Portuguese from the natives, St. Thomas ousted from his own shrine to build his Church instead ?

⁴ Yes ; but the writer did not apparently know of any Christian ' building ' at that place before the Portuguese erected a Church.

⁵ In the mind of the writer this would have been the back door of a building in Candappa's fort. No reference, therefore, to the cave and its aperture at Little Mount.

Exhaustion;”¹ it is now called “The Chapel of Rest.” The saint could not remain there long. The approach of his enemies forced him to flee. This time he went towards the north, where there was a very dense jungle,² not far from the sea. He succeeded in reaching it, but perished therein from fatigue and privations, to the great joy of the Hindus.

Now, some time after the event it happened that a ship from the land of the Firanghis was running before the wind during the night off our coast. The pilot on board was not thinking of anything, when all of a sudden he saw a strange light which rose from one spot on the shore up into the sky. Wishing to know the cause of this strange phenomenon, he landed and, followed by some natives, made his way to the spot where the light was shining.³ Now this place was the very place where Thomas had died. The pilot found the saint's bones and, as he knelt to venerate them,⁴ a voice from heaven was heard saying: “Thou shalt build a chapel on this spot; then thou shalt carry the relics of the saint to the land of the Firanghis, where thou shalt bury them.”⁵

Obedient to the command of the Deity, the pilot built on the very spot where he had found the bones a chapel, called to this day our Lady of the Woods, where pilgrims are still shewn the hair of the saint⁶ and some of his relics.⁷

¹ What authority had this man to say that the Descanço Church, “the Church of Rest,” was formerly called “Chapel of Exhaustion”? None other, we fancy, than that he thought the church commemorated St. Thomas' resting from exhaustion. *Descançar* means to rest after one is tired (*cançado*). For remnants of these fancies see pp. 126 (after No. 302), 143 (No. 376).

² Even to this day the Luz Church is commonly called in Tamil *Kattukovil*, “the Church in the forest.” Cf. *Report of the Fourth Centenary Celebrations. The Luz Church*, 1916, p. 7, and see pp. 6, 12, 16 for the idea that the place was formerly a forest.

³ This Hindu legend about the Luz Church should not move us to adopt the so-called Christian versions found in the little book just referred to. The contention should still be that the name of *Nossa Senhora da Luz* gave alone rise to the popular story.

⁴ The writer appears to think that the Saint had lain unburied there.

⁵ I do not see in this any allusion to the translation of the Saint's relics to Edessa. The fact that at the time the people of Mylapore did not know where the relics found in 1521-23 were secreted, would account for the writer's manner of speaking. There was a notion too that the relics or part of them had been taken to Goa.

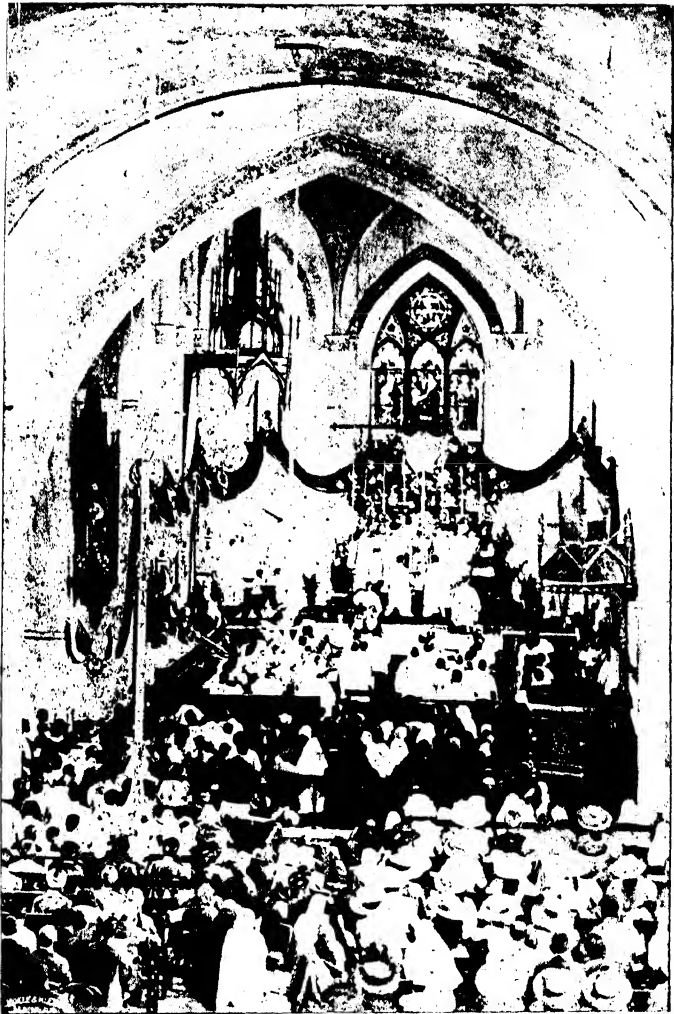
⁶ No such relic as a hair of St. Thomas was ever mentioned before for Mylapore. No such relic is known at Mylapore now. The reliquary at the Madre de Deos Church contains a hair of Our Lady; but would it not be too generous to suppose that our writer made a confusion?

⁷ I do not know of any relics of St. Thomas at the Luz Church. In Vol. 7 of the Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore, in a volume entitled: *Diocese de Meliapor. Correspondências pertencentes a este Bispado de 1788 a 1838*, the Provincial of the Franciscans of Goa, writing to the Bishop of Mylapore under date Oct. 30, 1788, settles the vexed question of the beginnings of the Luz Church.

“No anno de 1540 o Padre Fr. Antonio d' Padrao ex-Custodio desta

Provincia de São Thome foi vizitar as reliquias deste Santo Apostolo na Cidade que hoje chamamos de S. Thomé. Aqui em bem pouco tempo reduzio a fé, e bautizou 1300 pessoas. Crescendo com exesso os bautismos chamou mais Religiozos [*fol. 44r*] desta Provincia, edificou para elles hum Hospicio com sua Igreja, e fabricou outra fora da Cidade, nesta sempre rezidio hum Religioso como Paroco." And he refers to the *Chronica Serafica da Provincia de Portugal composta por Fr. Fernando de Soledade*, tomo 3^o, parte 3a, livro 5^o, cap. 21. f. 559.

"In the year 1540 Father Friar Antonio de Padrão, ex-Custodian of this Province of São Thome, went to visit the relics of this Holy Apostle in the City which we nowadays call S. Thomé. Here he converted to the faith and baptised in a very short time 1300 persons. As the baptisms increased excessively, he called out more Religious of this Province, built for them a Hospice with its Church, and constructed outside the City another (Church), in which there always resided a Religious as Parish-Priest."



S. Thomé. Cathedral; view of the interior, on festive occasions.



Thomé. Cathedral. Stained Glass over above the High Altar. St. Th putting his hand into the sacred Side of Our Lord. (Modern).

4. *St. Thomas and the Hymn of the Soul.*¹

The Hymn of the Soul is found in some copies of the Syriac Acts of St. Thomas. The Saint sang it in prison at the capital of King Mazdai on the eve of his death. The explanation generally given is that it has no connection with St. Thomas, but is either anterior or posterior to the Acts and refers to the Christian soul in general. I shall explain it as referring to St. Thomas himself, thus making it one with the Acts of A.D. 220.

To understand the Hymn we should bear in mind three points :—

1. The Trinity, Gnostic, like the Acts, is: The Father, King of Kings; the Mother-Queen, or, in other parts of the Acts, the Spirit of Holiness, understood in a Gnostic sense, as a female deity, because of the feminine gender of the word 'spirit' in Syriac and other Semitic languages; the Prince, their Son, Jesus.

2. Jesus' brother, who sings the hymn, is Thomas, Didymus, the Twin, Jesus' twin brother, understood thus by the Gnostics with a rigour which, to us now, is baffling. In the Acts Thomas is continually mistaken for Jesus. Naturally so, if they resembled each other as twins will do, or if St. Thomas was an emanation or *avatār* of Jesus.

3. Other Gnostic teaching, also found in the Apocryphal Gospels: Jesus manifests himself at the age of five. The same for the singer of the hymn, a little child at the time when he is sent down from heaven in quest of the pearl. Since Thomas is Jesus' twin, it follows that Thomas was yet a child when he was manifested on earth. At this age, then, he is divested of the royal robe and mantle of divinity and is given from the royal hoard by his Parents a human form.

1. While I was yet but a little child in the House of my
Father,
Brought up in luxury, well content with the life of
the Palace,
Far from the East, our home,² my Parents sent me to
travel,

¹ I understand from Mrs. E. A. Gordon's *Asian Cristology*, from which (pp. 267-271) I take the metrical translation of the Hymn, that Prof. F. C. Burkitt is the translator and that he published it originally in his *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1904, pp. 212-223. There are a few variants in the translation published by Mrs. Gordon in her *World-Healers* (revised and enlarged edition), II. 404-407.

² Heaven.

And from the Royal hoard They prepared me a load
for the journey ;

Precious it was, yet light, that alone I carried the
burden.

2. Median gold it contained and silver from Atropatene,¹
Garnet and ruby from Hindostan and Bactrian agate ;
Adamant harness was girded upon me stronger than
iron ;²

But They took off the Robe wherewith Their Love
had adorned me.

And the bright Mantle, woven of scarlet, and wrought
to my stature.

3. For They decreed, and wrote on my heart, that I
should not forget it :

“ If thou go down and bring from Egypt the Pearl
the unique one,³

“ Guarded there in the Sea that envelops the all-swal-
lowing Serpent.

“ Thou shalt be clothed again with thy Robe and the
Mantle of scarlet.

“ And with thy Brother, the Prince, thou shalt inherit
the Kingdom.”

4. So I quitted the East,⁴ two Guardians⁵ guiding me
downwards ;

Hard was the way for a child and a dangerous journey
to travel ;

Soon I had passed Maishân, the mart of the Eastern
merchants ;⁶

Over the soil of Babylon then I hurried my foot-
steps,

¹ Atropatene is a part of Media touching on the Caspian Sea.

² The three first lines of this stanza describe poetically the attributes of our humanity.

³ The pearl symbolizes the soul of man, which Thomas is sent to redeem. Egypt may be taken figuratively for the world of sin and bondage.

⁴ Heaven.

⁵ Two angels.

⁶ A letter from Dr. J. Leveen, Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., British Museum (11. S. 1925) shows that Wright's rendering of Maishân is confirmed by the Syriac. At p. 239, Wright adds this note to the word Maishân : “The district between al-Basra and Wasit, with a chief town of the same name.”

Maishân (Perath-Maishân, or Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf) has no meaning in the story of St. Thomas, or if we apply the Hymn to the Christian soul in general. If Maishân is not a misreading of the copyist of the Syriac text for Mailân, Mylapore, or for Chushân, Shushân, which yields Chora, Chola, Coromandel, and therefore Mylapore, famous for its pearl-fishery in ancient times, I propose to take it figuratively for a place where Thomas first alights on his way from heaven to Egypt. The singer Thomas spurns the demons of the Babylonian wastes (cf. st. 10, line 5) and goes to the serpent by the sea (a shark ? symbolizing Satan) at Mailân Mylapore), the scene of his labours and death.

- And my companions left me within the borders of Egypt.
5. Straight to the Serpent I went, and near him settled my dwelling,
Till he should slumber and sleep, and the Pearl I could snatch from his keeping.
I was alone, an exile under a foreign dominion ;
None did I see of the free-born race of the Easterns.
Save one youth, a son of Maishân, who became my companion.¹
6. He was my friend, to whom I told the tale of my venture ;
Warned him against the Egyptians and all their ways of uncleanness ;
Yet, in their dress I clothed myself, to escape recognition.²
Being afraid lest, when they saw that I was a stranger,³
Come from afar for the Pearl, they would rouse the Serpent against me.
7. It was from him perchance they learnt I was none of their kindred ;
And in their guile they gave me to eat of their melean dainties ;
Thus I forgot my race, and I served the King of the country ;
Nay, I forgot the Pearl for which my Parents had sent me.
While from their poisonous food I sank in slumber unconscious.⁴
8. All that had chanced my Parents knew, and They grieved for me sorely ;
Through the land They proclaimed for all at our Gate⁵ to assemble --
Parthian Princes and Kings, and all the Eastern Chieftains—⁶

¹ I understand that it was not in Egypt, taken in a geographical sense, but at Mailân (Mylapore), the place of his last labours, that St. Thomas made the acquaintance of this youth so full of piety as to be called heavenly. If Mazdai, who killed St. Thomas, reigned at Mylapore, the youth would be Mazdai's son, Uzanes, baptised by Thomas, who made him a deacon on the day of his martyrdom.

² appeared like a man among men. ³ Heavenly.
⁴ Cf. considered essentially evil, would make Thomas lose 'caste,' contract sin and make him unworthy,

⁵ The gate of heaven, where, as in earthly Eastern cities, the affairs of state are represented as being discussed.

⁶ Angels arrayed in Parthian attire, as the custom of representing them is on the open-air crosses of Malabar.

There they devised an escape, that I might not perish
in Egypt,
Writing a letter, signed in the name of each of the
Chieftains.

9. "From thy Father, the King of Kings,—from the
Queen, thy Mother,—
"And from thy Brother,—to thee, our Son in Egypt,
be greeting!
"Up and arise from sleep, and hear the words of our
Letter!
"Thou art a son of Kings: by whom art thou held
in bondage?
"Think of the Pearl for which thou wast sent to
sojourn in Egypt.
10. "Think of thy shining Robe and remember thy
glorious Mantle;
"These shalt thou wear, when thy name is enrolled in
the list of the Heroes,¹
"And, with thy Brother, Viceroy thou'lt be in our
Kingdom."
This was my Letter, sealed with the King's own
Seal² on the cover.
Lest it should fall in the hands of the fierce Baby-
lonian demons.
11. High it flew as the Eagle, King of the birds of the
heaven;
Flew and alighted beside me, and spoke in the
speech of my country;
Then, at the sound of its tones, I started and rose
from my slumber;
Taking it up, I kissed it and broke the Seal that was
on it,
And like the words engraved on my heart were the
words of the Letter.
12. So I remembered my Royal race and my free-born
nature;
So I remembered the Pearl, for which they had sent
me to Egypt,
And I began to charm the dread all-swallowing
Serpent:
Down he sank into sleep at the sound of the Name of
my Father,
And at my Brother's Name, and the Name of the
Queen, my Mother.³

¹ Heroes: understand athletes, wrestlers, martyrs.

² The sign of the Cross?

³ In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.
We may notice that here the Son is mentioned before the Holy Ghost.

13. Then I seized the Pearl and homewards started to
journey.
Leaving the unclean garb I had worn in Egypt behind
me;¹
Straight for the East I set my course, to the light of
the Home-land,
And on the way in front I found the Letter that
roused me—
Once it awakened me—now it became a Light to my
pathway.²
14. Like a Royal Banner it gleamed on the road I
must travel,
And with its voice and leading cheered my hurrying
footsteps.
Drawing me on in Love across the perilous passage,
Till I had left the land of Babylon safely behind me,
And I had reached Maishán, the sea-washed haven
of merchants.
15. What I had worn of old, my Robe and the Mantle
of scarlet,
Thither my Parents sent from the far Hyrcanian
mountains,³

¹ The seizing of the pearl is effected by a martyr's death. In the *Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, an Edessan liturgy, martyrdom is described as a snatching of the pearl from the head of the Cross on Golgotha. We read: "The Athletes saw a priceless pearl at the top of Golgotha. . . . The blessed company of Athletes despised and scorned the world and its desires for the glorious pearl which is at the head of the Cross." Cf. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Cristology*, p. 225. Our poet would convey the same meaning through the conceit either of a shark-charmer binding a shark by his incantations and snatching the pearl, or rather of a snake-charmer charming a snake and robbing it of the precious stone or snake-stone which, according to Eastern folklore, is bred in its head. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. snake-stone.

We may think that, as Jesus remains in heaven and Thomas takes his place on earth, the form of Thomas' death for the Gnostics was crucifixion. Some of them said of St. Thomas that he was impaled; others, that he was pierced with a spear in the four members, which more clearly expresses crucifixion. The *Acts*, of which the poem forms part, says that he was speared by four soldiers on a mount outside the city, in which we have again an imitation of the Gospels. The Muhammadans still hold that, not Christ, but one like him, was crucified. Who, then, but Jesus' twin? Jourdain de Séverac, a Dominican Missionary in India (A.D. 1330), says of certain parts of Lesser India (i.e., India, from Sind down to South Canara) that there were sectaries who called themselves Christians, though they were not baptised and knew nothing of Christianity, yet to whom St. Thomas the Great was Christ.

² Like the pillar of fire guiding the Israelites out of the bondage of Egypt.

³ The Caucasus, Mount Imaus, the Himālayas, Mount Meru, Mount Kailāsh, an Indian Olympus, a Gnostic-Hindu heaven?

Brought by the hands of the faithful warders who
had it in keeping.¹

I was a child when I left it, nor could its fashion
remember,

But when I looked, the Robe had received my form
and my likeness.²

16. It was myself that I saw before me as in a mirror ;
Two in number we stood, yet only one in appearance ;³
No less alike were we than the strange Twin guard-
ian figures

Bringing my Robe, each marked with the Royal
escutcheon.⁴

Servants both of the King whose troth restored me
my Treasure.

17. Truly a Royal treasure appeared my Robe in its glory ;
Gay it shone with beryl and gold, sardonix and
ruby ;

Over its varied hues there flashed the colour of
sapphire ;

All its seams with stones of adamant firmly were
fastened.

And upon all the King of Kings Himself was de-
picted.⁵

18. While I gazed, it sprang into life like a sentient
creature ;

Even as if endowed with speech and hearing I saw it ;
Then I heard the tones of its voice as it cried to the
keepers :⁶

“ I am one with the Hero⁷ for whom I was reared by
my Father—

“ Hast thou not marked me,⁸ how my stature grew
with his labours ? ”

19. All the while, with a kingly mien, my Robe was
advancing,

Flowing towards me, as if impatient with those who
had brought it ;

¹ Perhaps the two angels who had accompanied him from heaven to Maishán and Egypt. They come to him now at Maishán with the robe. I take it that they meet him at Mailán, the place of his triumph.

² The robe had grown to his stature.

³ Jesus himself, his twin, comes dressed in the robe ; but the resemblance between Jesus and Thomas is such that Thomas does not recognise him as distinct from himself till he speaks.

⁴ Marked with the sign of the Cross (on the forehead) ?

⁵ The Son being the reflexion of the Father.

⁶ It is Jesus who speaks ; at least I understand it so.

⁷ “ Hero ” should be taken as synonymous with martyr.

⁸ We expect “ Have ye not marked me,” as Jesus speaks to the two angels bringing the robe.

I too longed for it, ran to it, grasped it, put it upon me.¹

Once again I was clothed in my Robe and adorned with its beauty,

And the bright many-hued Mantle² again was gathered about me.

20. Glad in my Robe, I betook me to the Gate of the Palace,
Bowing my head to the glorious Sign of my Father
that sent it.³

I had performed His behest, and He had fulfilled
what He promised :

So in the Satraps' Court I joined the throng of the
Chieftains—

He with favour received me, and near Him I dwell
in the Kingdom.

¹ The donning of the robe recalls the expression "to put on Christ."

² We hear of a robe and a bright mantle of scarlet (st. 2, ll. 4, 5), of a robe and a mantle of scarlet (st. 3, l. 4), of a shining robe and a glorious mantle (st. 10, l. 1); of a robe of varied hues (st. 17, ll. 1, 3), of a robe and a bright many-hued mantle (st. 19, ll. 4, 5). The dress consists then of a robe and of a mantle reflecting the colours of the rainbow or of the peacock's plumage. Was not this the reason why, as de' Marignolli wrote, St. Thomas was painted in the Indian churches dressed in a white shirt (a robe) and a mantle of peacock-feathers? In the Mārgamkali, a Malabar dance in honour of St. Thomas, peacock feathers are a conspicuous ornament. The dress of St. Thomas on the stone described at p. 4, No. 5, consists of a robe and mantle. Is not St. Thomas the Peacock-King of the Chinese pilgrims to India?

After going to press with the above, I saw M. R. James' *The apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, where at pp. 411-415, a prose translation of the Hymn of the Soul compares the Syriac with a Greek MS., the Vallicellian, and a paraphrase by Nicetas of Thessalonica. This prose translation is in many places less clear or less pointed. Bactrian (st. 2, l. 2) is 'the Kosani' (Kushāns?); Maishān (st. 4, l. 3) is 'the Mosani'; a son of Maishān (st. 5, l. 4) is replaced by "my kinsman, a son of princes (or an anointed one)"; Maishān (st. 14, l. 4) is "Meson (Mesēnē; Maishan)"; Hyrcanian (st. 15, l. 2) is "of Warkan." All considered, I think that, if Egypt and Maishān are explained figuratively, my explanation above may stand. Maishān is possibly the Mahosha, whence St. Thomas seems to have gone to India.

³ Thomas bows to the Cross decorating the gate of heaven.

5. *St. Thomas in the Mozarabic Breviary.*¹

1. Festum, Christe Rex, per orbem
Inluxit almificum,
In quo tibi confitetur
Cuncta cohors fidelium
Gloriam, persolvunt hymnum
Pro triumphis Martyrum.
2. Gloriosus, ecce, tuusque
Thomas Discipulus :
Cicatrices contractando,
Creditus est Dominus ;
Inter fratres gloriosus
Exstitit Apostolus.
3. Nuncius venit de Indis
Quaerere artificem :
Architectum, construere
Regium palatium :
In foro deambulabat
Cunctorum venalium.
4. Habeo servum fidelem,
Locutus est Dominus.
Ut exquiris talem, aptum
Esse hunc artificem :
Abbanes videns, et gaudens,
Suscepit Apostolum.
5. Traditur Regis ministris
Sanctus Dei Apostolus :
Eliophorum ingressus.
Suscepit convivio :²
Digna sui percussoris
Reddita est ultio.³
6. Rex, ut vidit et audivit
Insigne miraculum,

¹ I find the Latin text of the Mozarabic Breviary, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana (1775), in the Rev. Ch. E. Kennet's *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, Madras, 1882, pp. 23-28; also in Zaleski's *Les origines du Christianisme aux Indes*, pp. 338-343, and in Zaleski's *The Saints of India*, pp. 158-163. Not having Lorenzana, I am thrown back on the alternative of picking and choosing between the variants offered by Kennet and Zaleski.

² Kennet has: *convivis*.

³ This episode did not take place at Eliophorum, the capital of Gondophares, but at Sandarūk or Andrapolis, which we seek to identify with Cranganore.

Juvenes ut benedicat
 Supplicanter postulat ;
 Sic Baptismo candidatos
 Consecrat velamine.

7. Gundaphorus Rex Indorum,
 Iniquus et perfidus,
 Romanorum more sibi
 Voluit palatium ;
 Hujus opus construere
 Praecipit Apostolo.
8. Sed beatus atque sanctus
 Didymus Apostolus,
 Erogando Regis aurum,
 Construit palatium,
 Rutilum, coruscum gemmis,
 In supernis sedibus.
9. Carcere mox Rex Abbanem
 Trusit cum Apostolo.
 Gath, infirmus Regis frater,
 Migrat ab hoc saeculo ;
 Coelo ductus vidit dignum
 Fratrisque palatium.
10. Angeli expetunt Christo
 Ut resurgat mortuus,
 Gundaphoro reddat aurum,
 Emat aedificium,
 Et resolvat vinculatum
 Domini discipulum.
11. Illico surgens, exponit
 Sacrum Regi ordinem,
 In carcerem deinde petit.
 Ejicit Apostolum,
 Obsecrant undique fratres
 Veniamque criminum.
12. Nunc Thomas in campum vocat
 Populos Indianicos ;
 Lapidem ascendit altum,
 Corda mulcet gentium,
 Per Baptisma pollicetur
 Veniam peccaminum.
13. Indiam superiorem
 Visitans adgreditur :
 Dogma Christi praedicando
 Fundavit Ecclesiam,
 Infinita per Baptisma
 Consecravit millia,

14. Mira quippe, ac stupenda
Faciens miracula :
Sinticaeque restauravit
Corporalia lumina ;
Laticis perfundit unda
Illam et Mindoniam.
15. Christiana jam probata,
Regis uxor Treptia,
Regnum Christi concupiscens,
Respuit terrestria ;
Ulcerosus scaber
Ut sanetur postulat.
16. Precibus Thomae a Christo
Angelus dirigitur ;
Exiit in parte totam
Ulcerosam tunicam ;
Novae cutis indumenta
Vestivit corporea.¹
17. Templum Solis comminutum
Corruit cum idolo ;
Ac metallum pretiosum
Solvitur in pulverem.
Rex illius civitatis
Fugit cum Carisio.
18. Tunc sacerdos idolorum
Furibundus astitit,
Gladio transverberavit
Sanctum Christi martyrem,
Glorioso passionis
Laureatum sanguine.²
19. O beata inter omnes
Edessena civitas,
Quae pignus suscepit alium
Domini discipulum.
Ubi corpus requiescit
Cum honore conditum.
20. Inde cuncti te precamur,
Summi Patris Filium.
Mitte nobis de supernis
Invictum auxilium.
Ut credentes evadamus
Æternum supplicium.

¹ Kennet has : *corporeae*.

² The incident of stanza 17 and the form of the martyrdom are taken from the *Passio*. We may say that the whole hymn is modelled on the text of the *Passio*

21. Ut sub uno¹ cuncta cohors
 Conjuncta fidelium
 Te sequamur, te canamus,
 Te fruamur perpetim,
 Humili confessione
 Proclamamus² gloriam.
 Gloria Patri, etc.

Translation by the Rev. A. Westcott, M.A.,³

*Formerly Classical Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge :
 Principal of the S.P.G. Theological College, Madras.*

1. Thy gracious feast, O Christ our King,
 Hath dawned throughout the earth ;
 The hymns of praise triumphant ring ;
 Thy people hymn the martyrs' worth.
2. Amongst the brethren famous far,
 Thine own Apostle true,
 Saint Thomas, touched the sacred scar,
 And doubting not, his Saviour knew.
3. A herald comes from India's shore
 To seek a builder wise ;
 Searching in every market store,
 For cunning architect he spies.
4. ' My servant Thomas,' said the Lord,
 ' A faithful builder he.
 ' I give thee : take.' The gracious word
 Abbanes heard, and took with glee.
5. Thus, entering Eliophor, he stayed
 Of royal slaves the sport ;⁴
 But speedy vengeance was repaid
 To him who blows and insults wrought.
6. The king, astonished at the sight,
 His blessing humbly prays,
 And, clothed in holy garb of white,
 Is blessed with the baptismal grace.⁵

¹ Zaleski has: *sub una* in *Les Origines*.

² Kennet has: *proclamemus*.

³ I take this English translation from *St. Thomas, Apostle of Our Lord Jesus Christ, a souvenir of his feast*, Madras, 1917, pp. 20-23. For the fuller title of the book see p. 224.

⁴ Westcott notes: "Read *convicius* for *convivis*. I conjecture this textual emendation." Westcott misses the meaning. There is question of the marriage-feast at Sandarūk: hence *convivio* or *conviviis* should be the word.

⁵ The king asks for a blessing on the newly-married couple, his daughter and her husband, Pelagia and Denis of the *Passio*, whom St. Thomas baptises and consecrates to a life of virginity.

7. King Gundaphor, as Western prince
Craving a palace home,
Bids the Apostle build one, since
None skilled as he in arts of Rome.
8. But Didymus the blest, as prize
Winning the tyrant's gold,
Built him a palace in the skies,
Sparkling with heavenly gems untold.
9. Therefore, the saint in dungeon fast
The king confined amain ;
But Gath, the royal brother, passed
From earth, and saw that heavenly fane.
10. The angels pray that Gath may rise
From death, to pay the gold
To Gundaphor, and with the price
Buy house, and free the Apostle bold.
11. Forthwith, Gath rose at Christ's command
And sought the prison cell.
Set free the saint : and all the band
Seek pardon for their crime so fell.¹
12. Now Thomas summons to the field
The Indian people. "Cease,"
He cries, "from striving thus, and yield
A spirit meek and sue for peace."
13. Thence, preaching Christ o'er India wide,
He sped for souls to search,
And countless thousands in the tide
Baptising, founded Christ's true Church.
14. O wondrous miracle ! he gave
Her sight to Sintica,²
And poured the healing water's wave
On her and on Mindonia.³
15. The royal consort, Treptia fair,⁴
Plagued with an ulcerous sore,
For healing craved, longing to share
Christ's blessings, earth's not heeding more.
16. Hearing the blest Apostle's cry,
Christ sent an angel fair,

¹ The "*fratres*" appear to be Gondophares and his brother Gad only.

² Sinthice, Sintice, Sentice, a woman afflicted with blindness during six years, was the friend of Mygdonia. Her name is only in the *Passio*.

³ Mygdonia was the wife of Karish, King Mazdai's brother-in-law.

⁴ Treptia was the wife of Mazdai. Her name occurs in the following forms: *Tertia* (*Syriac*); *Tortia*, *Terentianê*, *Tertianê* (*Greek*); *Tertia*, *Treptia*, *Trepicia*, *Triplicia* (*Latin*). Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 7.

- And clothed the queen surpassingly
With soft new skin of beauty rare.¹
17. The sun's grim idol, prey to rust,
Falls down : the temple eke ;
The precious metals turn to dust :
Refuge the king and Caris seek.
18. The idol's priest with wrathful pace
Strode forth with gleaming sword,
And smote the holy martyr's face,
Crowned with the laurels of his blood.
19. Fair country where his body lies,
Edessa, city blest.
Within thy walls, an honoured prize.
They laid his martyred form to rest.
20. Son of the Father. Thee we pray
To send us from on high
Thy mighty aid, upon this day,
To save from endless misery.
21. Thee may we follow, and Thee sing
In joy for ever more,
Confess thee now, and as our King
All Thee with one accord adore.
22. All glory to the Father be,
All glory to the Son ;
All glory, Holy Ghost, to Thee,
While everlasting ages run.
- Amen.

¹ She asked of the saint to cure a leper, whom she found near the house of Mazdai's General, Sifūr. Westcott did not know the legends of the *Acta, de Miraculis* and *Passio*. Cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomæ*, p. 152 (*Passio*).

6. *St. Thomas' apparitions on his feast.*

Father G. Tachard, S.J., in 1711 alludes to St. Thomas' apparitions on the day of his feast (cf. *supra*, p. 154). This legend appears in the hymn below. It is first heard of in an account of a visit to Rome by a Patriarch of the Indies about A.D. 1122. We commented on it as fully as we could in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, N.S., Vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 153-236. Many of the statements of the Patriarch remain mysterious, if they have to be applied to Mylapore. We think, however, that our legend emanates from Mylapore or India: for another marvel mentioned by the Patriarch, the yearly receding of the water of the river at the time of St. Thomas' feast, is alluded to by de' Marignolli (A.D. 1348), who speaks of "the opening of the sea" and calls it a standing miracle.

The Saint may have been deemed to give himself Holy Communion to the faithful, if the practice was that the priest previously touched a statue of the Saint with the consecrated hosts. The Emperor Michael II. (820-829), writing of certain excesses of the image-worshippers, says: "Others place the Body of the Lord in the hands of images, from which it is taken by the communicants." (*Cath. Encycl.*, New York, VII. 668 b.c.)

1. Sancte Thoma, princeps mundi,
Fac me, quaeso, non confundi
Ob culparum gravitatem,
Fac me tuam dignitatem
Digne semper exaltare
Et devote invocare.
2. Christum tantum dilexisti,
Mori secum quod cupisti,
Dicens: Et nos gradiamur
Et cum illo moriamur.
Exquiris nec prius scitam
Viam, veritatem, vitam.
3. Non credendo Christi miris
Veram vitam experiris:
Tangendo humanitatem
Es confessus Deitatem.
Unde nobis fortitudo
Crescit et beatitudo.
4. Veritatem sic expertus,
Hinc fis Christi testis certus,
Magnus mundo praedicator,
Trium regum baptisator.

5. Commendaris Christi ore
Te fidelem servum fore.
Nam quod lucro acquisisti
Totum Christo attulisti.
6. Contemplator o coelestis!
Tu. in nuptiarum festis.
Semper coelum intuendo.
Nil edendo vel bibendo,
Tuae carnis es afflictor.
Castitatis benedictor.
7. Et ex donis thesaurorum
Pius pater egenorum
Es palatii fundator,
Fratris regis suscitator.
Ipsam regem sic repente
Acquiris cum sua gente.
8. Omnes aegros sic sanando
Transis unde praedicando.
Lanceis post perforaris
Et sic martyr coronaris.
9. Erroris tu es contemptor,
Perfidorum tu peremptor:
Nam nunquam in civitate
Qua jaces in veritate
Vivit quis haereticorum,
Judeorum, paganorum.
10. Digitis cum quibus Christi
Sacrum latus tetigisti
Sacramentum praebes dignis,
Denegando hoc indignis.
11. Et hoc fit in manifesto
Omni anno tuo festo.
Vere signum tale tuum
Nunquam fit per quemquam sanctum.
12. O mi princeps, tam praeclare
Praelecte, mihi care,
Quamvis sim peccator totus,
Tibi tamen sim devotus:
Te honoro teque amo;
Te requiro, ad te clamo.
13. Firma me in castitate,
Fide, spe et caritate;
Fac me Deo sic servire
Ne contingat me perire.
14. Duc per viam veritatis
Me ad vitam claritatis,
Statim cum amittam flamen.
Deus verus det hoc. Amen.

(Translation.)

1. Holy Thomas, prince of the world, grant, I beseech thee, that I may not be confounded because of the weight of my offences: grant that I may ever extol worthily thy dignity and piously invoke thy name.

2. Thou lovedst Christ so dearly that thou longedst to die with Him, saying: Let us too go forth and die with Him. Thou seekest what thou knewest not before: the way, the truth, the life.

3. Disbelieving in Christ's wonders, thou findest true life; touching His Humanity, thou confessedst his Deity, whence our strength grows stronger and our happiness.

4. Having thus discovered truth, thou becomest Christ's staunch witness, a great preacher to the world, the baptiser of three kings.

5. With His own lips Christ speaks thy praise, saying thou wilt be his servant true; for whatever thou gainedst, thou broughtest to Christ without reserve.

6. At the nuptial feast, O heavenly muser, thou eatest and drinkest naught; but, looking always up to heaven, thou afflictest thy body and blessest chastity.

7. With the treasures given thee, kind father of the poor, thou buildest a palace and raisest to life the king's own brother, and thus presently thou winnest over the king himself and his people.

8. Thus, curing all the sick, thou passest preaching everywhere. Next thou art pierced with lances and crowned a martyr.

9. Thou despisest error; thou destroyest unbelievers: for, in the city where thou truly liest, there never lives any of the heretics, Jews, or pagans.

10. With those same fingers with which thou didst touch Christ's sacred side thou givest to the worthy the Sacrament and refusest it to the unworthy.¹

11. And this happens openly every year on thy feast. Truly, such wonder chances to no other saint.

12. O prince of my heart, so gloriously pre-elected, and dear to me, grant that, though steeped in sin, I yet may be devout to thee. I honour thee and love thee. I seek thee and call on thee.

13. Strengthen me in chastity, in faith, in hope, and charity. Obtain that I may so serve God that from perdition I be saved.

14. By the way of truth lead me to the life of light, as soon as my last breath I yield. May God, sole true, grant me this boon. Amen.

¹ This may be based on a scene in the *Acta*; the hands of a youth, who received the Eucharist unworthily, withered up. Cf. Greek Acts, Act 6. James, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

7. Camoens¹ on St. Thomas and Mylapore

(From Burton's *Lusiads*, Canto X, 109-118.)

109. Here rose the potent city, Meliapor
 Namèd, in olden time rich, vast and grand :
 Her sons their olden idols did adore,
 As still adoreth that iniquitous band :
 In those past ages stood she far from shore,
 When, to declare glad tidings over the land,
 Thomé came preaching, after he had trod
 A thousand regions taught to know his God.
110. Here came he preaching, and the while he gave
 Health to the sick, revival to the dead :
 When chance one day brought floating o'er the wave
 A forest-tree of size unmeasurèd :
 The King, a Palace building, lief would save
 The waif for timber, and determinèd
 The mighty bulk of trunk ashore to train
 By force of engines, elephants and men.
111. Now was that lumber of such vasty size,
 No jot it moves, however hard they bear ;
 When lo ! th' Apostle of Christ's verities
 Wastes in the business less of toil and care :
 His trailing waist-cord to the tree he ties,
 Raises and sans an effort hales it where
 A sumptuous Temple he would rear sublime,
 A fixt example for all future time.
112. Right well he knew how 'tis of Faith aver'd
 Faith moveth mountains' ; will or nill they move,
 Lending a listening ear to Holy Word :
 As Christ had taught him, so 'twas his to prove :
 By such a miracle much the mob was stir'd ;
 The Brahmins held it something from above ;
 For, seen his signs and seen his saintly life,
 They fear the loss of old prerogative.
113. These be the Sacerdotes² of Gentoo-creed,³
 That of sore jealousy felt most the pain ;
 They seek ill ways a thousand and take rede⁴
 Thomé to silence or to gar⁵ him slain :

¹ Luis Vas de Camoens : born in 1524 or 1525 ; died, June 10, 1580 ; journey to India, 1553 ; began return trip in 1567 ; reached Lisbon, 1570 ; published the first edition of his *Lusiads* in 1572.

² Priests. ³ Gentoo, from the Portuguese *gentio* : pagan, heathen.

⁴ Counsel.

⁵ Get.

The Principal who dons the three-twine thread¹
 By a deed of horror makes the lesson plain :
 There be no Hatred fell, and fere² and curst,
 As by false Virtue for true Virtue nurst.

114. One of his sons he slaughters, and accuses
 Thomé of murther, who was innocent ;
 Bringing false witnesses, as there the use is,
 Him to the death they doom incontinent.
 The Saint, assurèd that his best excuses
 Are his appeals to God Omnipotent,
 Prepares to work before the King and Court
 A publick marvel of the major sort.
115. He bids be brought the body of the slain,
 That it may live again and be affied³
 To name its slayer, and its word be tane⁴
 As proof of testimony certified.
 All saw the youth revive, arise again
 In name of Jesu Christ the Crucified ;
 Thomé he thanks, when raised to life anew,
 And names his father as the man who slew.⁵
116. So much of marvel did this miracle claim
 Straightway in Holy Water bathes the King,
 Followed by many. These kiss Thomé's hem,
 While those the praise of his Godhead sing.
 Such ire the Brahmins and such furies flame,
 Envy so pricks them with her venom'd sting,
 That rousing ruffian-rout to wrath condign
 A second slaughter-plot the Priests design.
117. One day, when preaching to the fold he stood,
 They feigned a quarrel 'mid the mob to rise :
 Already Christ His Holy man endow'd
 With saintly martyrdom that opes the skies.

¹ The sacred Brahmanical thread.

² Fierce.

³ Bound in faith.

⁴ Ta'en, taken.

⁵ The legend of the log appears for the first time known to us in de Marignolli's account of Mylapore (A.D. 1348) ; the legend of the Brahman or *jogī* who killed his son is first found in the Portuguese historians, as narrated at Mylapore and known to the non-Christians ; it was however commonly known also in Malabar among the St. Thomas Christians.

The miracle by which St. Thomas resuscitates the son of a *jogī* is copied in most of its details from the Apocryphal Gospels, where it is attributed to the Child Jesus in somewhat different circumstances, and is told with even greater wealth of dramatic incidents. Cf. C. Michel - P. Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, I (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew), 143 ; (Gospel of Thomas), 175 ; II (Gospel of the Infancy, Arabic version), 54-56 ; (The Book of the Infancy, Armenian version), 183-188 ; 222-229 ; 249-256.

Rainèd innumerable stones the crowd
 Upon the victim, sacred sacrifice,
 And last a villain, hastier than the rest,
 Pierced with a cruel spear his godly breast.¹

118. Wept Ganges and Indus, true Thomé! thy fate.
 Wept thee whatever lands thy foot had trod;
 Yet weep thee more the souls in blissful state
 Thou ledst to don the robes of Holy Rood.
 But Angels waiting at the Parádise-gate
 Meet thee with smiling faces, hymning God.
 We pray thee, pray that still vouchsafe thy Lord
 Unto thy Lusians² His good aid afford.

¹ Here the martyr is first stoned and then pierced with a spear. Some of the Portuguese historians, other than Camoens, probably relate the story in this form. In the Malabar legends about St. Thomas there is one in which the Brahmans near Cranganore are represented as stoning St. Thomas and leaving him for dead. Cf. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas* p. 131.

² The Lusitanians or Portuguese.

PART V.

1. *Zādoē and the Monastery of St. Thomas in India.*

(*Ante A.D. 363.*)

What had we to think of the following, which went to prove the existence in India, about or before A.D. 363, of a monastery of St. Thomas?

"Yonān, the anchorite of Anbar, was probably a Cypriot by origin. If we are to believe the hagiographer Zādoē, 'a priest and solitary, the chief of the monastery of St. Thomas in the country of India, whose seat is fixed under the country of the Quatrāye, in Ceylon, the black island,' and who calls himself a contemporary of Mar Yonān, this holy monk would have met Mar Agwīn in Egypt."¹

When lived these three contemporaries, Mar Yonān, Zādoē and Mar Agwīn? "According to this truthful account, composed by Mar Michael, the companion of Mar Agwīn, this holy man [Agwīn] must have died on the 21st of Nisan 674 of the era of the Greeks, *i.e.*, in April 363."²

If these texts could be depended on, we had here one of the earliest witnesses to the existence of Christianity in Ceylon, a testimony by nearly two centuries earlier than that of Cosmas Indicopleutes, and almost contemporaneous with Mar John the Persian, who at the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) signed himself "John the Persian of the Church in all Persis and in Great India;"³ a testimony almost contemporaneous with the arrival of Thomas Cana in Malabar, the date of which, A.D. 345, a remarkably uniform date in the Malabar accounts, is embodied in the chronogram *Sōvāla*; finally contemporaneous with the travels of Theophilus the Indian (before A.D. 354).⁴ A century earlier, St. Thomas' relics would have been carried, whether wholly or in part, we cannot say, to Edessa.

¹ "Prêtre et solitaire, chef du monastère de Saint-Thomas, dans le pays de l'Inde, dont le siège est fixé sous le pays des Quatrāye, à Ceylan, l'île noire." Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persé*, p. 306.

² I was put on to this text by J. P. Thomas, in *A Hindu tradition on St. Thomas*. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., had discussed the text in *The Aloysian*, Galle, Ceylon, for 1917, p. 239, as I now find in Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., *A history of the Catholic Church in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1924, p. 9, n. 24.

³ Cf. Labourt, *ibid.*, p. 305.

⁴ *Act. Synod. Nicæn.* II. Can. 28; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II. 1079.

⁵ Mgr. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 188.—Cf. also Capt. F. Wilford, *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), pp. 71-72.

The date of an uninscribed cross found at Anuradhapura, an ancient capital of Ceylon, was therefore possibly two centuries older than Cosmas Indicopleustes, a conclusion which would have its significance for the date to be assigned to the similar crosses at Mylapore, Kottayam and Kādamarram.

The Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J., writing on *Early Christianity in Ceylon*, said of the passage we have quoted from Labourt: "The French text, which is a translation (probably literal) is obscure. Perhaps this Zādoē was once the 'Presbyter' stationed in Ceylon, and the Persian settlers were Qatrāye (from the Persian Gulf)."¹

The whereabouts of the monastery of St. Thomas over which Zādoē presided were not clearly stated. Was it Ceylon? We could not forget that, according to St. Gregory of Tours (c. A.D. 590), there was a monastery at the place where St. Thomas was first buried. This would have been Mylapore, and a monastery there would appropriately have been called "the monastery of St. Thomas," if St. Thomas died at Mylapore. Moreover, more than one linguist has blundered through the similarity between the oriental spellings of Silan, Ceylon, and Shola, Chola, Sora, Chora, Chosha, for Coromandel. Was Labourt justified in writing "Ceylon"? Why should Ceylon be called "the black island"? Many of the islands of ancient accounts are not islands in present geographical terminology. Had that 'black island' any connection perhaps with the much-sought Calamina?

I wrote to Col. C. E. Luard, the British Resident of Gwalior, who had offered to help me during his leave at Oxford in any difficulties I might have. The answer came from Dr. J. Leveen, Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., British Museum (11-8-1925). Labourt's rendering of the Syriac was incorrect. What he took to mean Ceylon actually meant 'below'. Another reading had 'near' as a variant for 'below'. The Syriac for 'black island' was 'gāzartā (island) ūkāmālā (black)'. As for Zādoē and his connections with India, he could not discover more.²

Ceylon, therefore, is discarded, and we are free to seek a black island somewhere in India, below or near which there was a monastery of St. Thomas. This may be Mylapore, situated below or near Karumaṇal, a village on the coast north of Madras, the name of which means 'black sand.' Europeans pronounce it

¹ Cf. S. G. Perera, S.J., *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, VIII. 190.

On writing to Fr. Perera, St. Aloysius' College, Galle, Ceylon, I was told (1. 7. 1925) that he had found the 'Qatrāye' were Persians. He could not recollect, however, the source of his information. He did not know either of any writer calling Ceylon "black island."

² For details on Mar Agwīn, see Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Cristology*, pp. 281-282; 292 n. 1; A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, s.v. Eugene (Agwīn), pp. 43; 110-111.

Coromandel¹ and this may be the very place which gave rise to the name Karamênê, Kalamênê, Calamina, the place where St. Thomas is said to have been martyred. Cardiva (Karativu), the 'black island' off the west coast of Ceylon, has little chance, when there is also Mylapore and Calamina to satisfy.

The expression "whose seat is fixed under the country of the Quatrāye" remains obscure. Is there question of St. Thomas' seat or see, or of Zādoē's? Assuming that the Quatrāye were Persians, and that the word 'seat' refers to Zidoē, must we understand only that Zādoē's seat (at Mylapore?) was subject spiritually to Persia, or that Persians ruled politically at Mylapore?²

¹ Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel.

² Dr. J. Leveen writes (10-10-1925):—

"Payne Smith in his *Thesaurus of the Syriac language* says à propos of *Ḳatrāye*:—

"*Ḳatrāye* (I translate the Syriac). *Catarei*, ad sinum Persicum, Hoffm. Pers. Mart. 4. *Eppiskūphe dhē-Ḳatrāye*, i.e. [episcopi] "Christiannorum in Catara seu Socotora insula commorantium." B.O. [*Bibliotheca Orientalis*], III. i. 133, 135, 151, qui Kataraye et Beth Katarye, ib. III. II, 564; *Catarani* eundem esse insulam ac Socotoram postea negat, dicens, "Cataraci diversi plane ab incolis Catarae s. Chartarae, quae urbs est Mesopotamiae, et a Bactrianis trans Oxum fluvium populis, et a Socotorae insulae habitatoribus," ib. 604. Dixerat enim *Gabhrīelā Ḳatrāya* e Catara Mesopotamiae oppido oriundum fuisse, ib. III. I, 97 not. 8; it. ib. 136, 632; addidit etiam h. in loco e *Ḳatrāya* s. Beth *Ḳatrāya* fieri *Baḳḱrāya* (Bactrianus), ut e Beth *garuaya* et e Beth *Zabhdai* formari *Bagarūaya* et *Bazabhdai*. Corrige igitur C.B.M. (Wr.) 53b. *Katrāya* "the Bactrian," revera Catarensis; et cf. C.B.V. III. 303, 304; exstat etiam Beth *Ḳatrāye*, Gest. Alex. Budge, 262, 10.

"The article adds that, according to the Lexicons the *Ḳatrāye* were the people of *Najrān*.

"I am afraid that the Syriac does not justify your suggested rendering of "whose see depends on Persia."

Here stops Dr. Leveen's note. My notes from Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, III. II, 740) show *Cotroba*, *alias* *Katraba*, *Katarba*, as synonymous with *Socotra*. Elsewhere (III. I. 632) he writes among *addenda* and *corrigenda*: "The Syrians also say *Catura* for the island now called *Socotora*; indeed, by prefixing an *s*, they call *Marcanda*, a town of *Bactriana*, *Samarcanda*, and likewise they say *Catura* for *Sacatura* or *Socotora*. Now, though the Nestorians were settled both in *Bactriana* and in *Socotora*, they seem to mean *Bactriana* rather than the island of *Socotora*, when they speak of *Catura*."

The *Pahlavas* seem to be coming back to South India. Prof. Ernst Herzfeld, on Nov. 17, 1925, claimed before the Royal Asiatic Society to have discovered inscriptions in old *Pahlavi* which would prove that the whole of North-West India was a vast province of the Persian Empire in the 3rd century, and governed by Persian officials. (Cf. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, Nov. 20, 1925.) This has its significance for the history of Christianity in India and Christian or Gnostic infiltrations. A vast Persian Empire in the North-West might have ruled in the ports of our West and East coasts.

2. *Mylapore priests in China.*

(A.D. 845.)

In the year 845, "the Emperor Wutsung published an edict, still extant, denouncing the increase of Buddhist monks, nuns, and convents, and ordering the destruction of 4,600 great monasteries, the 260,000 inmates of which were to return to civil life; 40,000 minor monasteries scattered about the country were also to be demolished, the lands attaching to them to be resumed by the state and 150,000 slaves belonging to the bonzes to be admitted to civil privileges and duties. The edict also directs that foreign bonzes who had come to China to make known the law prevailing in their countries whether of Tathsin or of Muhupa, amounting to some 3,000, should also return to civil life, and cease to corrupt the institutions of the Flowery Empire."¹

These foreign bonzes from Ta-tsin are by all regarded as Christian priests, even though their numbers, as large as all our Catholic Missionaries in India and Ceylon at the present time, are staggering and denote a proportionately large number of Christians.²

Which was the country called Muhupa? Pauthier (*de l'Auth.*, pp. 67-71) takes Muhupa for Ma'bar, *i.e.*, the Coromandel Coast of Southern India, and thinks that offshoots of the St. Thomas Christians are meant.³

Yule objects: "But it may be questioned whether the name Ma'bar as applied to a country of Southern India occurs so early by some centuries. The opinion of Gaubil, quoted by Pauthier, that the Mobids or Guebers of Persia were meant, seems more probable."⁴

We do not see how this explanation fits in with Yule's text which we have just quoted. A name of country is replaced by the name of a religious body, the Parsi fire-worshippers, about whose status in China and proselytizing efforts what do we know? Why should we not favour Pauthier's explanation,

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. xcv-xcvi. Father Gaillard speaks of foreign priests of Persia and Ta-tsin, to the number of 3000, of whom some were kept only in the two towns of Lo-yang in Ho-nan and of Si-ngan-fu in Chen-si. Cf. *Croix et svastika en Chine*, 2e éd., p. 140.

² Ta-tsin is Judea in the Si-ngan-fu inscription: "une femme vierge enfanta le Saint (the Messiah) dans la grande Ts'in." Cf. Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, 3e partie, pp. 35; 42.

³ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. xcvi n. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*—We are not moved either by Yule's referring to the slaughter at Khanfu in 878 of Magians, as well as of Muhammadans, Christians and Jews (*ibid.*, I. pp. lxxx; xcvi n. 1).

which would bring out the fact, to be supposed even in the absence of other evidence, that the Christians of China stood in the closest relations with India? Through India China seems to have obtained the Kushite or African priests whose names appear on the Si-ngan-fu stèle (A.D. 781).

We shall not disguise the difficulties which Sinologists have felt about the word *Muhupa*.

Father Hervieu had translated: "As for the Foreign Bonzes who have come here to make known the law current in their kingdoms, they are about three thousand both from *Ta-tsing* and from *Mou-hou-pa*. My order is that they return to secular occupations."¹

Bishop Visdelou wrote that *Tham-vu-gum* "reduced to the same fate [secularisation] more than 2,000 *Mu-hu-yao* (i.e., Bonzes or Priests) from *Taïin*."² That is what the History says, where it seems that the proper name of the Priests from *Taïin* was *Mu-hu-yao*. I do not know the value of this name: but, certainly it is not a Chinese name, and there is question here only of Bonzes. There were therefore in China many (*plusieurs*) *Taïinians* or Christians who had embraced the religious state."³

Father Havret comments on this as follows in a valuable note, his further treatment of the question having been prevented by his death.⁴

"Fr. Hervieu had read and translated 'foreign Bonzes both from *Ta-tsing* and *Mou-hou-pa*.' Fr. Gaubil (*op. cit.*, p. 226) corrects, 'Ministers of the religions of *Ta-tsin* and of *Mou-hou-fou*.' The *Kou-ueu-yuen-kien* writes this last character *po* or *fou*; and, as Fr. Gaubil has remarked, the same work, by enclosing the two expressions [follows a word in Chinese characters which must represent *Ta-tsin*] and [follows another word in Chinese characters which must represent *Mou-hou-po*] within a cartouche, has made of them geographical names. *Se-ma Koang* and *Chao King-pang* have suppressed the last character; instead we find in *Se-ma Koang* the character *lien* or *tien* (often confused with *yao*); such is also the version of the Annals, as also of the *T'ang-hoei-yao*. Gaubil concludes thus his notes on the Edict: 'It is at least very doubtful whether *Mou-hou-fou* is the name of a country. . . . It would seem that this name *Mou-hou* or *Mou-hou-fou* designated then the religion of the Persians, and that it was a name taken from a foreign language.' (*Hist. des T'ang*, p. 230.) It will be seen that this last explanation differs itself very much from Visdelou's.—J. Legge (*op. cit.*, p. 50), who writes *Mou-hou-pi*, does not dare to affirm what religion that was. 'We know,' he

¹ Cf. Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, 2e partie, p. 251.

² Some texts say 2000 and more; others, 3000 and more. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252n.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

⁴ See Havret, *op. cit.*, 2e partie, p. 252, and the preface of part 3, which was published fragmentarily by a confrère after Fr. Havret's death.

says, 'that there were then in China disciples of Manes, and other preachers come from Persia. The *Mou-hou-pi* were perhaps the Mohbeds or Guebres, fire-worshippers, whose representatives subsist in the Parsis, the descendants of the ancient Persians.—Finally Pauthier (*Le livre de Marc Pol*, p. 233 n. 10) identified boldly *Mou-hou-pa* with Malabar.¹—J. Edkins has pointed out to me very kindly a more plausible explanation of this word. The work [*follows a book-title in Chinese characters*] due to the Bonze [*follows a Chinese name*] (about 1270) would have given (39th K. fol. 37) the name *Mou-hou* to a Persian who brought to China between 620 and 650 the worship of Fire and that of the Spirit of Heaven [*follows a Chinese character*] and asked to establish a temple.' But it is more than doubtful that such be the origin of this denomination, which seems pretty clearly to be applied to a sect or to a dignity."²

When under the year 1286 Yule speaks of embassies to China from the kingdom of Mapacul he suggests that Ma'bar is meant.³ In his *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 321, he says that Ma'bar is mentioned in the Chinese annals as sending tribute to Kublai Khan in 1286. He appears to give us the text itself in his *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Quilon (p. 560): "Royaumes de Ma-pa-'rh. Parmi tous les royaumes étrangers d'au-delà des mers, il n'y eut que Ma-pa-'rh et Kiu-lan (*Mabar* and *Quilon*) sur lesquels on ait pu parvenir à établir une certaine sujétion ; mais surtout Kiu-lan..."⁴

Might not Muhupa, Maparh and Mapacul be identical? Or, if Muhupa and Maparh stand for Ma'bar, Maabar, might not Mapacul be a clear form for Mylapore, "Peacock-Town"? It brings us to the Mailappil (10th century A.D.) and the Mavilarppil (A.D. 984–1013) of South Indian epigraphy.⁵

Yule's identification of Maparh and Mapacul with Ma'bar is borne out by more recent researches. "Prof. E. H. Parker writes in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXVII, 1906, p. 196: "Regarding the Fandarâina country of the Arabs⁶ mentioned by Yule in the notes to pages 386, 391, and 440 of Vol. II, it may be interesting to cite the following important extract from chapter 94, page 29, of the *Yuen Shih*: In 1295 sea-traders were forbidden to take fine values to trade with the three foreign states of Ma-pa-r,

¹ Yule, as we saw above, quoted a work of Pauthier's in which *Mou-hou-pa* is identified with Ma'bar or the Coromandel Coast, not with Malabar. Did Fr. Havret misread Pauthier's *Marc Pol*?

² Havret, *ibid.*, 2e partie, pp. 252–253 n. 4. He refers still to the same question at p. 260 n. 5 (*ibid.*); but only a Sinologist can make out the meaning of a note sprinkled with non-Romanized Chinese words.

³ Yule, *Cathay*, I. (1866), pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

⁴ Text referred to c. 1280–90 (*ibid.*) and taken by Pauthier (*Marc Pol*, II, 603) from the Chinese annals.

⁵ See my p. 73, No. 118, *supra*.

⁶ On the Malabar Coast.

Pei-nan,¹ and Fan-ta-la-i-na, but 2,500,000 nominal taels in paper money were set apart for the purpose.”²

“In the *Yuen Shi*, ch. 94, fol. 11r, the ‘three barbarian kingdoms of Ma-pa-eul (Ma’abar), Pei-nan (corr. Kuinam, Coilam) and Fan-ta-la-yi-na’ are mentioned. No doubt the last kingdom refers to the Pandaraina of Ibn Batuta, and Prof. Pelliot, who gives me this information, believes it is also, in the middle of the fourteenth century, Pan-ta-li of the *Tao yi chi lio*.”³

Cordier points out that Muhupa was written in one place faultily Mubupa instead of Muhupa. He adds: “Pelliot writes to me that there is no doubt that it [Muhupa] is derived from *mu-tu hien*, and that it must be understood to mean [the religion of] the Celestial God of the Magi.”⁴ Must it? If *h* may be changed to *l*, may Muhupa not derive from Molepoor or Molefattan, *i.e.*, Mayilāpur or Mayilāpattam, as we shall show in another section?

Would it be too bold to seek a connection between a king of Eastern India, named Molopama, who sent embassies to China in 667-8, 672 and 692,⁵ and Molofattan, which Burnell would identify with Mylapore?⁶ To Friar Jordanus, at any rate, Molofattan and Molepoor were identical with Mylapore.

In an itinerary of St. Thomas, said to be derived from the Chaldean books of the Serra or Malabar, we find that St. Thomas went to Sokotra, to Melinde and Cafraria, to the kingdoms of Paces (Ampaza?) and Zarique (Mozambique?).⁷ This itinerary might mean only that in ancient times there were Christians there, not necessarily Copts and Abyssinians, but ministered to by priests from Mesopotamia, like those of Sokotra. Would not this explain the presence in China on the Si-ngan-fu stèle (A.D. 781) of the names of four Kushites, and might we not expect them to have belonged to a Mesopotamian-Indian clergy? The occurrence of crosses among the Wa-boni, and the Wa-nyika of the Sabaki river, in British East Africa, remains to be explained.⁸ We often hear of St. Thomas’ apostolate in Nubia.

When the Portuguese first came round the Cape, they met Christians at Mombasa and Melinde. Cf. *A Journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama* (1497-1499), transl. by E. G.

¹ Quilon, as the next quotation shows.

² Quoted from H. Cordier’s *Ser Marco Polo. Notes and Addenda*, London, 1920, pp. 119-120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. lxix.

⁶ Even Yule at times was inclined to identify Molofattan with Mylapore. Cf. Pt. V, section 8.

⁷ Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 12, liv. 3, c.4. (Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 272.)

⁸ Cf. L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2^e éd., p. 157.

The Sabaki river has its mouth at “Malindi.”

Ravenstein, London, Hakluyt Society, 1898. At Moçambique the Moors had brought thither two Christian captives from India (p. 24); they were Abyssinians, according to de Barros (*ibid.* n. 3); at Mombasa two Christian merchants came to them (p. 36) and at their house the Portuguese were shown a *carta* or paper with a picture of the Holy Ghost (p. 36); the Portuguese suspected that some men who had been cast into irons at the same place were Christians (p. 38); at Melinde, on April 15, 1498, they met four vessels belonging to Christians from India (p. 40); when these Indian Christians came on board, they knelt before an altar-piece representing Our Lady at the foot of the Cross with Our Lord in her arms and the Apostles round her (p. 44); they also cried "Christ! Christ!" and raised their hands and fired their bombards from their vessels when Vasco da Gama went to the town in his boats (p. 45).

The translator and annotator would have us believe that on all these occasions the Portuguese were mistaken about the religion of these people, and that they had to deal merely with Hindu traders from the Gujarât side. Even on the Gujarât side there may still have been Christian traders, as there were in Friar Jordanus' time (c. 1322.)¹

¹ Stanley in his *The three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* (from Correa's *Lendas da Índia*), London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, p. 137 n. 1, says these men were gentiles from Cambay, according to de Barros. Castanheda (*Hist. do descobrimento*, Lisboa, 1833, liv. 1, c. 9, p. 39) says the men met at Melinde were from Cannanore and wore long beards; an interpreter spoke to them in Arabic, which they understood a little; they hated the Muhammadans, but not eat cow's flesh. (Cf. also D. Köpke and Dr. A. da Costa Paiva, *Roteiro da viagem que... fez Dom Vasco de Gama em 1497*, Porto, 1838, pp. 46-47.)

3. *Usuard on St. Thomas in Furthest India.*

(*Ante A.D. 875 ?*)

The Patriarch of the Indies who visited Rome about A.D. 1122 had come from furthest India (*quae ultima finem facit.*)¹ We may compare with this manner of speaking some lines in Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae. 1794, p. 144: "Auctarium Martyrologii Usuardi, Lubecae et Coloniae editum, Idibus Julii, Bartholomæus in India excoriatus decollatur. Thomas in alia India, *in fine mundi*, transfigitur. Mabillon, T. III, actor SS. Benedictinorum :²

*Indiae de finibus ortus dat ubi sol
quae tenet arva Thomas."*

Usuard appears to have died about A.D. 875.³ If he is the author of the Auctarium, we might have for his time in this *in fine mundi* a consecrated geographical expression current among Syrian or Western writers and applying to Mylapore in the same way as the expression "St. Thomas in the sea"⁴ or "on the sea."⁵

The Syrian Breviary says of St. Thomas that he was buried near the sea, without mentioning the place by name, the name being too well known, we may think, to require mentioning. "In our Office for the feast of St. Thomas (3rd July) we have the following: In the Matins: 'Thomas was transfiged with a spear on the sea-shore in the land of India.' In the *Horae*: 'Glorious Apostle St. Thomas, who didst pitch thy tent near the sea, pray the Supreme Lord to make us enjoy (happiness) with thee in heaven.'"⁶ More explicit is Mar Solomon of Basrah (about A.D. 1222)⁶ and Amr, son of Matthew, about A.D. 1340. "His tomb stands on the peninsula Meilan in India," writes Amr. And the four Mesopotamian Bishops wrote from Malabar in 1504: "The houses as well of St. Thomas the Apostle . . . stand in a city on the sea named Meliapor."⁷

The expression "*quae finem facit*" used for one of the

¹ Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 186.

² *Sic*; with T. ul.

³ *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, s.v.

⁴ On the expression "St. Thomas in the sea" cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 180.

⁵ Letter of the Bishop (now Archbishop) of Ernakulam, Mgr. A. Kandathil, October 1, 1921, to the writer. "July 3 is considered here as the day of the martyrdom," the Bishop added.

⁶ See the fuller quotation from Mar Solomon in our next section.

⁷ For Amr and the four Bishops, see Mgr. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 96-97.

Indies by Usuard is applied by Abdias to one of the three Indies: "Indiae tres esse ab historiographis asseruntur.¹ Prima est India, quae ad Æthiopiam vergit; secunda quae ad Medos; tertia quae finem facit. Nam ex uno latere tenebrarum regio gerit, ex alio latere mare Oceanum."² Abdias' second India would be *India citerior*; his third India, *India ulterior*. In which of these two Indies he makes St. Thomas die, I cannot say, as I dispose only of the quotation above. I have reason to think that it is *India ulterior*. To later writers, such as Usuard, *India quae finem facit* would have been *India ulterior* comprising Ma'bar or Coromandel; it would have been the *India Superior* of Mazdai's capital in the *Passio*; the Upper India of Archbishop John de Montecorvino (c. 1292); the Greater India of Marco Polo (A.D. 1292-93) and of Jourdain de Séverac (A.D. 1322); and the expression of A.D. 1122, *India quae ultima finem facit*, would have been equivalent to *India in fine mundi*, and to *India ulterior, quae finem facit*, in which the second portion would explain the first. Ma'bar or Coromandel may, indeed, at all times have been considered a sort of *Ultima Thule* by people of the West. Few travellers from the West would venture further. Compare the saying in the *Her cunti Venetiis ad Indiam ubi jacet corpus beati Thomae Apostoli*: "For many reasons it is difficult for anyone to go further (than St. Thomas' tomb?). And few foreigners who go further return thence."³

Robert Kerr, quoting the Saxon Chronicle writes: "In the year 883, Alfred sent Sighelm and Athelstan to Rome, and likewise to the shrine of Saints Thomas and Bartholomew, in India, with the alms which he had vowed.' (Bartholomew was the messenger of Christ in India, the extremity of the whole earth.) The words printed in *Italics* are added in translating by the present writer, to complete the obvious sense. Those within brackets are contained in one MS. Codex of the Saxon Chronicle, in addition to what was considered the most authentic text by Bishop Gibson, and are obviously a note or commentary afterwards adopted into the text in transcription."⁴

Granting that the words in brackets are not part of the Saxon Chronicle, there remains that that India was considered to be *ultima* where St. Bartholomew had preached and where, if it was not thought that St. Thomas had a shrine, the

¹ This division of India into three Indies is an old one. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. India.

² Abdias, l. 8, c. 1, quoted through J. C. Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli*, Lipsiae, 1823, p. 113.

³ Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali*, Livorno, 1875, pp. 7-8.

⁴ R. Kerr, *A general history and collection of Voyages and Travels*. . . . Blackwood, Edinburgh, I (1824), Pt. I, Sect. IV; he refers to *Chron. Sar.*, edn. Gibson, p. 86, also to Harris, I. 873, and Hakluyt, V. ii. 38.

idea was at least that he had preached. This would apply to Southern India, Coromandel and the coast beyond, and we are brought back to the expression used by Abdias, the Auctarium of Usuard, and the Patriarch of the Indies.

The Auctarium of Usuard's Martyrology corrects or completes the note in a MS. of the Saxon Chronicle. The India where Bartholomew preached may have been the Southern India of Thomas, *India ultima*; Bartholomew is even credited with having preached in China; but the India where Bartholomew died was different from the India *in fine mundi* where died Thomas.¹

St. Isidore of Seville (died 636) writes: "Therefore, this Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes, up to the furthest eastern parts (*ad extremam orientalem plagam*), and there preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom. Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (Dec. 21).² We may note how the furthest eastern parts are here narrowed down to Calamina, a town of India. This suits once more Mylapore, the town on the sea of the Syrian Breviary.

¹ Amr, son of Matthew (c. A.D. 1349) writes: "Finally, he [Bartholomew] went over to the Indians and the further Sinae, and was flayed." Cf. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, III, Pt. 2, p. 5), who is incredulous about both India and China.

² Cf. Zuleski, *The Saints of India*, 139-140, and compare with his *Les origines*, 141-142, referring to *De ortu et obitu Patrum*.

4. *Mar Solomon on Mylapore.*

(c. A.D. 1222.)

Mar Solomon, who became Metropolitan of Perath-Maishān ¹ about A.D. 1222, says:—

“Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Juda. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians, ² and because he baptised the daughter of the King of the Indians, ³ he stabbed him with a spear and he died. Habbān, the merchant, brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Maḥlūph, a city in the land of the Indians.”⁴

This is the first text in which we find the name of Mylapore clearly mentioned in connection with St. Thomas. There is close similarity between Maḥlūph and Mylapore, and the words of Mar Solomon, even if he had not mentioned Maḥlūph, could have been understood only of Mylapore, as no place in India other than Mylapore was ever pointed out as St. Thomas' resting-place.

Why was opinion divided in Mesopotamia at the time of Mar Solomon? Why did some turn wistfully towards Mylapore? Was it because the relics of St. Thomas, said to have been at Edessa, had been removed to Chios about A.D. 1144? Or had Mylapore always been considered to possess at least some of the Saint's relics and to be the place where he was first buried?

Mar Solomon is not the only Mesopotamian Bishop who thus bears witness to the tomb of St. Thomas in India. Jeju-sab, Bishop of Soba or Nisibis, ordained in A.D. 1190, and alive in A.D. 1222,⁵ writes after (?) the loss of Jerusalem in A.D. 1187: ⁶ “If they [the Romæi or Greeks] boast that they have Jerusalem in the West, we answer that in the East we have

¹ Basrah, on the Persian Gulf.

² The Oxford MS. says: in India, and Sind and Persia. The latter words should have been translated apparently thus: “in Hind and Sind and Persia,” Hind and Sind meaning the whole of India, and Hind referring to Southern India.

³ Mar Solomon confuses the king of Sandarūk (Cranganore?), whose daughter St. Thomas baptised, with king Mazdai, who killed him, after he had baptised his wife, son, and sister.

⁴ Quoted from Mgr. Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 38, who refers to Mar Solomon's *Book of the Bee*, edited and translated by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, Vol. 1. Pt. 3, ch. xlvii, p. 105. The Oxford MS. says he was buried in India.

Dr. J. Levean of the British Museum informs me on August 11, 1925, that Budge does not note any other readings for Maḥlūph.

⁵ Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. 3, pars 1, p. 295.

⁶ My notes from Assemani say “after.”

Paradise, with which Jerusalem cannot be compared ; indeed. Christ sent to it the soul of the Thief;¹ he did not leave it at Jerusalem. If they rejoin that the body of Peter and Paul is with them, we too rejoin that among us Enoch and Elias are still alive in Paradise, and likewise too the souls of Peter and Paul, and of all the Prophets, Apostles and Saints. Now, souls are preferable to corpses and bodies. Besides, we too have what is not inferior to the corpse of Peter and Paul : namely, the corpse of the Prophet Ezechiel at Zaba, the corpse of the Prophet Daniel at Susan, the corpse of Saint Thomas the Apostle in India, of St. Thaddaeus in the town of Edessa, of Nathanael (that is of Bartholomew, as the Chaldeans think)² in Armenia, of the Apostle Saint Mari at Dair-Kona, and of very many others, whose names do not now occur to me.”³

Here then is an Eastern Bishop who, without referring to relics of St. Thomas at Edessa, simply states that St. Thomas lay buried in India.⁴ In what part of India ? Another Mesopotamian Bishop, his contemporary, Mar Solomon, answers for him: at Mahlūph.

The importance of these texts will not be underrated in future, we hope. W. R. Philipps was, therefore, mistaken when he said that there was no available evidence connecting St. Thomas with Southern India till we come to Marco Polo.⁵ Our two texts are fully seventy years earlier than Marco Polo, and they witness to a tradition existing, not only in India, but in Mesopotamia, where there could be no doubt about the meaning of India.

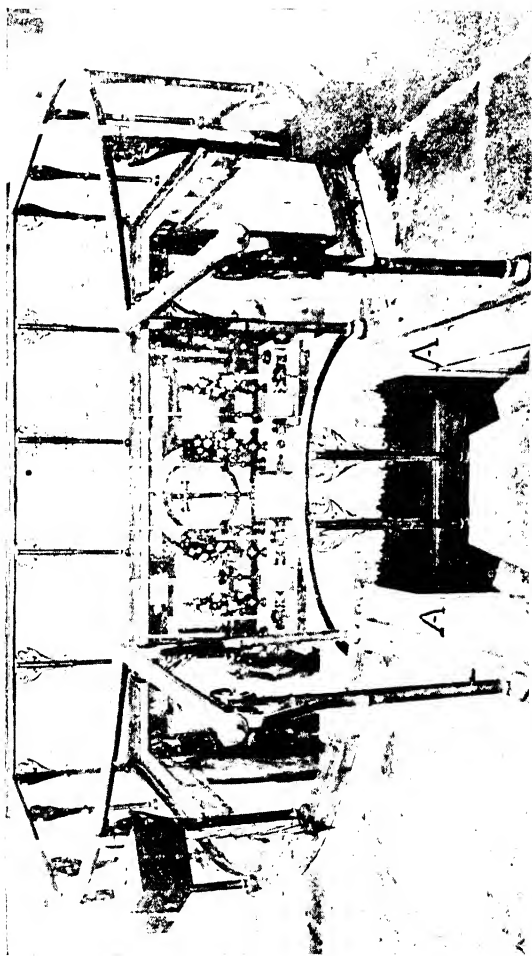
¹ The belief of the Nestorians, and probably of other Eastern Christians too, seems to have been that of the Jacobites. “They deny Purgatory, but have a theory which comes to the same thing. When good people die, angels take their souls to the earthly Paradise ; bad people are taken somewhere very uncomfortable, outside the inhabited world, till the day of judgement. Yet they pray already to saints.” Cf. A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 343, and *cp.* with pp. 138 ; 263 ; 427. Where was the earthly Paradise of the Nestorians ? Many seem to have located it in Ceylon.

² The words in brackets must be a note by Assemani.

³ Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, t.3, pars. 1, p. 306.

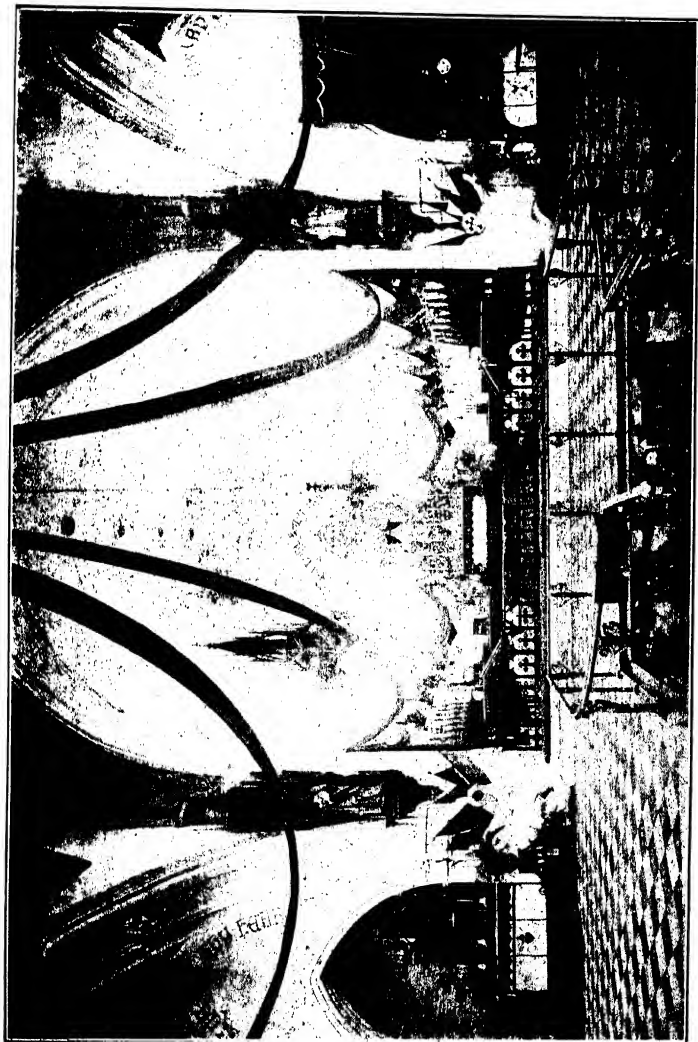
⁴ Jejudas places at Edessa the tomb of Jude Thaddaeus, in India the tomb of Jude Thomas. A bold theory, advocated in *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie* (Dom Cabrol-Dom Leclercq), *s.v.* Edesse, is that the relics of Edessa were those of Jude Thaddaeus, not those of Jude Thomas.

⁵ *Ind. Antig.*, xxxii (1903), p. 149.



S. Thomé, St. Thomas' Tomb. Cf. p. 92, No. 138. The grave proper is seen between A and A. It was opened by the Portuguese in 1521-23. Cf. p. 42, footnote 8.

Plate 24.



5. *Calamina*.

Some twelve years ago, when the Rev. J. Dahlmann, S.J., had published his book on St. Thomas, I wrote to him, Catholic University, Tokyo, to point out that in a study on ancient Indian geography by Capt. F. Wilford, published long after his death in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹ a river off the coast of Mekran was called Calamen. Was it not near enough to satisfy Fr. Dahlmann's theory? Was it too far from Karmania not to satisfy Mr. W. R. Philipps' Karmania? "Vain erudition! No pilgrim ever went to that lonely place or to Karmania in search of St. Thomas' tomb.

Calamina is Mylapore, as we have just seen, and all the old texts mentioning Kalamênê, Karamênê, Kalamitê, Kalamînê or Kalamina are witnesses now to Mylapore. If 'Mylapore' is not in many old accounts, it matters little. Neither did the old accounts assert that Mylapore was not Calamina. The pilgrims of East and West may have been unable to point out on a map the position of Mylapore or Calamina. They knew that St. Thomas died at Calamina in India. That was enough. When they came to India, the India of the Brahmans, they were shown the way to St. Thomas' tomb. It was Calamina. It was Mylapore. As a rule, our own medieval travellers from Europe do not speak of Calamina. They knew Calamina in India from the martyrologies and the texts in the Fathers. They went to Mylapore, just because Calamina and Mylapore were one and the same. If they had been convinced that Mylapore and Calamina were not the same, or if they had not been convinced that they were the same, they would have asked how St. Thomas' tomb at Calamina could be at Mylapore. They do not ask that question. When Sir John de Maundeville (1322-56) speaks of St. Thomas' tomb at Calamyê, he means Mylapore.

We may waive the date of Pseudo-Hippolytus,³ but we remember his Kalamênê, a city of India, where St. Thomas was buried;⁴ the same for Pseudo-Dorotheus,⁵ and his city in India called Kalamitê, where Thomas was martyred;⁶ the same for

¹ Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, XX (1852), p. 481, where Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., is quoted as placing between Cape Arubah and Cape Guadel the rivers Palamen or Palamate, and Calumeto or Calamen. For a change of *k* to *p* cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1893, p. 19.

² Mr. Philipps soon abandoned his theory. See *Ind. Antiq.*, 1904, p. 31, and Medlycott, *op. cit.* p. 100.

³ Hippolytus died c. 139: he lived and wrote in Rome.

⁴ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 145.

⁵ Dorotheus is said to have been Bishop of Tyre at the end of the 3rd century.

⁶ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 145.

Pseudo-Jerome¹ or Pseudo-Sophronius,² and Thomas' falling asleep in the city of Calamina in India ;³ the same for an anonymous writer, whose works were published with those of Œcumenius,⁴ and Thomas' falling asleep in the city of Kalamînê in India.⁵

An anonymous Syrian, a MS. of whose work in the British Museum is dated A.D. 874, says: "Thomas preached... in Inner India and taught and baptised and conferred the imposition of hands for the priesthood. He also baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians. But the Brahmans killed him at Qalimaia. His body was brought to Edessa and there it rests."⁶

We find Calamina again in a series of Greek lists of the Apostles, all anonymous, the dates of which may by and by be found to be respectably ancient; we find it in Syrian and Latin works, and Latin martyrologies of the 9th and 10th centuries, the authors of which we may safely think did not suddenly agree to invent it, but copied it, as conscientious historians cannot help doing, from earlier materials.⁷

What more do we want, after the other ample and clear testimonies of early centuries about St. Thomas' death and tomb in India? At the worst, names of places may shift; a tomb does not, and if he who was buried in it was some great one, his name will linger round it for centuries.

It is not my purpose to enter into a lengthy discussion of the many derivations devised for the name Calamina. The question is a subsidiary one, and always was.

There is little to say for those who argued that Calamina is the old city of Mylapore submerged by the sea, and that therefore it is useless to expect a survival of the name. If such a destruction were proved, which is not the case, it would be proved that St. Thomas' tomb and even the hill on which he was martyred are also destroyed. We have them still.

¹ St. Jerome died in 420.

² Sophronius was a friend of St. Jerome; but Sophronius of Jerusalem (633-637) is meant. Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 147.

³ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 146.

⁴ Bishop of Trikka, in Thessaly, about A.D. 990. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XI. 214c.

⁵ Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Medlycott gives the form Calamina here. Karl Heck (*Hat der heilige Apostel Thomas in Indien das Evangelium gepredigt?* p. 35) gives *Qalimaia*, together with the Syriac transcription from Brit. Mus. Cod. Syriacus 17193, fol. 80, in Dufresne Du Cange, *Chronicon Paschale*, Paris, 1688, III. cols. 9-10.—"The daughter of the king of the Indians" may be compared with Mar Solomon's similar statement at p. 303.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152 and note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161. Medlycott's reference to Jesubab's *Kalah* (A.D. 650-660) and his efforts to locate it are useless. There is no question of St. Thomas in the passage, but of the ancient Christian community at Quilon, or, to give way to Yule, of Kalah, near Quedda, for which we do not know of any such community.

Fr. A. Kircher, S.J., derives Calamina from *calur* (the stone) *mina* (on), and he states on the authority of Fr. Peter Paul Godinho. Rector of the Jesuit College of Cochin then at Rome, that the Malabar Christians, when asked where St. Thomas died, would say: "at Meliapor Calurmina," *i.e.* "on the stone at Meliapor."¹

Mr. T. K. Joseph observes hereon that the St. Thomas Christians, when asked where St. Thomas died, say: "Mayilāppūr Chinnamale," *i.e.* "at the Little Mount in Mylapore"; not "Mayilāppur Kallinnmēl," *i.e.* "on a stone at Mylapore," as Kircher and Baldaeus² suppose.³ It does not follow that the expression was not as asserted by Father Godinho about A.D. 1664.

Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo argues from a Tamil form *Callalmelnina*, *ex rupe, ex saxo*, "from the rock," on the supposition of the translation of the relics *ex rupe* to Edessa.⁴ This is fanciful. The body, if it was taken to Edessa at all, was not taken *ex rupe*, but from the tomb, the *Passio* stating that the body was taken to a church. The expression in the old authors is always that St. Thomas died at Calamina, never that he was carried "*Calaminā Edessam*," "from Calamina to Edessa." More wonderful is Paulinus' supposition that Malanina, "*ex monte*," became Calanina, Calamina.⁵ "And let those who deny the derivation of Calamina from this Indian word, show us in India, Persia, or Syria the town of Calamina," added the doughty Friar.⁶

T. K. Joseph again remarks⁷ that Paulinus' *Malanina* would represent, in old Tamil and old Malayalam, *Malayilninnu*, "from a mountain or hill," whereas the old Tamil and old Malayalam, for "upon a stone" would be *Kallinnmēl*, *Kallinnmēlē*, or *Kallinnmîtē*. All these last forms bring us remarkably close to the forms of Calamina: Kalamēnē, Karamēnē, Kalamitē, Kalaminē, Kalamina. The resemblance between *Kallinnmîtē* and Kalamitē is especially striking; and it is hardly necessary to seek for any other derivation, considering how the Malabar traditions insist that St. Thomas fell "on a stone"⁸ and was found dying "on a rock"⁹ at Chinna Malai, or the Little Mount, Mylapore.

¹ Cf. *China illustrata*, Amstelodami, 1667, p. 53.

² "Baldaeus' *Description*, etc., in ch. XX of Churchill's *Voyages*, etc., Vol. III, 575. (So in Hough's *Christianity*, I, 39, n. 3.)" Cf. *Ind. Antiq.* LIII (1924), pp. 93-97.

³ Letter of T. K. Joseph, Esq. (Trivandrum, 8-11-1925), to myself.

⁴ The *de Miraculis* supposes also that St. Thomas was buried on the mount on which he was killed. Cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, Lipsiae, 1883, p. 131.

⁵ Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 134-135.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁷ *Ind. Antiq.*, LIII (1924), pp. 93-97.

⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 356 of Thomas Ramban's song.

⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 362 of the same song.

Wilford wrote judiciously in 1808: "Calamina is a Tamuli denomination, and literally signifies *earth* and *stones*, alluding to the nature of the soil. It is synonymous with *Manapara*, which signifies the same thing according to F. Bartolemeo [*sic*], a missionary acquainted with both the Sanscrit and Tamuli languages: but I by no means conceive them to be the same place. *Cáli* or *Cálu* in Tamuli signifies a stone, or *Callou* in French, and *Mána* earth. Thus, Point Calymere, the true name of which is *Cáli-mèdu*, signifies the stony hill." Dorotheus "asserts that St. Thomas died at Calamita (*Cáli-mèdu*), which is synonymous with Calamina, or nearly so"¹

Many now would derive Calamina from Coromandel. Tod's *Kurn-māṇḍala* (realm of the Kūrūs) may be dismissed. 'Coromandel' itself for Chōlamanḍalam, Chōramanḍalam, Sōlamanḍalam, or kingdom of the Chōra, the *Σῶπα* of Ptolemy, the country of the Soli, form used in Ceylon, has a better chance. Does it account for the hard *k* in Kalamēnē, Karamēnē, Kalamitē? There should be no difficulty to those who admit the change of Chōramanḍalam, with a soft *ch*, to Coromandel without cedilla.² Such a change took place in post-Portuguese times, they should argue. A similar change may have taken place in earlier times, Chōlamanḍalam leading to Kalamina.

That would be a pretty argument already, though there is the objection that Kalamina in this case is a big country, not a town.

In 1906, Father Stephen, D.C.L., devised another explanation:

"The word Calamina, I suggest, is derived from the Syriac word *Galma*, a rocky hill, with *ona*, a diminutive suffix, meaning a rocky hillock. To all those who have seen the Little Mount this name will at once appear to be most appropriate. Is it not probable that the Little Mount was known under the name *Galmona* at the time the body was removed from there to Edessa by the Syrians?³ If so, the transition from *Galmona* to Calamina would be easily accounted for.⁴ The word *Galma* with the meaning *terra dura, lapidosa, massa informis*, occurs on page 73 of the *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum*, J. Brun, S.J., Beryti-Phaenicorum, 1895."⁵

This argument and chiefly the argument derived from

¹ Cf. *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), p. 78.

² Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel.

³ There was no reason to refer here to the translation to Edessa. Fr. Stephen, like Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, seems to imagine that the translation was from Little Mount to Edessa, instead of from the tomb at least three miles off.

⁴ Calamina is found in the Syriac writers too.

⁵ *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1906, Dec. 29, p. 512. Mgr. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas*, p. 217, refers to *The Cath. Herald of India*, 1908, p. 217, for the derivation of Calamina from Galmona, but I am told (26-9-1925) that the reference is wrong.

Kallinmîtê, "on the stone," might be strengthened. (1) Let us note the expression: "St. Thomas' fell down *on the stone* in the jungle on the sea-coast" in Thomas Ramban's poem of A.D. 1601. Thomas Ramban states, moreover, that, while passing Chinna Malai (Little Mount), St. Thomas was attacked and speared by one of the priests of the temple of Kālî, and that he was found dying "on a rock" near by. By 'stone' or 'rock,' therefore, he meant Little Mount. (2) A Flemish sailor, who was in India from November 2, 1502, to February 12, 1503, wrote: "Six days from Coloën¹ is a town called Lapis and near by is St. Thomas in the sea." The town of Lapis is further described as for the most part ruined, which was then the case for Mylapore.² The name Lapis, not a Flemish word, but apparently Latin, and then meaning 'stone,' refers clearly to Mylapore, and possibly to the Mount on which St. Thomas was slain. It might be objected, however, that this sailor missed the first syllable of the word Mylapore and wrote Lapis for 'Lapur'; but we may rejoin that he heard of St. Thomas "on the stone" (*Kallinmêl*, *Kallinmêlê*, *Kallinmîtê*) and translated 'stone' by *Lapis*. (3) Galmona would be a Syriac translation of the Tamil *Chinna Malai*, Little Mount, the scene of St. Thomas' martyrdom, according to Thomas Ramban and present Malabar traditions. A pre-Portuguese 'Chinna Malai' would naturally have led to the *Monte Pequeno* (Little Mount) of the Portuguese, in contradistinction from *Monte Grande* (le Grand Mont), our St. Thomas Mount. Somehow, the two mounts must always have been distinguished locally, and the simplest way evidently was to distinguish them as 'great' and 'small.'

M.R.A.S. objected to Fr. Stephen's derivation that, as Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount are both rocky hillocks, Galmona would have applied equally well to St. Thomas Mount. "Tradition," he writes,³ "also represents that St. Thomas' body was conveyed thence⁴ to Old Mylapore." We answer that the word 'tradition' is a much misused term. M.R.A.S. would have found it very difficult to prove that there is such a tradition, one not posterior to the finding of a Cross on St. Thomas Mount in 1547. The reason for a pre-Portuguese church on St. Thomas Mount escapes us. We may say, however, that the mount would have been a suitable position for a monastery, say Zado's monastery of St. Thomas (ante A.D. 363), and there is some sort of lingering belief that there existed a Nestorian monastery on St. Thomas Mount.⁵ Had the scene of St. Thomas' death been split up in pre-Portuguese days between St. Thomas' Mount and Little Mount, as it now is? In that case we should find traces of it in the Malabar traditions and in the Portuguese

¹ Quilon.

² Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, pp. 180-181.

³ *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1906, Dec. 29, p. 512.

⁴ From St. Thomas Mount, in A. M. R. S.'s opinion.

⁵ Cf. p. 138 *supra*, No. 357.

historians who wrote before 1547. I have not discovered any such traces, though it is true that even as early as 1523 the Portuguese were told of the ruins of a Church at St. Thomas' Mount that St. Thomas had had on oratory there as at the Little Mount. We know that Little Mount was considered holy ground before the Portuguese came. Its two ancient crosses, one near the fountain, the other at the entrance to the cave, prove it. It still had in 1600 the remains of an open-air cross. What name St. Thomas Mount bore before the Portuguese, we do not know. Its Indian name *Parangi Malai*, Mount of the Franks or Europeans, may be of post-Portuguese origin, and probably not earlier than the end of the 17th century, as we gather from Fr. G. Tachard's letter of 1711.¹

We have still to account for the name Antenodur, a curious name, with a Greek sound about it,² which is not now known at Mylapore.³ do Couto, who had visited Mylapore, says equivalently that it applied to the portion of the suburbs of Mylapore which comprises both Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount. "The Holy Apostle used to sally forth from the town (*poroação*), where he generally spent the greater part of the time in the conversion of the people (*das gentes = gentios?*), and to go and pray on a mountain about one league from the City, which at that time was called Antenodur, where he had two Oratories: one immediately at the entrance to the mount, where the Fathers of the Company now are, and which is now called the *Monte Pequeno* (Little Mount), which was a small cave hollowed out in the solid rock, in which he had made in the same stone a small Altar, where there must have been some Cross or Retable; and the other Oratory was further (*mais assima*), which we now call (P. 469) the *Monte Grande*, and where there is the House of our Lady, of which we shall speak presently. The distance from the one to the other must be little more than a *berço* shot."⁴

¹ Cf. my p. 156 *supra*.

² The ending *ur* is a common one in Tamil place-names.

³ I made enquiries at Mylapore in 1924.

⁴ Cf. do Couto, *Da Ásia*, Dec. 7, liv. 10, c. 5 (Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1783, pp. 468-469). A *berço* is a small ancient piece of artillery.

It is impossible to decide from the Portuguese text whether "which was called Antenodur" (*que se chamava*) refers to 'city' or to 'mountain.' The text makes no sense, if do Couto states that St. Thomas had two oratories on a mountain called Antenodur and if he next places each oratory on a different mountain. It is, however, what other writers have done, who speak even of two caves. Compare with Faria y Sousa: "It is the received opinion he [St. Thomas] was killed at Antenodur, a Mountain a League distant from the Town, where he had two Caves whither he retired to pray. The nearest [at Little Mount] now belongs to the Jesuits; the other is the Church of our Lady of the Mount [St. Thomas Mount]. He being one day at Prayer in the former, opposite to the Clift that gave Light to it, one of the Bramens, who was watching, thrust a Lance through that Hole in such manner that, a piece of it remaining in his Body, he went to the other Cave and there died, embracing

The name Antenodur occurs in one of two different European translations of a spurious Tamil translation of the inscription at St. Thomas Mount, which was made by a Brahman in 1561. do Couto's translation, Portuguese, says: "Then, when the same (St. Thomas) had gone up to the place of Antenodur, a Bragmane struck him with a lance,"¹ and we have to conclude that the Brahman translator meant St. Thomas Mount. Monserrate, who gives the Tamil text,² does not mention Antenodur in his Spanish translation.³ The Tamil words translated by 'Antenodur' appear to be *Antoni modor*, whatever the meaning be of these two words. Of course, we can argue to a copyist's mistake and a metathesis, and say that 'Antoni modor' becomes 'Antinodur' when *mo* of *modor* is suppressed. To conclude that the Brahman thrust into his translation a well-known name for St. Thomas Mount, say Antenodur, chiefly if the Portuguese had come to the conclusion that St. Thomas had died at St. Thomas Mount embracing the cross found in 1547, is more natural than to suppose that do Couto, writing in India, applied to the country comprising Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount a non-existing name. But did the Brahman not invent a name for St. Thomas Mount, which do Couto accepted and tried to explain?

In answer to my inquiries, my friends in Malabar say that the name Antenodur is not found in any of the Malabar materials known to them.⁴

We shall propose another derivation for Calamina. Bishop Caldwell had suggested that European traders might have taken the name Coromandel, without cedilla, from Karumanal, 'black sand,' the name of a village on the coast north of Madras, which is habitually pronounced and written 'Coromandel' by European residents of Madras. He gave up the suggestion later for Coromandel = Chôramandalam.⁵ Might we not return to Karumanal = Calamina, whatever be the case for Coromandel? Why was Zadoë's monastery of St. Thomas in India (*ante* A.D. 363) said to be below or near the 'black island'? Might 'black island' not stand for 'Karumanal,' 'black sand' island, taking island in its loose Eastern sense? Changes from

a Stone on which a Cross was carved." Cf. Col. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I. 293-294, quoting Stevens' translation (*The Portuguese Asia*, 1694). My inquiries on the spot failed to reveal a cave on St. Thomas Mount; but see my p. 138, No. 358.

¹ do Couto, *Du Asia*, Dec. 7, liv. 10, c. 5 (Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1783, p. 474).

² Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 207.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴ Mgr. Zaleski, *The Apostle St. Thomas*, p. 184, breaks away from all existing authorities when he writes that the soldier who gave St. Thomas the final blow asked for baptism and took the name of Antinodorus.

The name 'Antinodur' in Fr. Vincenzo Maria di S. Catharina da Siena, *Viaggio all' Indie Orientale*, Roma, 1672, Bk. 2, ch. 2, p. 137, as also the name Antenodur in Faria y Sousa has no independent value.

⁵ Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel.

r to *l*, from one semi-vowel to another, occur probably in all languages, all the more when words pass from one language to another. We get then Karumanal = Kalamina, 'black sand' island. Besides, Stephen le Moynes read Karamênê instead of Kalamênê in copies of Pseudo-Hippolytus.¹ And we have Qalimaia in a Syriac MS. dated A.D. 874.

Our explanation does not involve any passing from *ch*, *sh*, or *s* to *k*, nor have we a change from the *ô* or *ω* of Chôramanḍalam to *a*. We pass straight from Karumanal to Karamênê, Kalamênê, Kalamina, or to Qalimaia.

Karumanal, pronounced 'Coromandel' by present-day Europeans, revives the further independent question whether the European 'Coromandel' be not derived from Karumanal, thus making our 'Coromandel' the present equivalent of Chalamina.

Karumanal and Chôramanḍalam seem both to have influenced the post-Portuguese forms of Coromandel. Some forms would derive chiefly from Karumanal, *i.e.* the forms with the *k* sound.

Coromandel	1499	Hieronymo da Santo Stefano.
Coromandyll	1589	Mendoza (by Parker).
Coromandell	1672	Madras document in Wheeler.

Other forms, found till a late date with the soft *ch*, would come more directly from Chôramanḍalam.

Chiormandel (Cyromandel in Eden's

translation (1577)	1510	Varthema (Italian).
Choromandel	c. 1550	Mendez Pinto.
Choromandel	1553	de Barros.
Choromandel	1557	d'Albuquerque's Commentaries.
Choromandel	1610	Teixeira.
Chiormandelan	1675	Dutch Report.

We may doubt, however, whether some of these Portuguese forms were pronounced with the soft *ch* sound or with the *k* sound.²

Other forms, in which the vowel *a* predominates, lie between Chôramanḍalam and Karumanal.

Charamandel	1516	Barbosa.
Charamandel	1563	Garcia da Orta.
Chiararamandel	1589	Cesare Federici. ³

Yule-Burnell reflects that the ambiguity of the *ch*, soft in Portuguese and Spanish, but hard in Italian, seems to have led

¹ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 145.

² *Ch* is hard, in Spanish and Portuguese, in Greek and Hebrew words written with *ch* in Latin and X in Greek.

³ All these forms are taken from Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel.

to the "corrupt form Coromandel." This does not square with the facts, and dates. Why should Coromandel be called a corrupt form of Chôramandalam, except because Chôramandalam is presupposed to be the primitive form? How can the Italian hard *ch* have influenced the change from a soft *ch* to the *k* sound? Where were the Italians? The Italians and the Dutch must have pronounced on the whole like the Portuguese. We find *chi* in a Dutch and an Italian quotation. How is it that with the Portuguese so long at work here we do not now pronounce Choromandel with soft *ch*? Another supposition is that we owe the *k* sound to the Dutch; yet we find that Coromandel is anterior to the Dutch.¹ Why too do we find *ch* soft and *k* concurrently? Were not Karumanal and Chôramandalam operating simultaneously? Does not Karumanal survive in the hard *k* of our 'Coromandel,' and Chôramandalam in the ending?

Far away in the interior, in the Kôlar Gold Fields (Mysore), there is a place called Coromandel. If the name were derived from Karumanal, our discussion about Karumanal near Madras would be simplified: Coromandel, in the expression 'Coromandal Coast,' might, like Calamina, derive directly from Karumanal.

I wrote for information. The origin of the name Coromandel in the Kôlar Gold Fields is not met with in Rice's Gazetteer, nor in any work which my correspondent, Mr. R. Shama Sastry, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, is aware of. Mgr. E. Studer, Bangalore, writes that the village after which the Gold Mine Railway Station and Post-Office were named was first Balaghat; on account of the similarity with Palaghat in Coimbatore so many mistakes occurred that a new name, Coromandel, was tried, which is not related to any village in the vicinity. I returned to the attack when I discovered that one of the villages near Bangalore, visited from St. Patrick's Cathedral, is also called Coromandel.

Fr. Stephen's derivation from Galmona, has the disadvantage of passing through the Syriac, never the popular or vernacular language at Mylapore, no more than in Malabar. If there were Persian settlers at Mylapore, in the first centuries, should we not derive Calamina from some Persian word rather? Even then, not so, as Karamênê or Qalimaia for Karumanal, or (Kallinmêlê, Kallinmitê: "on a stone") would go back to the dominant language of the country, Tamil.

Mr. T. K. Joseph devises a quite new derivation, when he proposes to pass from Chinna Malai (Little Mount) to Calamina.

"The metamorphosis may be represented thus:—

- (1) Chinnamalai of Tamil softens into
- (2) Chinamalli in the mouth of Greek travellers.

By metathesis this becomes

¹ Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 345 n.

(3) Chilamani, quite naturally.

Ch becomes *K* and we have

(4) *κίλαμανη* in Greek, and again by metathesis

(5) *καλαμίνη*, in which form we find it in the Greek writers.

The mutation of *ch* to *k* (No. 4) seems natural in the mouth of European speakers. Cf. Chôlamandal = Coromandel Coast; Chêraputra = Kêrobothros.¹ Add the Indian change of Chêrala (old Tamil) to Kêrala.²

It is rather remarkable that, when it was thought that Calamina and Mylapore could not be identical, we discover a plethora of possible derivations, all taken from places in or near Mylapore. The reader will be embarrassed to choose :—

(1) Calamina = Mayilāppur Kallimêl, "on the stone at Mylapore" (Kircher and Baldacus);

(2) Kalamina, Kalamitê, etc. = Kallimêl, Kallimêlê, Kallimîtê ("on the stone");

(3) Calamina = Calmona ("the rocky hillock" in Syriae);

(4) Calamina = Coromandel, without intermediary;

(5) Calamina = Coromandel, through Karumanal ("black sand");

(6) Calamina = Karumanal, without intermediary;

(7) Calamina = Chinnamalai (Little Mount).

¹ *Ind. Antiq.*, LIII (1924), pp. 93-97.

² T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum, 8-11-1925) to myself.

6.—Gregory Barhebraeus.

(A.D. 1246-1286.)

“Gregory Barhebraeus¹ writes (*in Matthaicum in Horreum Mysteriorum*):—‘Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes and Indians, and was killed at Calamina, and his body was translated to Edessa.’ In his Syriac Chronicle we read: ‘Thomas the Apostle was the first Pontiff of the East. We learn from the book ‘Preaching of the Holy Apostles’ that, from the beginning, in the second year after the Lord’s Ascension, the holy Apostle Thomas had announced the Christian faith in the parts of the East (something seems to be missing here about Adaeus sent by Thomas to Edessa).² When passing thence, he set out for India, and preached to divers peoples, namely the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmani, Bactrians, Margi and Indians.’ He continues to relate that the guards of the frontiers of the Persian kingdom, whom King Ardascir³ had placed at the town of Tagritum, were by the same Thomas converted from the sect of the Magi to the faith of Christ. He calls their chief Barhadbeschiaba.⁴ He states further that, as the apocryphal Acts have it, he set out for India, baptised the king, his brother, and the chiefs, and was killed on a mountain by a heathen; his body was buried at Calamina and thence translated to Edessa. ‘The king therefore brought Thomas out of the prison, and he and his brother and many chiefs believed, and Thomas baptised them and began to preach the gospel freely; then he went up a mountain of India (*in montem Indiae ascendit*), to preach the gospel of God there; and when one of the heathens living on that mountain had pierced his side with a lance, he (the king baptised by him)⁵ carried his body away to Calamina and there buried it. Afterwards it was translated to Edessa and was placed in the great church built to his name, as the

¹ Original name: John Abū-I Fariūg; of Jewish descent; born in 1226; consecrated a Bishop in 1246, when he took the name of Gregory; the most notable of Jacobite writers. Cf. A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 330.

² Assemani’s reflection, no doubt.

³ Is this the Ardashir, son of Sapor, who began to reign in A.D. 374, or Ardashir, the founder of the house of Sassan, of the Sassanids, who began his rule in A.D. 227? Some will call this an anachronism. I do not demur; but we have cases in India where a proper name became dynastic, like the Sabao of the Portuguese, and continued long after the death of him that bore it first. In Barhebraeus’ case the name of Ardashir might have a retrospective application.

⁴ Cp. Yule, *Marco Polo*, (1874), 79-83.

⁵ Assemani’s addition?

worthy Constant, son of Lucas, relates,' the same whom Barhebraeus mentions in his *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 179." ¹

This text is a most precious link between past and present. It is thus far the nearest approach to the accounts we have of Mylapore since the days of Marco Polo from both European and Malabar sources.

The mount in India which St. Thomas ascended to preach and where he was killed might be Little Mount, Mylapore. The heathen who killed him with a lance on the mount is the fowler of Marco Polo, de' Marignolli and Duarte Barbosa. He is the Brahman of the Portuguese accounts, possibly the heathen priest (a Brahman ?) of the *de Miraculis* who beat him in the temple of the Sun, or the heathen priest of the *Passio* who killed him with a sword in the temple of the Sun, or one of the pagan priests (a Brahman then ?) of the temple of the goddess Kālī—as we have it in the Malabar poem of Thomas Ramban (A.D. 1601)—who "thrust a big spear into his breast"; the Brahman, whom a Brahman in 1561 falsely read into the inscription of St. Thomas Mount; the Indian with top-knot and sacred thread of the picture in St. Thomas Mount Church, who approaches the kneeling Saint stealthily from behind and runs him through with a lance.

We have reached the very crux of the question. The Portuguese accounts are only Syrian versions of an old theme, versions different from the Acts.

Barhebraeus does not know Mazdai and Uzanes any longer: he knows only Gondophares and his brother Gad. It is Gondophares who buries St. Thomas at Calamina. And a while ago Mar Solomon, Barhebraeus' contemporary, told us that St. Thomas lay buried at Maḥlūph (Mylapore).

Just so in Thomas Ramban's poem. Chosha Perumal and his "younger" brother live at Mylapore; it is for them that St. Thomas is to build the palace in heaven; they are converted; the King takes the name of Peter, and the younger brother becomes a Bishop named Paul; a cruel man among the priests of the goddess Kālī thrust a big spear into his breast and they all fled; St. Thomas fell down on the stone in the jungle on the sea-coast and was praying; angels made all this known to Bishop Paul who with the Perumal and attendants came in haste to the rock near the temple of Kālī and pulled out the spear from the wound; St. Thomas dies; "the Perumals amidst various kinds of music take the glorious body to the church with all possible solemnity and great veneration and deposited it there."

Gondophares is the Chosha Perumal; Bishop Paul, his younger brother, is Gad, and Calamina may be *Chinna Malai* or Little Mount, perhaps even Mount Gazi of Gondophares'

¹ Cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III, Part II, p. 33.

city of Elioforum in the *Passio*. Anyhow, we know now that, explain Calamina as we may, Calamina to the Syrians was Mylapore. And the two medallions on the stone at Mylapore, one of a bearded Persian King, the other of a beardless young prince, might after all be pictures of Gondophares (Kándapa) and his 'younger' brother Gad. When was that 'younger' brother imagined? These two medallions, thus explained, would date from the time when, the name and place of Gondophares' capital forgotten, Mazdai's name forgotten, Gondophares was transferred from North India to Mylapore, and Mylapore became the Elioforum of the *Passio*. Nay, it was enough that the name and place of Gondophares' capital should not be known. Indeed, no name is given, except in the *Passio*.

The peculiar version of St. Thomas' death in the *Passio*, his death by the sword at the hands of a priest in the temple of the Sun, may have been suggested by the very name Elioforum, Sun-God Town, though in its form Hierapolis it would come remarkably close to the Mirapolis of de' Marignolli (A.D. 1348) and the Mirapor of the Catalan map (c. 1375).

If the Gondophares of the Acts is, as we assume, the Gondophares or Gandhāra, the shifting of his capital Elioforum, which we think is noticeable in the *Passio*, must be extremely old, for the special version of the *Passio* about St. Thomas' death in the temple of the Sun-God is to be found in Aleuin (735-804), Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) and the Mozarabic Liturgy, and a somewhat similar scene is found in the Acts of Jude and Simon (4th-5th century).¹

In *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 30, pp. 260-505, R. Schröter published Jacob of Sarug's letter (A.D. 500-521) to the Hinyarite Christians of Najran. Among the notes at p. 586, Schröter speaks of a variant in Cod. Nitr. V (now numbered Cod. Syr. 117), verse 120, from which I gather that some one (either St. Thomas or Gondophares)² asked whether it was possible to build without foundations in the sea. Such a question would suit the Malabar legends about the King of Chosha's palace now supposed to be buried in the sea at Mylapore. It would not suit a palace built by St. Thomas at a town of Gondophares on the side of Sind, say at the height of Tatta, on the Indus; still less would it suit Gandhara. Had then the capital of Gondophares and that of Mazdai been fused into one as early as Jacob of Sarug?²

To think that-Gondophares, king of Northern India, was

¹ Cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, 1883, p. xvii; *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, I. 612d-613a.

² A passage in Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 6th edn., London, 1836, Vol. 2, p. 156, quoting Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Thomas, implies that Gondophares slew St. Thomas. Cf. W. R. Philipps in *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 155. Philipps did not, however, consult Ælfric's original text.

thus transferred to Mylapore and became Kándāpa Rāja, the King of Mylapore converted by St. Thomas, the Chosha Perumal of the St. Thomas Christians, the Perumal of Coromandel, whose name Christians and non-Christians bear, and whose exploits are recorded in the Mackenzie MSS. ! What then was Mylapore in the past ? What was the influence of its Christians, if their mistake became the mistake of the entire South of India ?

7. *Pope John XXII. to the Christians of Molephatam.*
(Avignon, 31st of March, 1330.)

Friar Jordan Cathalani, or Jourdain de Séverac, of the Order of Friars Preachers, for several years a missionary on the West Coast of India, chiefly on the side of Thana (Bombay Presidency),¹ was in 1329 made the first Latin Bishop of Columbum (Quilon). When about to set out again for the East (A.D. 1330 ?), he was the bearer of letters from the Pope to the Christians of Columbum, to all the Christians in India, to the King of Delhi, to the King of Columbum, to the Emperors of Cathay and Ethiopia, to the Catholics in the parts of the North and also of the East and chiefly in Cuneatana² and Gozarat and Lesser India,³ to the Christians in the Albors⁴ Mountains, to the Archbishop of Soltania⁵ and his suffragans, to the Christians of Molephatam, to the Lord of the Nascarini,⁶ and to the Nascarini of Columbum (Quilon). He and Bishop Thomas of Semiscant⁷ were also to take the pallium to the Archbishop of Soltania.

The Christians of Molephatam were those of Mylapore, as we shall prove in our next section. Here then is the Pope's letter.

[P. 28] *To the Christians living in Molephatam is com-
mended Jordan Cathalani, Bishop of Columbum.*⁸
31st of March, 1330.

To all the Christians living in Molephatam grace in the present, which lead to glory in the next.

With ardent zeal do we desire and with extreme yearnings do we long that all men, redeemed by the precious blood of the

¹ See his letter from Gaga (Goga), in Gujarāt, of October 12, 1321, and another from Thana, January 20, 1323 (1324 ?) in Yule's *Cathay* I (1866) pp. 228-230.

² Konkan. Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo* (1875) s. v. Konkan.

³ India from Sind up to Kanara inclusively. Friar Jordan's Great-
er India includes Malabar, Coromandel and the countries beyond as far
as Cambodia. His *India Tertia* is apparently Eastern Africa, south of
Abyssinia.

⁴ Elbruz, near and south of the Caspian Sea.

⁵ Sultanieh. "Pope John XXII. set up an archbishopric at
Sultānieh in 1318, in favour of Francis of Perugia, a Dominican, and the
series of archbishops is traced down to 1425." Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p.
49n. 3.

⁶ The Nazranis, as the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar were
called. ⁷ Samarkand.

⁸ This heading I take to be the work of Angelo Mercati, who edited
*Monumenta Vaticana veterem dioecesim Columbensis (Quilon) et eiusdem
primi episcopum Jordanum Catalani Ord. Præd. respicientia. . . Romæ,
Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, MCMXXIII, pp. 28-29, which I have trans-
lated in its entirety and whence I derive the letter in this section.*

Son of God Jhesus Christ, be illumined by the rays of heavenly grace, and that salvation, object of our wishes, be granted to souls, so that, eluding the wickedness of the old enemy ever seeking to do hurt, they may in the suavity of overflowing sweetness enjoy the glory of that heavenly bliss which man's intelligence cannot comprehend and which our Saviour promises to them that love Him.

What we consider even more deeply with constant care, what we thirst for more vehemently, what we beg with fervent prayers in the ardour of solid charity, is that among all those whom the water of baptism has regenerated the division of schism (*scissure*) may cease, the clouds of errors may not darken the brightness of faith, and the imitation of a detestable sundering (*scismatis*)¹ and the falsity of a sullied faith (*temerate fidei perfidia*) may not blind the mental eyes of such as believe in Christ and worship His name, but that, in oneness of orthodox faith, under one shepherd, and in the solid and untainted union of one flock, the one, holy, catholic, and universal Roman Church, not divided by any rent of schisms, may happily prosper and fruitfully succeed in the quest of that same glorious bliss.²

Therefore, we earnestly ask, advise, and exhort you all in the same Lord Jhesus Christ, beseeching you by the shedding of His precious blood, that our venerable brother Jordan Cathalani, Bishop of Columbum, a member of the Order of Preachers, whom lately we judged to be worthy of being promoted by the apostolic authority to the supreme dignity of bishop, and whom we thought of sending in person to your parts, there to be, as we hope, useful and successful in garnering into the Lord's barns the harvest of the nations of those parts, as also our beloved sons the Friars of the Orders of Preachers and of Minors, who live in the said parts³ or come thither, be regarded by you, out of reverence for the Apostolic See and for us, as specially commended, considering how the Bishop and Friars aforesaid come to your parts, not without great toils, crossing

¹ The division of our Lord's garments among the soldiery; for on the seamless robe they cast lots.

² The only Christians in India whom Pope John XXII. does not exhort to abandon schism for the unity of the faith are, "the Catholics living in the parts of the North and also of the East and chiefly in Concatana and Gozarat and in Lesser India," who lived "among infidel and schismatic nations." These Indian Catholics had doubtless been won over by Friar Jordan and other missionaries, and in addition to them we may think there were some Latins from Europe, Venetians, Genoese, etc., traders in spices and precious stones, and some of them even owners of ships on the Arabian Sea.

³ There was a Latin Church of St. George at Quilon in A.D. 1346. The Franciscan John de' Marignolli was there 14 months (from March 23, 1346, till July 1347) and he revisited it after his journey to the Queen of Saba. Of the Church of St. George he says: "And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 344.



A.—Medallion (A 28*b*) of a Persian King: Gondophares (?); or Mazdai (?); on the right of stone A 28. Cf. p. 8, No. 10.



B.—Medallion (A 28*a*) of a Persian Prince: Gad, Gondophares' brother (?), or Hsuan, son of Mazdai (?); on the left of stone A 28.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Detail of the four stones (A 4, A 3, A 4, A 7) with triangular base, showing fleur-de-lis and Maltese crosses within a rope-like circular border. Cf. p. 7, No. 8.

such long distances of sea and land, solely to collaborate with the work of God. Receiving them kindly and treating them with charity, turn more devoutly the ears of your intelligence to the sacred instructions which they will give you in the doctrine of the Catholic faith, and, driving away the errors of all schisms, conform your minds [P. 29] in all things to the one Catholic faith and to the authority of the Holy Fathers, as it will be of immense and greatest profit to the whole flock of the faithful that everywhere, among all the faithful rejoicing in the Christian name, one God, one faith, one baptism be held, the whole world professing with one heart the same belief.

Moreover, we return to you thanks for the services of great hospitality and pious charity which you have rendered to the same hitherto, receiving them in your hospices (*hospitiis*), treating them kindly and providing them with the necessary, and we beg the Rewarder of all good things that He, for whose sake you receive the ministers of His word, may illumine your minds with the light of truth, and, in return for the temporal favours you do them, reward you with the joys of eternal happiness.

Given at Avignon, the 2nd before the Kalends of April, in the fourteenth year.¹

Did this letter ever reach the Christians of Mylapore? We do not know. We do not know yet, either, whether Bishop Jordan ever sat on his seat at Quilon. But, doubtless, other missionaries could eventually have brought the letter to its destination.

¹ *Reg. Vatic.* 93, n. 949 and *Reg. Aven.* 35, f. 427, n. 949.

8. *Mylapore and Molephatam.*

Where was Molephatam? The name occurs in Friar Jordan's own *Mirabilia descripta*,¹ in a list of kingdoms in India and the Farther East, and doubtless he was responsible for its inclusion in a papal letter written in his own behalf.

"In this Greater India," he writes, "are twelve idolatrous kings and more. For there is one very powerful king in the country (P.40) where pepper grows, and his kingdom is called Molebar.² There is also the king of Singuyli³ and the king of Columbum,⁴ (P.41) the king of which is called Lingua,⁵ but his kingdom Mohebar.⁶ There is also the king of Molephatam, whose kingdom is called Molepoor, where pearls are taken in infinite quantities. There is also another king in the island of Sylen,⁷ where are found precious stones and good elephants. There be also three or four kings on the island of Java,⁸ where the good spices grow. There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc,⁹ who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telene abounds in corn, rice, sugar, wax, honey, and honeycomb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffaloes, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of divers kinds, and in many excellent fruits more than any other part of the Indies. There is also the kingdom of Maratha, which is very great; and there is the king of Batigala,¹⁰ but he is of the Saracens. There be also many kings in Chopa."¹¹

Writing in 1863, Col. Yule did not know what to think of Molepoor or Molephatam. He could think only of a place given by Hamilton near Cape Comorin, Mooloopetta (*i.e.* Mooloopatam).¹²

In 1866, he discussed without coming to any conclusion such names as Malifattan, Molephatam, and Manifattam.

¹ Col. Yule, *Mirabilia descripta. The Wonders of the East*, by Friar Jordan of the Order of Preachers and Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater (circa 1330). London, Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. 41.

² Malabar. This would be the king of Calicut.

³ Cranganore, near Cochin. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. 75; 105; 373.

⁴ Quilon.

⁵ This king was perhaps a Lingāyat or Sivaite.

⁶ Ma'abar, a ferry, in reference to the passage or ferry to Ceylon. Generally identical in meaning with Coromandel.

⁷ Ceylon.

⁸ Java, near Sumatra.

⁹ Telingana, ruled by the Queen of Mutili (Mutapali) or Warangal in Marco Polo's time, the daughter of the ruler of Devagiri. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 221, and his *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 348 n. 1.

¹⁰ The Bhatkal, North Kanara District, of our maps.

¹¹ Yule proposes to read Chāpa for Chōpa, *i.e.*, Champā, Cambodia.

¹² Yule, *Mirabilia* (1863), p. 40 n.

Malifattan is mentioned by the historian Rashiduddin¹ as one of three cities of Ma'bar, viz. Fatan, Malifatan, and Kail, of which Sindar Bandi (Sundara Pandi ?) gave the government to a Muhammadan minister (before A.D. 1292-93).

Manifatan is mentioned by Abulfeda as "a city of Mabar on the seashore."²

Yule returned to the subject in 1875.³ While his friend Burnell opined that Malifattan was Mylapore, Yule inclined to Negapatam. After mentioning de' Marignolli's Mirapolis (A.D. 1348), the Mirapor of the Catalan map (c. A.D. 1375), Nicolo de' Conti's Malpuria, Malpulia, and Malepor, Barbosa's Maylapur, Mailapur, and Malepur, the Meliapor of de Barros, do Couto and later Portuguese writers, and Fra Paolino's Mailapuri and Mailapuram, he returns to Rashiduddīn's Malifattan and Abulfeda's Manifattan, mentions the spelling Malifattan in Wassaf's edition of notices of Malabar, and fixes on Jordan's Molephatam and Molepoor. By this time he had found in Od. Raynaldi's *Annales Eccles.*, An. 1330, lv., the Pope's letter to Jordan, commending him "to the whole body of Christian people dwelling in Molephatam."

"The only other notice," he then wrote, "that I can find is in the interesting memoranda of Joseph the Indian of Cranganore (circa 1500), published in the *Novus Orbis*. After noticing the former trade of the Chinese (*incolae Catāi*) with Calicut, and their abandonment of that port on account of the king's ill-treatment of them, he goes on: 'Post hoc adivere urbem Mailapetam. quae urbs paret regi Narsindo; regio respicit orientem, et distat ab Indo flumine milliaribus xc. Ibi nunc sua exercent mercimonia.'

"The statement about the Indus is perplexing,⁴ but the eastern aspect, and the subjugation to the Narsinga, or king of Vijayanagar, show that the place was on the Coromandel Coast. Joseph, however, does not mean St. Thomas's, for in another passage he speaks of that as Milapar, 'urbis ... quae instar promontorium in mare prominet.' This, and the mention of the pearl-fishery by Friar Jordanus, are considerable obstacles to the identification of the two places, though the Molepor of Jordanus seems in favour of that identification."⁵

¹ Yule, *Cathay* I (1866), 184 n; 214 n. 1; 219; 221 (post-script).

² *Ibid.*, II. 424-425 n. 1, referring to Gildemeister, p. 185.

³ *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. IV, Jan. 1875, pp. 8-10.

⁴ "From another passage he would seem by Indus to mean Ganges. Possibly he was shown a map founded on Fra Mauro's, in which the Indus does take the place of the Ganges." (*Col. H. Y.*)

⁵ *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. IV, p. 9, col. 1. Yule next asks the question whether the Chinese frequented Mylapore. Chinapatam, as applied to Madras, he finds inconclusive, and thinks that, though de Barros, Barbosa and the discovery of Chinese coins are not to be overlooked, *China* and *Jaina* may easily have been confused. He also discovered in a map (*Lettres édifiantes, Recueil XV*) a 'Malepatan' placed in Palk's Bay,

Once more Yule tackled the subject in his *Marco Polo* (1875). There we find that Wassaf has Fitan, Mali Fitan and Kabil for Fattan, Malifattan, and Káil,¹ and that Yule had not come to any decision yet about the position of Malifattan.²

We think that this question can be definitely settled. Molephatam must be on the Coromandel Coast. Jordan says that the king of Columbum reigned over part of Mohebar or Coromandel (1322-30). In Barbosa's time (before 1516) Kail (Palayakāyal or Old Kāyal) also belonged to the king of Coulam or Quilon.³ Marco Polo says it belonged to the eldest of the "five brother kings."⁴ The only other kings along the Coromandel Coast mentioned by Jordan are those of Molepoor and Telenc. As Telenc means Telingana, which at that time, and in Marco Polo's time, till at least 1398,⁵ belonged to Warangal, Molepoor lay between Kail and the dominions of Warangal. In 1292-93 Marco Polo visited Mylapore, and he states that in 1288 Mylapore belonged to a baron of that country.⁶ This baron must have been subject to the five brother kings, "all own brothers of one father and of one mother," who owned the whole of Ma'bar.⁷ In these five brothers we have, I think, a reference to the kings of Vijayanagar, who at a later time are also spoken of as the "four brothers," or the "three brothers."

Now, in none of the pre-Portuguese writers do we find Christians mentioned on the Coromandel Coast except for Mylapore. Pope John XXII., while exhorting the Christians of Molephatam to return to the unity of the faith, praises them for their hospitality to the Friars Preachers and Franciscans. Of the Christians of Mylapore we know that they gave hospitality to the Franciscan Friar John de Montecorvino and allowed him, though apparently not Catholics themselves, to bury in their church Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the Order of Preachers (A.D. 1291-92).⁸ Between 1292 and 1330 large numbers of Missionaries, chiefly Franciscans, went to China, and the land-

north of Rameswaram, about the position of Tondei, "scarcely a possible place, I imagine, for a seaport frequented by foreign trade." For some other references to the Chinese at Mylapore see my *St. Thomas and St. Thomé, Mylapore*, in *JASB.*, 1923, pp. 178 n. 1; 220. "That there was some Chinese trade with the Coromandel Coast cannot be doubted. It was visited by Cheng-Ho in 1408 and 1412, and is alluded to under the names of So-li (Chūla) and Hsi-yang So-li (Southern Chūla). Rockhill, *L.c.*, *T'oung-Pao*, Vol. XVI, p. 83." Cf. Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 125 n. 1.

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 316, text and note.

² *Ibid.*, II. 345; 420.

³ Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 122.

⁴ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 357.

⁵ C. Joppen, S. J., *Historical Atlas*, 1907, plate 10.

⁶ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 339.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

⁸ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 197.

route, besides being very long, was also very dangerous. We have proofs that many of these China Missionaries chose the sea-route, for instance Friar Oderic of Pordenone. The four martyrs of Thana, who had given up Ormuz as a hopeless field, were on their way to Quilon "to visit St. Thomas."¹ We must then expect that the Christians of Mylapore had often occasion to exercise hospitality towards the humble, valiant sons of St. Francis. Would they not, indeed, go either by sea or by land from Quilon to Mylapore and pay their respects to Messer St. Thomas before venturing further East? Everything too tends to show that they would find at Mylapore Chinese junks, with triple hulk, and provided, some of them, with as many as one hundred cabins. Let Molephatam be Mylapore then.

The double form Molephatam and Molepoor in Jordan for one and the same place should not be an insuperable objection. We notice the same double form in Joseph the Indian's Mailapetam and Malipar, and we would explain it in both cases as applying to the same place, Mylapore. We have seen, indeed, that in the 7th century it was called Mayilai,² and that a Hindu writer of the 17th century speaks of it as Tiru Mayila, "the Holy Peacock."³ I have found such forms as Maila and Maile for Mylapore in post-Portuguese European writers as well. As *pattam* and *pur* mean both 'town,' it will be readily granted that *pattam* and *pur* could be suffixed at will to Mayilā, a form already sufficiently distinctive. The same loose choice operates for the endings of place-names in other parts of India, notably in Gujārāt, as I had occasion to notice in an article on this subject some time ago.⁴ The Arabs changed *pattam* to *fattan*.⁵

Nor should we object with Yule that pearl-fishing could not be mentioned in conjunction with Mylapore. First, Friar Jordanus notices no pearl-fishing between Cape Comorin and Telingana other than for Molephatam or Molepoor, the limits of which southwards may have extended sufficiently far to include the fishery. Secondly, we do find pearl-fishing mentioned in conjunction with Mylapore in 1348. "I spent four days there," writes John de' Marignolli; "there is an excellent pearl-fishery at the place."⁶ The place where de' Marignolli spent four days was Mirapolis, Mylapore.

We trust that these proofs will be found sufficiently convincing, and that in future all references to Malifattan (and Manifattan?) in the Arab historians and travellers will be applied without scruple to Mylapore. Such references ought to prove a substantial gain for the history of Mylapore and its shrine. The more numerous they are, the greater the proof of the import-

¹ Yule, *Mirabilia*, p. x. ² Cf. p. 73 *supra*. ³ Cf. p. 267 *supra*.

⁴ Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., XIX, 1923, Numismatic Supplement, pp. 81-82.

⁵ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 348 n. 1.

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 378.

ance of the place and of the number of its Christian inhabitants. We may think that in days earlier than Marco Polo the shrine was frequented not only from Malabar, Ceylon, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, but from Europe too, chiefly Eastern Europe, nay from China. May not the Chinese writers, who notice Maparh, Muhupa, *i.e.*, Ma'bar or Coromandel, and Mapaeul, (Mylapore ?), be found to bear witness to the place under names more closely allied with the Arab form Molephatam ?

PART VI.

1. *Some Christian Crosses in Malabar.*

While studying the relics of early Christianity in Mylapore, one has necessarily to look beyond for similar relics. The most fertile field for a study of pre-Portuguese Indian Christianity is evidently Malabar. A visit to many of its oldest Churches in 1924 convinced me that a thorough investigation of its Christian monuments would require a volume to itself. May we hope that ere long the work will tempt some Western scholar thoroughly conversant with Christian archaeology and liturgy?

I shall begin with a few remarks on three of the most ancient crosses discovered in Malabar, crosses with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscriptions.

A.—Three crosses with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscriptions.

These crosses are the following :—

- (a) Kottayam Valiapalli Church : cross on the left-side altar (No. 1).
- (b) Kottayam Valiapalli Church : cross on the right-side altar (No. 2).
- (c) Cross at the Jacobite Church, Kaṭamaṭṭam (No. 3).

These three crosses are in Jacobite Churches. I heard of a tradition that one of the first two came from one of the ruined churches of the St. Thomas Christians of Cranganore. Might it be the cross, called miraculous, of which Gouvea speaks in his *Jornada* (1606, liv. 1, cap. 16, fol. 53r-53v ? It was still at Cranganore in 1599, and even much later, as Fr. Vincenzo Maria di S. Catharina da Siena (*Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Rome, 1672, p. 135) refers to it as at Cranganore.

The first two crosses have a Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription which appears to be identical with the inscription round the cross at St. Thomas Mount. All three are bas-relief crosses, surrounded on the same stone by an arch, round which appears the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription. This inscription consists in Nos. 1 and 2, as at St. Thomas Mount, of two portions divided off by a small cross at about the same point of the arch.¹ In

¹ I had not previously noticed that Yule (*Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 345) speaks of a central part between two small crosses, which Thomas translated thus: “+ In the Name of Messiah +.” This apparently refers to the St. Thomas Mount Cross, where indeed there seem to be two small crosses. The crosses at the Valiapalli, Kottayam, do not show so clearly a central portion divided off by two small crosses.

No. 3 we have two small crosses dividing the inscription into three portions. All three seem to have been originally altar-crosses, *i.e.*, crosses intended to be placed on an altar. We should say the same of the St. Thomas Mount Cross and of similar crosses in China. The two Kottayam Crosses still stand above an altar, and the Portuguese would have acted correctly when they placed above the altar of the Church of St. Thomas Mount the cross found in 1547 among the ruins of an old chapel there.

*Kottayam Cross No. 2 compared with the St. Thomas
Mount Cross.*

The Kottayam Cross No. 2, surmounted by a dove painted white, resembles the St. Thomas Mount Cross in almost every detail. A striking difference is that the St. Thomas Mount Cross is more like a Latin cross, whereas the two Kottayam Crosses, as well as the Katamattam Cross, is equal-armed, like a Greek Cross. The cross of St. Thomas Mount and No. 2 have both a calvary of three steps. In both the four extremities of the cross curl round, right and left, like a fleur-de-lis; from the central roundish portion between these curls there projects still a small ball (St. Thomas Mount Cross) or a tapering bud or pearl (Kottayam Cross No. 2). Since the Kottayam Cross No. 2 is surmounted by a dove with outspread wings and pecking (?) the upper end of the upright beam, there can be no doubt that what has at times been taken for a peacock in the St. Thomas Mount Cross is also a dove.

Above the upper step of the calvary, on each side of the lower extremity of the upright beam, the St. Thomas Cross and the Kottayam Cross No. 2 have both a leaf or flower, which turns upwards. These leaves or flowers rise higher in the St. Thomas Mount Cross. We might speculate about the botanical name of these leaves or flowers; but the differences noticeable in crosses 1 and 3 of our plate make it already difficult to come to any conclusion. We know, however, that the old crosses in China clearly rest on, or seem to spring from, a lotus flower, and that the lotus is greatly in evidence in Malabar in connection with crosses.

In both the St. Thomas Mount Cross and the Kottayam Cross No. 2 there is a semi-circular deflection round the calvary. In No. 2 and in No. 3 it is a triple concentric semi-circular ring; in the St. Thomas Mount Cross, where it deflects less rapidly downwards, it is rather like the leafage downwards bent of the Kottayam Cross No. 1.

The arch of the Kottayam Cross No. 2, semi-circular or elliptical, like that of the St. Thomas Mount Cross, consists of three portions, as is also the case of the St. Thomas Mount Cross.

To begin with the innermost or lowermost section of the arch in both.

Immediately above the dove of the Kottayam Cross No. 2, there is a semi-circle in relief, dotted with little balls or beads, the central ball, above the tail of the dove, being larger than the rest. On each side, and a little above the horizontal beam of the cross, this border of balls (fifteen contiguous balls on each side) falls into the mouth of a dolphin-like monster, easily recognised by his snout and his fish-tail. To help us in recognising the monster, one of the eyes and four of the teeth of the dolphin have been painted white. The two dolphins lie each on a bracket supported by a leaf design similar to the leaf design under the cross. This bracket rests itself on a pillar with three prominent indented portions, the top portion or capital being set off below by a series of curves. This series of curves occurs in a number of stones, belonging to a cornice (?), which are on view in the Bishop's House collection, S. Thomé, Mylapore (exhibits Nos. A50a-A50h, pp. 185-186 *supra*). The fins of the dolphins might be compared with the hoofs of a quadruped.

The details of the Kottayam Cross No. 2 which have been described in the above paragraph help us to understand better the symbolism of the St. Thomas Mount Cross. Even with the best photographs at my disposal I had failed to recognise some of its symbols. I now see clearly, with the help of a magnifying glass, a series of little balls, separated from one another by small panels; the lowest ball on either side disappears into the mouth of a dolphin resting on a bracket on each side. The balls seem to be enclashed between two rims, the upper one of which appears to be rope-patterned. The photograph is too faint to enable one to count the balls or to find out whether there is a bigger ball in the centre above the tail of the dove. Neither can I see whether the bracket is held up by a leaf. The dolphins—for the animals seem to end in fish-tails—are less recognisable than those of the Kottayam Cross No. 2. I had long taken them for an ass on the left, and for two lions on the right, even though Sewell in his *Antiquarian Remains* thought he saw in them *makaras* (dolphins?). After examining the Kottayam Cross No. 2, I can now see clearly the open mouth, the teeth, and the eyes of the dolphin-like monsters of the St. Thomas Mount Cross. The symbolism of the Si-ngan-fu Cross in China also forces us to make this identification.

The pillars of the St. Thomas Mount Cross appear to be more primitive, more Persepolitan (?), than those of the Kottayam Cross No. 2. The many-membered pilasters of the Kottayam Cross No. 2 may be compared with certain pilasters at Anuradhapura, Ceylon.¹

The second or central section of the arch in the Kottayam Cross No. 2 and in the St. Thomas Mount Cross is merely a groove in the stone.

¹ Cf. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. Edited by A. M. Hocart, Vol. I, Colombo, 1924, Pl. 29 (continued), No. 79.

The upper part of the arch in both crosses contains the inscription, which continues along the two pillars bearing the animals, the pillars themselves setting off the cross in the centre.

Peculiar to the Kottayam Cross No. 2, there is, above the inscription, a smaller cross with two peacocks, who apparently touch with their beak the tip of the horizontal bar of the cross. This smaller cross is like a replica of the one below. As this portion of the stone with its graceful upper arch is hidden by a wooden reredos, difficult to remove, and could not be photographed, A.S.H., *i.e.*, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore, made a drawing of it.

Compare this cross with the picture facing the title in G. M. Rae's *The Syrian Church in India*, 1892.

When I visited the Valiapalli Church in January, 1924, I found in the Presbytery there three Syrian Bishops, two of whom had come from Mesopotamia lately. We discussed these ancient crosses, and I elicited the information that at Mardin a cross, said to have been brought from Antioch and connected by tradition with St. Peter, has a Syriac inscription with the same wording as in the Kottayam Cross No. 2: "*Mihi absit gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*" Is this correct? Are there still in Mesopotamia or in other parts of the Near East crosses like our Indian crosses? It is to Mesopotamia and Persia that we should naturally turn for a solution of our problems here. In 1925 I wrote to Fr. L. Cheikho, S.J., of St. Joseph's University, Beyrouth, but he could not put me on to any work containing illustrations of crosses like those in India and China.

Kottayam Cross No. 1.

I pass on to the Kottayam Cross No. 1. Here the cross rests on a calvary of four steps, a somewhat unusual occurrence. The horizontal beam resembles the two crosses already described in that it has a button beyond the central roundish portion of the fleur-de lis extremity. This button is, however, much rougher, much less round, in the extremities of the upright beam. The leafage and flowers (?) above the extreme button of the lower limb of the upright beam are peculiar. They incline downwards more than they rise.

In the centre of the junction of the two beams are two concentric rings, the inner ring being quite small. We notice the same thing in the smaller cross of the Kottayam Cross No. 2, and in several China crosses. Instead of this device, the bigger cross of No. 2 has a beautiful design of a corolla, bud and four big petals, the interstices between the big petals being filled by four smaller petals: a lotus, in fact.

The St. Thomas Mount Cross and the Katamattam Cross (No. 3 of this section) appear to have no design or device whatever within the junction of the two beams.

The fact that the eight-petalled lotus combines a Greek cross and a St. Andrew's cross may perhaps explain the predilection of the Christians of the first centuries for a symbol which with others before them, Buddhists and Hindus, had found so much favour.

Other peculiarity of the Kottayam Cross No. 1. At the place occupied by the dove in the St. Thomas Mount Cross and the Kottayam Cross No. 2, *i.e.* between the arch and the upper end of the cross, there is what I took at once for the bust of a man, whereas one of my friends in Trichinopoly thought he saw in it an open hand raised heavenwards and part of the fore-arm. Though it is difficult to discern a head, above a bust, I object to my friend's explanation, (1) because the alleged arm grows thicker the nearer it comes to the supposed hand; (2) because in similar ancient crosses in Europe the hand points downwards; and (3) because the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York, *s.v.* cross, IV, 528*a*, mentions a monument displaying the cross between two archangels, while the bust of Christ is shown above. The whereabouts of this monument are not given. Perhaps is it Monza, where, in a scene of the Crucifixion, Christ appears as an orante, with a nimbus, ascending among the clouds, and in all the majesty of glory, above a cross hidden under a decoration of flowers. This latter scene is represented on one of the little metal vases in which was carried to Queen Theodolinda the oil from the Holy Places (end of the 6th century). For a picture of the scene see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*, ampulla, I, 639*c*. In the mosaic made in 642 by Pope Theodore in S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome, the cross is seen with the bust of the Saviour just above it. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 528*a*, 528*c*. Above this bust, and above a zone sprinkled with stars, the divine hand, of which the fingers point earthwards, holds a crown. See *Dict. d'archéologie chrét. et de liturgie*, by Dom F. Cabrol, O.S.B., and Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., III. Pt. 2, col. 3082, fig. 3381.

If it were shown that what I take to be a bust is a hand, I might recall the practice of placing a hand, pointing heavenwards, on the top of the Roman ensigns or on the memorials erected in India to women who committed *sati*.

The Kottayam Cross No. 1 is enclosed by a pointed or Gothic arch, divided into three sections. The innermost section, nearest the cross, is without pillars, dolphins, or beads. The central section of the arch consists of a narrow groove painted white. The uppermost section contains the inscription, the letters of which appear to be cut deep into the stone.

As the interest of our epigraphists has again been turned towards these inscriptions, we await their verdict on the antiquity of these crosses as judged by the nature of the characters and the language.

The Kaṭamaṭṭam Cross (No. 3).

Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum first called attention to the Kaṭamaṭṭam Cross in 1922. The tablet is about 30 inches by 20 inches. Comparison with No. 2 and the St. Thomas Mount Cross make it practically imperative to say that the somewhat indistinct emblem above the cross is again a dove, and that the animal on the capital of each of the two pillars is a dolphin. Mr. T. K. Joseph would place a torch instead of the dove, and two dogs instead of two dolphins.¹

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi declares² that, as at St. Thomas Mount and Kottayam, the inscription round the Kaṭamaṭṭam cross is in Pahlvi. He reads it thus:—

1. *Li zibah vai min Ninav val denman*
2. *Napisht Mar Shapur*
3. *Li(mun) ahrob³ Mashiah avakhshāhi min khār bokht*

(Translation):

1. 1, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, (have come) to this country.
2. Written by Mar Shapur.
3. Holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed me from thorn (*i.e.*, affliction).

He proposes also⁴ for the third portion:

Am (?) Meshihā avakhshāhi min bin bokht, the word before Meshihā being treated as doubtful. The meaning would be: "I whom (?) Messiah, the forgiver, freed from danger (or terror)."

To an outsider like myself, it is baffling that not two out of six Pahlvi scholars have yet reached unanimity for the translation of the inscription of the Cross on St. Thomas Mount. One of them proposes simultaneously as many as four different translations. If our Egyptologists and Assyriologists are as much divided among themselves on their hieroglyphs and cuneiforms, they are to be pitied. The case of the Pahlvi scholars is the more remarkable as the key to the Pahlvi alphabet was, we should think, never lost for the Parsis.

Dr. Modi's translation of the inscription of the Kaṭamaṭṭam Cross amounts to a new one for the crosses at St. Thomas Mount and at Kottayam: with the exception of the second portion,⁵ the rest at Kaṭamaṭṭam is, I understand, what we have at Kottayam and St. Thomas Mount.

¹ Cf. his article on "Symbolism of the Kaṭamaṭṭam Cross."

² *Journ. Bombay Branch R.A.S.*, Vol. 2 (N.S.), Aug. 1926, pp. 1-18: "A Christian Cross with a Pahlavi inscription recently discovered in the Travancore State."

³ *Ahrob* is also spelt *ahlob* at pp. 14.18 (*ibid.*).

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ Even that may be doubted, as Thomas distinguished for the

Was not Dr. Modi led to read into the first two sections of the inscription what he had learned from Burnell and others about Mar Sapor and Nineveh ? The bird on the cross may have prejudiced him further. His last attempt for the third part of the inscription seems to have been influenced by the idea that these crosses are votive offerings of Christians who had fled from Muhammadan oppression in Persia and Mesopotamia. Hence, perhaps, the word 'danger' or 'terror.'

Objections can be raised against the translation.

1. If the bird on the cross, a dove, is the emblem of the Holy Ghost, as Christians are likely to construe at first sight, we cannot well understand that the bird should say of itself that it came from Nineveh to Malabar. Even if the implication were only that the religion of Christ came to Malabar from Nineveh, there would be a denial of St. Thomas' labours, or St. Thomas must be understood to have come direct from Nineveh to Malabar.

2. Neither do we understand that Mar Sapor should say of himself, with reference to the bird as symbolising the Holy Ghost : "I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, have come to this country." How could Mar Sapor compare himself without disrespect with a dove regarded as the symbol of the Holy Ghost ?

3. If the bird is not regarded as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, Mar Sapor, calling himself a beautiful bird, will be guilty of self-laudation.

4. The dove near the cross is not necessarily a symbol of the Holy Ghost. It may have been added for beauty, or as a symbol of the Christian soul. The two peacocks pecking (?) at a cross at Kottayam and at another at St. Thomé, Mylapore, would symbolise the Christian's love for the Cross. So too the dove, and the peacock, single or in pairs, which in the Catacombs and in other early Christian art we find associated with the cross. In that case, Mar Sapor would say of himself "I, a Christian soul, symbolised by that beautiful bird above the cross, came from Nineveh to this country." But is not that far-fetched ? And is the dove, as we have it at St. Thomas Mount and at Kottayam, flying down from above with wings expanded, no more than an emblem of the Christian soul ?

5. How shall we explain these same words in the case of the smaller cross at Kottayam and the new stone at Mutṭuchira, where no dove is seen ? We must also be prepared for a dove in the case of Persian crosses without inscription.

6. If Dr. Modi applies to Mar Sapor the words about the bird in the first section, it will follow that, as our other crosses have the same words, Mar Sapor is the author of the

St. Thomas Mount Cross a central portion between two small crosses which he translated by : " + In the Name of Messiah +." Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, (1875), 345.

other crosses, or that our other crosses were copied from the one at Kaṭamaṭṭam. Who will contend that ? Copied without the second section containing Mar Sapor's name, in which case the bird must be understood to speak of itself ? Copied from the Kaṭamaṭṭam cross with the second section, yet not made by Mar Sapor, some of them, and all differing from the Kaṭamaṭṭam cross and from one another in details without number, and likely enough in the form of the script too ? I mean that the scripts may belong to different periods, and that some may be anterior to Mar Sapor, who is supposed to have come to Quilon in A.D. 825.¹

7. Did not Mar Sapor also write the third part of the inscription ? If he did, why does the second part not come at the end ?

8. Are not the words of the second part the very words which Thomas translated by : " In the name of Messiah " ?

Dr. Modi's suggestion that these crosses were set up as votive offerings by Christians from Persia or Mesopotamia, who, like the Zoroastrians, fled from the Moslem invaders, will not hold. There were Christians in Malabar before those invasions, Christians before Mar Sapor. Their emblem was the cross, and their clergy and bishops, for a considerable time at least, were from Persia.

Cosmas Indicopleustes says so for India and Ceylon, about A.D. 535, before Muhammad was born.

Before A.D. 363 we hear of one Mar Zādoē, the chief of the monastery of St. Thomas in the country of India, whose seat was fixed under the country of the Qatrāye, near (or 'below') the black island (*gāzartā ūkīmālā*). The text does not refer to Ceylon. We naturally think that the monastery of St. Thomas in India was near the traditional tomb of St. Thomas, therefore at Mylapore. The black island would correspond to Karumanal, a village north of Madras, the name meaning 'black sand.' Some, ere this, had derived from it the name Coromandel and Calamina. A monastery existed near St. Thomas' tomb in the time of St. Gregory of Tours (c. A.D. 590), and in the time of Marco Polo (A.D. 1292) and Friar John de' Marignolli (A.D. 1348). Were not the foreign bonzes of Tathsin or of Muhupa, whom an edict in China (A.D. 845) ordered to return to civil life, Christians ? And if Muhupa should stand for Ma'bar (Maabar, Maebar, Mobar), i.e., Coromandel, did not many of these bonzes come from Mylapore ? In that case, King Alfred the Great's two Bishops would have come to Mylapore.

Neither must we waive yet the text about " John, the Per-

¹ A paper, dated Trichur, 1820, quotes a Syrian MS. of the Conancode Church, Quilon, saying that "Marsabore Ambroat [*sic*] landed at Cranganore with the merchant Towrio [*sic*] in A.D. 825, or Kollam Era 1." Cf. *South India Christian Repository*, II (1838), p. 195.

sian, of the Church of all Persis and in Great India," present at the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325).

The request for relics of St. Thomas, which, at the instance of the Syrians of Edessa, Emperor Alexander, after a victory over King Xerxes (Ardashir) of Persia, addressed to the kinglets of India (A.D. 232), supposes Christians in India, notably at the place of the tomb, Mylapore.

I would place Persian Christians at Mylapore in St. Thomas' own time. If there is any truth at all in the earliest literature on St. Thomas, in the *Acta* for instance, of about A.D. 220-230, and in the tradition about St. Thomas' martyrdom at Mylapore, King Mazdai, who slew him, reigned at Mylapore. Now, at his Court we meet a number of distinguished persons with Persian names. Mazdai would have been a Pahlavi; so too Mygdonia, Kōrēsh (Karish), Vizān, Manashahr, Sifūr.¹ Two medallions on a stone in the Bishop's Museum, S. Thomé, Mylapore, represent a Persian King and a Persian Prince, either Gondophares and his brother Gad, or perhaps—considering the youthful appearance of the Prince—King Mazdai and his son, the deacon Prince Vizān. These medallions are doubtless pre-Portuguese.

If there is any truth in the *Passio*, which I consider earlier than the *de Miraculis* attributed to St. Gregory of Tours (A.D. 590), there were Christians at Andrapolis or Andranopolis when the author of the *Passio* wrote. Of Andrapolis he says: "And there is the seat of St. Thomas and the Catholic faith unto this day," meaning that there had been Christians from St. Thomas' own time at the place where St. Thomas had first landed. Andrapolis, Andranopolis, or Sandarūk, would be Cranganore. Its king, Xanthippus or Xenophon, King Andrew of the Malabar Syrian traditions, became St. Thomas' deacon. "Then the holy Apostle called his deacon, him who had been king at the first city of India where the Apostle had been invited to the marriage."² It follows that Greek was used or known by the aristocracy of Malabar in the first century. Pelagia, the daughter of the deacon-King Xenophon-Xanthippus, vowed continence on the day of her marriage with Dionysius. When Dionysius became Bishop (of Cranganore or Mylapore), he gave the veil to his wife. This first Indian nun or deaconness was martyred, says the *Passio*, and on her tomb was written in Greek words and characters: "Here lies the spouse of Bishop Dionysius, who is the daughter of the Apostle Thomas." At the Church of Koravalangad, which, though not one of St. Thomas' Seven Churches, claims to have been first built in A.D. 335, there is a bell with two Christian crosses cast in the metal,

¹ *Ind. Antiq.*, xxxii, 1903, pp. 6-7.

² *De Miraculis*, in Bonnet, *Acta Thomæ*, Lipsiæ, 1883, p. 106

one of them a lotus cross, and an inscription not identified yet with any known alphabet, though some of the letters appear to be Greek. Some of the Yavanas of India would have been Christians. Cosmas Indicopleustes (A.D. 535) speaks of Christian Greeks in conjunction with Persarmenians and Elamites, and distinct from the Greeks of Europe.¹ He states also that Greek was spoken in Sokotra.² Greek-speaking people had been settled there by the Ptolemies after Alexander the Great.³ The Roman merchants who came regularly from Alexandria to Malabar in the first centuries of our era, must have spoken Greek. Greek would have been for a time the fashionable language on our West Coast.

Dr. Modi's decipherment of the Katamattam inscription was conducted under serious disadvantages. The estampage he had was not perfect, and he had an estampage only of the Katamattam inscription. He ought to ask of the Archaeological Department of Travancore estampages of the inscription on the two Kottayam crosses and of the new cross at Muttuchira. If the Jacobite priests at Katamattam let a non-Christian estampage the inscription on their cross, the Jacobite authorities of the Valiapalli or Great Church of Kottayam will allow the same. An estampage of the inscription at St. Thomas Mount could be secured without any difficulty. Either the Epigraphic Department at Madras or the Archaeological Department at Kotagiri (Nilgiris) would do the needful on application to the Director General of Archaeology for India, Simla.

I have been told that Dr. Modi studied for several hours the inscription at St. Thomas Mount. Eye-copies or photographs of that inscription will not do, when an estampage brings out wonderfully inscriptions which to the eye appear hopeless. Such has been my experience. Moreover, at St. Thomas Mount and at Kottayam the characters have been traced over with chalk or whitewash or paint by people ignorant of the language and characters employed, with the result that the eye must necessarily be deceived and that photographs will be deceptive. Different repaintings of the letters may explain how, as Dr. Modi states, the impressions published from photographs by Burnell, West and Mgr. de Harlez differ in details for the cross at St. Thomas Mount. With estampages of inscriptions from so many different crosses, inscriptions in writings of different periods, yet apparently giving all in the main the same text, it should be possible to fix definitely the common text, chiefly as the stones at St. Thomas Mount and at Kottayam are in such good condition of preservation and the letters are cut quite deep.

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. clxxii.

² *Ibid.*, p. clxxi.

³ *Ibid.*

At great expense did Mgr. A. M. Teixeira send to the Vatican Exhibition of 1925 a plaster cast of the cross and inscription at St. Thomas Mount. Unless the artist employed was exceptionally scrupulous about the inscription, we must fear that our scholars in Europe will not be much helped for the decipherment of the inscription. Nothing can equal an estampage, in several copies if necessary, and these can easily enough be obtained by our scholars in India, who, besides, have the advantage of being able to go and inspect the originals *in situ*. The Archaeological Departments in India cannot be praised enough for their readiness to oblige. For one with the authority of Dr. Modi, a patriarch in Pahlvi scholarship, there is nothing they will not be anxious to do. Let the honour of reading these Christian inscriptions go to Indian scholarship here.

I am told that a Parsi scholar, a younger man than Dr. Modi, possibly Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, proposes another translation than Dr. Modi, but is reluctant to come forward. To his surprise, the younger man finds in the inscription round our crosses, a reference to a fourfold baptism, and he asks what it means. That may surprise us too. Our distinction of baptism into baptism *fluminis*, *fluminis* and *sanguinis*, of desire, water and blood, is not fourfold. The baptism of the Holy Ghost resolves into a baptism of desire. May we think of a baptism of oil? It is an important feature in the early literature on St. Thomas, so much so that some argue St. Thomas did not baptise with water.¹ Our own use of the oil of the Catechumens and of chrism may have been called in some places a baptism of oil. The Nestorians after the baptism rite anoint the children all over with olive oil.² What other baptism can we think of? "He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and with fire," said the Precursor. (Matt. III., 11.) Some of the Oriental Churches, notably the Ethiopic Church, may have had a rite called baptism of fire.

Fortescue says³ it is an absurd calumny that the Jacobites instead of baptism ever branded their children with a hot iron. May they not in some places *also* have branded a cross? Old travellers are not often safe guides in theology, but they retail the gossip of the time. Marco Polo writes of Abyssinia: "The Christians of this country have three marks on the face: one from the forehead to the middle of the nose, and one on either cheek. These marks are made with a hot iron,

¹ Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 273-274. Medlycott ought to have referred to the account of the baptism of Gondophares and Gad. Cf. M. R. James, *The apocryphal N. T.*, 1924, pp. 374-375, §§ 26-27, where I think we have water, oil and chrism indicated.

² Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

and form part of their baptism, for after they have been baptised with water, these three marks are made, partly as a token of gentility, and partly as the completion of their baptism."¹ Matthew Paris relates of the Jacobite Christians occupying "the kingdoms between Nubia and India" that some of them brand the forehead of their children. Frescobaldi says that the Christians of the Girdle² baptised by branding on the head and temples. Clavijo says there is such a sect among the Christians in India, but despised by the rest. Yule adduces much else to the same effect.³ Our Missionaries in Mogor say in the 17th century that the Armenians, a loose term for all Christians of the Near East, bore a cross branded on their forehead.

Our Missionaries, as far as I know, never state that the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar branded a cross on their forehead, cheeks or temples. A cross on the forehead was not unknown in the Tamil Country. Do the Syrians ever speak of a fourfold baptism? If so, what do they mean? Before we expect them to answer, will our new Parsi scholar give us his translation? Dr. Modi is very guarded and dubious about his translation. He is quite prepared for something equally or more plausible.

In connection with the Katamattam cross, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar is of opinion that "five shallow oblong niche-like impressions have been crudely picked out for the sake of ornament on the plain pedestal below the calvary of three steps, and some later (Roman Catholic?) enthusiast has managed to shape them into the abbreviated Latin formula—I.N.R.I. (Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum)."⁴

If I understand him aright, Mr. Ramanatha supposes a first carver cutting the meaningless thick vertical lines, and a later carver joining the second and third for an N. and shaping the fourth into an R. There is no reason to think, as Mr. Ramanatha does in another passage,⁵ that the stone was not always in the locality where it is now, and, as we have no proof that the Church which now possesses it was ever Roman Catholic, except perhaps between 1583 and 1599, or between 1599 and 1653, the Roman Catholic enthusiast appears to be brought in to combat the theory that these particular letters may have been

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II. (1875), pp. 421-422.

² The Copts. Cf. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 243 n. 1.

³ Yule, *op. cit.*, II. (1875), pp. 427-428. Add a remarkable case of the end of the 6th century. Turkish prisoners, bearing on their foreheads "the sign of the Lord," were brought to Constantinople. Some wore Christians. During a virulent pestilence among the Scythians in the East, their mothers, persuaded by the Christians, had pricked the forehead of their children with this symbol. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I. (1866), p. xeviii.

⁴ Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State, for the year 1923-1924 A.D.*, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

used in Malabar for the title of the cross before the advent of the Portuguese. We might as well argue that the Greek or Hebrew initial letters for the words of the title of the cross could never have been used in Malabar, in other words that only Syriac, Pahlvi or Indian letters could have been used for the title, or that the practice of writing a title at all is Portuguese. I think on the contrary that these Roman letters argue to a pre-Portuguese practice in Malabar, though perhaps a relic of the influence of the Latin Missionaries of the 14th century. These letters are found in a large number of open-air crosses, many of double-superposed-T shape, before churches, now Jacobite, as well as before Romo-Syrian churches; they are commonly seen too on the wooden crosses of double-superposed-T shape in the Jacobite churches, where they are often badly formed and not seldom unintelligible to the priests.¹ N has often the central line from the bottom upwards. The treatment of R is peculiar in several cases of open-air crosses and of crosses in the churches which came under my notice in 1924, and it quite agrees with the formation of the R in the Katamattam cross. I noted the faulty N over the main altar at Katampam and Kolasserri, and I.W.I. over the main altar of Vadakarai: three Jacobite churches. Could the opponents of the theory prove that these letters were not used in many out-of-the-way churches of Malabar before 1599, the year of the Diamper Council, or before 1583, when a first Council of Reunion was held? On the open-air cross in front of the Mar Thoma Church of Maraman we have on the title of the cross the legend I.N.R.I. The beautiful Mundakkavu open-air cross also has I.N.R.I., judging from a photograph, and I was told that on the title of the open-air cross of the Valiapalli Church at Kottayam letters are seen when the sun shines on it. Finally, the letters on a fragment of a cross brought from the pre-Portuguese Nilakkal church, in the jungles, to Kanjirapalli and now set up on the top of a hill at Kūvapalli, are possibly I.N.R.I.²

A word might be said here about the symbolism of the

¹ "The Latin letters I.N.R.I. inscribed over some small crosses in the Church [of Ránný], were mysteries to the priest, who asked for an explanation," writes the Rev. T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a dark land*, London, 1873, p. 72.

The use of these letters in Malabar may be closely associated with the origin in Malabar of the double-superposed-T cross, the smaller upper T affording a suitable place for the title. Such double-T crosses are to be seen on the Goa side, I am told. Did our medieval Latin Missionaries introduce this form of cross into Malabar, or must we compare it with crosses on the Malwa coins, or with our patriarchal crosses? We do not find it on the China side.

² The lettering at Kūvapalli is so indistinct that there is little hope of ever solving what it was. Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State, for the year 1100 M.E., 1924-1925 A.D.*, p. 4 and Pl. II.

dolphins, which I also found round a cross in the verandah of the Church at Muttam along the Cochin lagoons, a big fish on either side swimming upwards towards the cross. Its meaning is mostly that of the fish in Christian art. Arthur S. Barnes, writing in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, s.v., dolphin, V, 1006, says: "The particular idea is that of swiftness and celerity, symbolising the desire with which Christians, who are thus represented as sharers in the nature of Christ, the true Fish, should seek after the knowledge of Christ. Hence the representation is generally of two dolphins tending towards the sacred monogram or some other emblem of Christ. . . . Speaking generally, the dolphin is the symbol of the individual Christian, rather than of Christ himself."

If that be so, the string of pearls, swallowed by dolphins, on the St. Thomas Mount Cross and on the Kottayam Cross No. 2, might typify the pearls of great price which the dolphins or the faithful Christians eagerly covet. On the famous Christian stèle of Si-ngan-fu, China, (A.D. 781), two monsters hold up with one of their fore-paws a small open casket or shell containing the pearl of the Christian Law.

In a Catacomb at Modena, two big fishes, swimming towards each other, hold each in his mouth a circle marked with a cross, a loaf apparently. Between the two of them, there are still other five circles marked with a cross.¹

The late Mgr. L. M. Zaleski, formerly Delegate Apostolic in India, wrote to me from Rome (78, Via della Croce), on September 21, 1922: "The architectonic ornament surrounding the [Mylapore] cross is clearly from Southern India.² But what I find singular is the resemblance between this St. Thomas cross and the crosses of the ancient Mexican temples of Palenque in Yucatan: almost identical arabesques at the foot of the cross and the bird always surmounting it."

A picture of the Palenque cross can be seen in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, X, 253. It is called pre-Christian, of Buddhistic origin, by Orozco y Berra. Yet, he admits that the crosses of Mexico and Cozumel may be Christian (*ibid.*, X, 252c). The author of the article, C. Crivelli, S.J., says that a pre-Columbian cross in the Cathedral of Oaxaca has good claims for authenticity. He seems to be inclined to think that it is Christian. The article on the Oaxaca Cathedral in the same work is silent about that cross, and J. Fischer, S.J., in his article on America (*ibid.*) judges that Christian antiquities in pre-Columbian America are not proved.

¹ Cf. Rev. A. Henderson, *The lesson of the Catacombs*. London, S.P.C.K., 1920, p. 40.

² How could we prove this? Were not our Indian crosses copied from those of Mesopotamia or Persia? Or shall we say, as in Malabar, that Malabar owes its form of the cross to St. Thomas?

Turning to the Palenque cross, one may certainly feel surprised at the shape of the cross and the two large human figures worshipping it; also at the two floral (?) endings of each limb of the horizontal bar of the cross, and at the designs between the foot of the cross and its pedestal; but, even with a magnifying glass, I cannot come to any conclusion about the meaning of these designs or about the design at the top of the cross. Is it a dove? It may be doubted.¹ If it is, we have a point of contact with crosses in Southern India, but not with those still extant in China. I have no notion that crosses in Northern Europe, one of the places whence Christianity might have reached Mexico in pre-Columbian days, are like our South Indian crosses. Christianity might, however, have reached America from Northern Africa also, as well as from Asia; but could our crosses have become as debased as the Palenque crosses are?²

B.—Mutṭuchīṛa Cross with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription.

When the above was written, I received from Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar the following welcome information, dated 16-9-25 and bearing the Ettumanur postmark: "I am glad to intimate to you that I have discovered another Pahlavi Cross in North Travancore. Unfortunately, the writing is completely mutilated, but sufficient traces exist to enable identification."

On October 1, 1925, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Madras States Agency, Trivandrum, communicated to me a letter without date, addressed to him by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, to which a pen-sketch of the newly discovered cross was appended. From the letter I excerpt the following:

"I beg to submit herewith further particulars relating to the short note that appeared in the *Critic* on the discovery of a Pahlavi Cross at Muthisira near Ettumanur. The tablet

¹ Goblet d'Alviella, writing in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, s.v., cross, says that in a Maya MS. two persons appear to be in the act of adoration before a tree which affects the form T, and where a parrot-like bird has taken the place of the upper arm of the cross (p. 327a and fig. 16). He states also that in the ruins of Palenque there is a bas-relief representing persons in the act of adoration before a cross, on which rests a fantastic bird, more or less representing a parrot (p. 325b).

² Mgr. Zaleski referred me to a work not to be had here: Désiré Charnay, *Voyage au Yucatan*. The Rev. A. Vöth, S.J., treating of Mexico and St. Thomas (*Kath. Missionen*, 1919, p. 81, n. 2), refers to "Die vorchristlichen Kreuze in Mexiko und Zentral Amerika" in *Kath. Missionen*, 1893, 201 sqq. The article of 1893 has illustrations of two Palenque crosses. The illustration at p. 204 is less complete than in the *Catholic Encycl.*, X, 253; the second illustration, at p. 205, shows also two human figures worshipping a cross, the cross being even more fantastic than in the former illustration. All I can say is that it is as easy to make out as Christian our Indian and Chinese crosses as it is difficult to do so for the Palenque crosses.

measures 2' 8' ' × 2', and only a few syllables are visible on the left limb of the arching canopy, but they are sufficient to establish their identity with the letters on the Kottayam and St. Thomas' Mount Crosses. The portions marked with slanting lines have been damaged, and it is inexplicable how the left limb has escaped the devastator's hand.

"The design of a dove pecking at a cross from above, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, the modelling of the equal-armed cross with the leaf-design curling from below, the calvary of three steps, in short everything is identical with the Kottayam types. The cross has been obliterated, and only the outline is now traceable.

"I shall bring a copy of the photo-print for your kind perusal, when I return to Trivandrum in a few days. The Greek inscription on a bell in the Kuravalangad Church, I shall also bring to you. . . ."¹

Mr. T. K. Joseph writes from Trivandrum, (11-10-1925): "The outer line of inscription is the same as the one on the other crosses at Mylapore and Kottayam; only, the characters are bigger. There is, besides, an inner parallel line of inscription of smaller characters, in Pahlavi, I think. This is not very legible. This line might reveal some new fact. It is a pity that only one third [of the inscription] is left."

Returning to the subject on 31-10-25, he says: "There is an inner line of (perhaps) Pahlavi characters. . . . The Church bears the name of the Holy Ghost and has an open-air cross. There is another Church west of it in the same compound (very recent), also another, north (old)."

There can be no doubt about the genuineness of the cross and inscription. The Muṭṭuchira Cross, judging from a photograph before me, is sufficiently distinctive to keep us from suggesting that it is a copy of one of the three hitherto discovered in Malabar.

¹ Cf. T. K. Joseph, "The Kuravalangad bell inscription" in *The Young Men of India*, June 1926, with a reproduction of the inscription. The specialists to whom the inscription was sent have not yet made out the characters. I must strongly protest against the suggestion that the inscription is a smudge or Portuguese, or that the bell is of Portuguese times. Those who could make that beautiful big bell and the fine crosses of ancient type cast in it must have known how to make equally well relief models of the letters of the language to be used. The bell must be taken down and photographed from every angle, as I said on 31-1-1924 at Kuravalangad, after a leisurely inspection, during which I gave full vent to my surprise and admiration. The inscription is below a beautiful lotus cross, in relief, cast in the metal. At the back of this cross there is another cross in relief, equal-armed, and trefoiled, with the central leaf cuspidate, the lower limb of the vertical bar broadening out to the base. The date of the Church is said to be A.D. 335. We may therefore expect a very ancient bell, with an inscription in characters of this country. The small cross within the inscribed line must indicate a break or separation, as in the Christian Sassanian-Pahlvi inscriptions in South India, and in the Si-ngan-fu Christian inscription of A.D. 781.

It differs from the Valiapalli Cross No. 1 (Kottayam) in the shape of the arch and of the calvary; it differs from the Valiapalli Cross No. 2 and from the Katamattam Cross in that it has no pilasters and dolphins, nor the semicircle encompassing the calvary. Besides, if it had been copied, in comparatively recent times, from one of the known crosses, would not the now unintelligible inscription have been replaced by one in Syriac or Malayalam? And how could a second line of Pahlvi, not found on any of our other crosses, have been added? It is difficult to see a dove in the photograph of the Muttuchira Cross, or the three steps of the calvary; but the leaf-design is there, above what may be a calvary. The portion between the arch and the top of the cross may be compared with the smaller Valiapalli Cross (No. 1).

Gouvea says that all the crosses of the old St. Thomas Churches, whether carved on stone, or in the most ancient buildings of the said churches, were like the cross of St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore, whence he concluded that either St. Thomas had left that form of cross to his converts, or that the first Christians knew and imitated the cross of St. Thomas Mount before the destruction of its church.¹ He does not explain how all the crosses in Malabar are yet different in numerous details from that of St. Thomas Mount or from one another. We should not admit for any cross that it is copied from another, unless we find it to be a perfect replica.

In the Catholic Church of Kōtanallūr, not far from Mānnānam, there is what is considered to be an imitation Persian cross, without any inscription on the slab. Asked whether the Persian cross of Kōtannalūr was an imitation made about a hundred years ago, a septuagenarian priest, Fr. Joseph Peediyekal (Pidiakel), now at Atirampulā, near Mānnānam, answered: "My opinion of the Kōtannalūr Persian cross is as you have heard."² "I remember also that in the Kōsamallūr [Kōtannalūr] church I found a Persian cross left outside, which had been taken out when the old church there was demolished. I remember asking them to keep it safe. I think they have done so. This was four or five years ago. My opinion is that in several old churches Persian crosses remain hidden like this."³

A story current at Kottayam, and repeated here with due reserve, is to the effect that one of the two Valiapalli crosses was stolen. When the theft was remarked, the thieves made a replica of it, smeared the slab with laurel-nut oil, and buried it in the ground.⁴ The story does not say, however, how the church has both crosses now, and which was the

¹ Gouvea, *Jornada*, I. 2, c. 2, fol. 79r., col. 1 (Coimbra, 1606).

² 24-10-'25 to Mr. T. K. Joseph; translated.

³ 18-10-'25, to the same; translated.

⁴ Mr. T. K. Joseph to me, 15-18-9-'26.

genuine stone, or how the imitation produced a different design. After Gouvea's statement, the wonder is rather that we do not find more Persian crosses in Malabar.

To proceed with Muttuchira. The only persons who can claim having discovered the stone are those who were connected with the church and its demolition.

"It is many months," wrote Mr. V. C. George of Kuravalangad, "since I began to see the Persian cross at Muttuchira. Recently I saw some inscriptions and grave-stones there, dismantled and left neglected, in the course of the demolition and reconstruction of the old church, and, being pained at the sight, I asked for better safe-keeping. It is a few days later that the Superintendent of Archaeology came to Kuravalangad and, meeting me, happened to inquire of me if any place close by had to be visited."¹

On 29-10-'25, the Editor of the *Catholic Herald of India* communicated to me a letter from Mr. George P. Murickel, dated 21-10-'25, and dealing with the discoveries at Muttuchira.²

"An ancient cross discovered among the ruins of the oldest Church of Muttuchira has become the subject of great speculation. Some papers assert with great emphasis that such a cross cannot be expected in a place like Muttuchira, and that it is the product of the imagination of the Archaeological Superintendent, while others vehemently abuse the people of Muttuchira for not having spoken of it earlier.³ Under these circumstances, I feel it my duty to set at rest the doubts excited in the minds of editors and their readers.

"In the first place, this cross is a chance discovery. The people of Muttuchira cannot be found fault with for not revealing it earlier, because it was placed beneath⁴ the altar of their oldest Church, and they had no knowledge of it. It was when they attempted to reconstruct their dilapidated Church that they happened to find it. Soon, they realised its great value, and they have kept it safely. Certain letters are found inscribed on the stone on which the cross is engraved. A few weeks after the discovery of the cross, the Archaeological Superintendent, having come to know of it, went over

¹ Kuravalangad, 19-10-'25, to Mr. T. K. Joseph.

² This letter ought to have been published in *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta; but the paper ceased publication on 28-10-1925.

³ I have seen an article in the *Manorama* by Mr. E. I. Chandy, dated 20-10-'25. It refers to a letter by Mr. Rāmanātha Ayyar in the same paper of 24-2-1101 M.E., and to another in the *Manorama* of 6-10-12 (20-2-1101 M.E.) by Mr. Paul J. Madathil.

⁴ It was found fixed against the wall, behind a wooden screen forming part of a side altar (north side) in the old Church of the Holy Ghost now demolished to give way to the present St. Francis' Church. The find took place in the beginning of M.E. 1099 (A.D. 1923). Cf. letter of Mr. Paul Madathil of Oct. 28, 1925, to Mr. T. K. Joseph.

to Muttuchira and took a copy of the cross and of the inscription. He promised the Vicar of the place that he would send a copy of both to the Rev. Fr. Hosten, and that he would also inform the public of the various details connected with the cross. Since the people of Muttuchira were sure of getting a reply from Fr. Hosten, they kept silent meanwhile. Otherwise, they would have satisfied the curiosity of those who are interested in such things, which may throw a flood of light upon the history of St. Thomas. Hence, they cannot be accused of a lack of historical instinct or of a want of veneration for such precious things of antiquity.

"It may not be irrelevant if I give here an account of this cross. From certain traditions and inscriptions it is known that the old Church where the cross was discovered was built by the Portuguese Missionaries about A.D. 1500. From its shape it can be asserted that the cross discovered was probably made 1,000 years before the construction of the Church.¹ It is supposed that the cross was taken to the Church from a certain part of Muttuchira itself where now stands the Chapel of St. Anthony. While the floor of the Church was being dug up, two graves, supposed to be those of Portuguese Missionaries, were discovered.² Anyhow, the antiquity of the Church is understood from various inscriptions from different parts of the Church, which are written in the old form of the Tamil language.³

¹ Our epigraphists must pronounce on this matter.

² These tombs were in the old Church of the Holy Ghost now demolished. They "were (according to Mr. Paul J. Madathil's letters of 28-10-'25, and 7-11-'25) below the basements of the North and South walls of the Chancel, symmetrically placed one below either basement, and at a depth of about 4 feet from it (the basement). They were not perhaps directly below the basements and more ancient than the walls, though Mr. Paul says they were: for Fr. Peediyekal in his letter to me, dated Nov. 24, 1925, says that the two graves were believed to be those of Father Jacob and his mother."—*T. K. J.* (20-9-'26).

"The Persian cross is said to have been covered over by a wooden framework. It was on this framework that an altar was erected, and thus the cross lay buried for many years under the altar wall, till it was recently discovered on the occasion of the rebuilding of the church." (Fr. Joseph Peediyekal, Vicar of Muttuchira from May 1912 to December 1915, in his letter of 2-11-'26 to me.)

³ "I got estampages of 9 lithic inscriptions. There are more, some of these latter being fixed on the top of the walls of the new St. Francis Church in course of construction, as supports for the beams, hence inaccessible. Attempts were made for me to see if any letters were visible, but my collaborators failed to see any, the woodwork of the roof standing in their way. The estampages are of stones from the old Church of the Holy Ghost, and are not published.

"My estampages are not legible enough, having been made, according to my directions, by a novice, Mr. Paul's brother, a boy of about 14, who has, however, done the work creditably.

"Here is a list of the estampages:—

1	(Inscribed in 1581)	Dated A.D. 1528.	} A single stone.
2.	(1581)	„ „ 1580, '81.	

"Another cross made of brass¹ has also been discovered now. It resembles closely the cross engraved on the stone, which itself is like the Mylapore cross.²

"It would appear from inscriptions that the cross erected in front of the Church of the Holy Ghost at Muttuchira was set up not more than 40 years after the famous cross of Kaduthuruthy was made.³

"The old Church, the possessor of such a precious cross, has now been rebuilt and dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi. The people of Muttuchira have decided to place the above cross on the façade of their newly-constructed Church."

Mr. George P. Murickel writes again (2-12-'25):—

"The Church where the Cross was found is the famous Church of the Holy Ghost at Muttuchira, which in all probability was built by the Portuguese Missionaries. Our brass⁴ cross has a close resemblance with the cross engraved on the oval stone,⁵ which, according to Mr. T. K. Joseph, has a close similarity with the cross found at Mylapore. While the floor of the Church was dug, two graves were discovered. There is a tradition that they are the graves of two Portuguese Missionaries, but there is no written record to prove it."

The Muttuchira Church where the find was made is a Romo-Syrian Church, in the Chenganacherry Diocese, P. O. Kuravalangad. The *Catholic Directory* (Madras, 1922, p. 290) states that it has a Catholic population of 2,641, and a chapel, besides the Church of the Holy Ghost. Mr. G. P. Murickel speaks of a chapel of St. Anthony distinct from the oldest Church now rebuilt.

The *Catholic Directory* (1922) does not give the date of the foundation of the Muttuchira Church, although it does so for

3.	(1593)	..	K.E.	769	Epitaph.	A single stone.
4.	(1628)	..	K.E.	803	"	"
5.	(?)	..	K.E.	(80 ?)	4	"
6.	(1630)	..	K.E.	806	"	"
7.	(1642-43)	..	K.E.	818	"	"
8.	(1660)	..	K.E.	835	"	"
9.	(?)	..	K.E.	4(8 ?)	"	"

"No. 3 says: "On Sunday, 7th Dhanu, 769 K.E., the soul of Fra Chakkō (=Jacob) was taken. A(mon)."—*T. K. J.* (20-9-'26).

¹ Bell-metal (?).

² A unique discovery, to be compared with another at Malacca before 1613. Cf. Pt. VI, Section 15.

"Father Peediyekal says the silver-coated brass cross was used in processions. He does not remember any inscription on the silver coating. Mr. Paul says that the silver coating had decorations or chisellings, but was peeled off and melted in A.D. 1919. According to report, it was entirely covered with silver." (*Notes of T. K. J.*)

³ The Katutturutti open-air cross, the highest (I think) in all Malabar, was put up in 1597, and blessed in 1599 by the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo do Menezes. Cf. Gouvea, l. 1, c. 15, fol. 47v, col. 1.

⁴ Bell-metal (?).

⁵ The Persian cross on the stone with a semi-circular arch, found in the same church.

most of the churches of the Chenganacherry Diocese. The Church is, no doubt, the one mentioned in or after 1676 by an anonymous Carmelite Missionary (?) (Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 9907, fol. 17v. 18r-18v¹), as the Church of "Spiritu Sancto," with the following villages and bazars annexed: Coddiheli, Paramporam, Periam paddy, Tanara chare, Cheria omelur, May mure. Nin dure, Herle nelha cara (?).

For the identification of these place-names and other particulars, I am indebted to Mr. T. K. Joseph, Training College, Trivandrum, and to Mr. Karōṭṭu C. George, Malayalam novelist and headmaster, Muṭṭuchira.

1. Coddiheli is Kuḷuvēli, a small tract of land comprising the present Christian street of Muṭṭuchira. This appears to be the place where Christians first arose or settled down in Muṭṭuchira. The Mappila (Christian), the carpenter and the blacksmith of Kuḷuvēli are regarded as the most ancient in the Muṭṭuchira region. Kuḷuvēli has become the name also of a Christian family there.

2. Paramporam is Parampram, a petty village, which begins due East of the Muṭṭuchira street and extends further eastwards. Mr. V. C. George's house is on the borders of this village.

3. Periampaddy is Tiruvāmpāṭi, a village about a mile north of Muṭṭuchira. The name of Kochunampūri of Tiruvāmpāṭi, a Malabar Brahman, a composer of humorous Malayalam verses, is very famous in the Malayalam country.

4. Tanarachara is Tāmarachchēra, a village about a mile south of Muṭṭuchira. Its present name is Ūnnukalle. The Anglican Church of Muṭṭuchira is really in this village. It is a hilly region.

5. Cheria Omelur is Cheriyōmallūr (= Little Ōmallūr), now usually called Ōmallūr, about two miles S.E. of Muṭṭuchira, and nearly one mile S.E. of Tāmarachchēra (No. 4 *supra*).

6. Maymure is Mēmuṛi, some three miles due south of Muṭṭuchira. The Roman Catholic Church of Mānvetṭam is in this village. Formerly, this church was only what is called in Malayalam the 'cross church' (minor church) of the Muṭṭuchira Church.

7. Nindure is Niṇṭūṛē, a village two miles S.E. of Mēmuṛi (No. 6 *supra*). It is an important Southist settlement. The Southists have a church in Niṇṭūṛē. This was the birth-place of Bishop Makil, the first indigenous Southist Bishop of Malabar.

¹ A copy in my keeping was acquired in 1925 for the Travancore Government. A transcript of it, made in 1922 by Prof. Jarl Charpentier of the Upsala University, was presented to me by him (10-8-1924). The date 1676, though not shown as the date of the document, is found at fol. 11v.

8. Herlenelhacara is Erēñnalakkara (strictly Iravimañ-nalakkara), a village adjoining Muttuchira on the S.W. The famous Hindu Temple of Adityapuram is here.

There are at present numerous Christians in all these eight villages. Formerly, the Christians in all of them, except Neendoor (No. 7 *supra*) had the Muttuchira Church as their place of worship.

Anquetil Du Perron notes in January, 1758, that the Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost at 'Muttiera' and its oratory of St. Sebastian had been burnt by the Raja of Travancore.¹

"There is a local tradition, vague and confused, as usual, about the invasion of Muttuchira by Pārchāve (Pādshāh), *i.e.* by Tipū Sultān. But Tipū never came so far south. It must be the invasion referred to by Du Perron which the tradition speaks of. Tradition also says that a bell, like the old one with the enigmatic inscription at Kuravalangad, was in the Muttuchira Church. This was thrown into the sea, when the Pādshāh's army advanced. But the sea is about 18 miles away from Muttuchira, and the backwater 11 miles. The bell could very well have been put into a well, or river, or tank, or canal, close by, for safety. Tradition is nothing, if it is not made romantic." (T. K. Joseph, 3-10-26.)

From Mr. T. K. Joseph's correspondence I learn other particulars regarding the Muttuchira Church and the finds.

1. "An inscription in the recently demolished Church of the H. Ghost says that "a cross was set up in this ground" in A.D. 1528. The two graves may be of Portuguese Missionaries who built the church. St. Sebastian's Church is called the "Prāsu" Church, which I suppose means the church of the Frades, brothers, monks.² Mar Simeon and Father Jacob lived. I hear, in the Church of the H. Ghost and the latter seems to have been buried there... It is the Ignapalli of old writers, also called the Nāyappalli Church.

"The open-air cross (No. 2)³ has a badly damaged inscription beginning thus: "in K.E. 799..." (A.D. 1623-24). On the pedestal of the open-air cross there is another cross (No. 3), a miniature of the Persian cross (No. 1).⁴ George P. Murickel's brass cross (No. 4) was a silver one, the core of which is of bell-metal... I have a sketch of the "silver" cross drawn from memory by Fr. Joseph Peediyekal, a former Vicar of the Church. There was another cross (No. 5) on the wooden

¹ A. Du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, t. I., pt. I (Paris, 1771), p. clxxxvi.

² Might Prāsu not be corrupt for 'Francis'? T. K. Joseph objects that Francis is now, in Malayalam, Porinchu and Prañchis.

³ The inscribed Persian cross counts as No. 1.

⁴ "This miniature cross, if reports are reliable, must be like the cross on the brass or bell-metal plate and the Persian stone cross. It would therefore have some ornamental projecting limb on either side of the upright shaft."—T. K. J.

reredos, perhaps a replica in wood" [of No. 4].¹ (Letter of 6-11-1925.)

2. "I received estampages of the Muttuchira inscriptions, about a dozen. In one I find that Denha, Mar Abo and Frei George set up a cross in 1528 (for constructing the Muttuchira Church). After that Frei George and his nephew Matthew went to Portugal." (Letter of 3.12.1925.)

3. "The crosses of the Muttuchira Church and Street.

"See the translation of the inscriptions below :—

"*1st Inscription* :—By the command of the king [of Katutturutti], in 1528 A.D., Mar Denaha, and Mar Abo, together with Fra George, set up a holy cross [as inaugurating the proposed Church] in this ground.² Thereafter [he, Fra George] went to Portugal along with his nephew, Father Matthew.³

"*2nd Inscription* :—On the 13th of September,⁴ 1580, A.D.,

¹ This wooden cross as well as the reredos, behind (?) which was found the inscribed Persian cross, has now been destroyed.

² "The building of a church cannot be begun before a Bishop or his delegate has approved of the site, placed a cross there, and blessed the first stone. (Pontificale Romanum, Para. 11, *De benedict. et imposit. prim. lapid. pro eccl. edif.*)." Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, III. 42b. The cross erected before the blessing of the first stone at Muttuchira may, therefore, have been of wood.

"The practice of setting up a temporary wooden cross at the site proposed for a church or for an open-air cross, is now in vogue among the non-Catholic Malabar Syrians also. The cross is afterwards discarded, and, in the case of a church, a stone, or stones, in the form of a cross, anointed with holy oil, are laid under the altar at the consecration ceremony." (*T. K. J.*, 18-9-1926.)

The question arises : Did the two Bishops, Mar Denha and Mar Abo, at this early date in the relations between Syrians and Latins, conform to the Roman rite at a church which, we understand, was managed by a clergyman, of the Franciscan (?) order, or by one who had been brought up by the Franciscans (?). The fact that two priests of Muttuchira went to Portugal in or after 1528 shows that the relations between Muttuchira and the Latins were intimate, and that the title of Frade (Friar) as opposed to Father, used respectively by George and Matthew, does not simply indicate, for instance, that one may have been unmarried and the other married. T. K. Joseph (1-10-'26) notes that Frei George would now be Āhā George in Syriac.

³ Might they have belonged to the family of Father Josephus Indus, and his brother Matthew, also a priest, who went to Portugal with Cabral in 1501 ? Was not this Josephus Indus from Kuravalangad, close to Muttuchira ? Paulinus says he was of Cranganore.

⁴ In the Latin Church, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is on September 14. The ceremony may have taken place on the eve. Fr. Joseph Peediyekal (Pidiakel) wrote to Mr. T. K. Joseph on October 24, 1925, that the feast of the Cross was formerly celebrated on September 13, whereas it is now on September 14. He adds that a decree of the Diamper Synod (Malayalam translation) ordains September 13 for the feast. This is not so in Sess. 8, decree 9, of the Portuguese text, where September 14 is fixed for "the feast of the Cross, according to the custom of this Diocese." September 13, or the eve of the feast of the Cross, is appointed as a fast-day in the same Diamper Council (Sess. 8, decree 10).

on the feast of the Holy Cross, this holy cross [the Persian cross] was taken and set up [on the wall] covered with wood [reredos] by Bishop Mar Simeon and Father Jacob.+ On the feast of the 18th of December (?)¹ this —*tāra* (?) cross [the bell-metal cross (?)] was set up.+ On Good Friday, Minam 29, 1581, this granite cross was erected.

"These two inscriptions are on the same slab, one below the other.² The portions within [] are my interpretations. It is not known which is the last cross, one of granite (of 1581). The open-air cross to the west of the Holy Ghost Church, in which the slab was, was set up in 799 M.E. (1623-24 A.D.).

"There was a wooden cross on the reredos, similar to the bell-metal one. This does not seem to be mentioned in the inscriptions above.

"There is another masonry cross (an open-air one) in the

Fr. Peediyekal writes to me (2-11-'26): "According to the prevailing tradition of the Syrians, the date is September 13. Even in our Breviary the feast of the Holy Cross is on September 13. Cf. *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (Syriac), Paris, 1890, t. I, p. 343; t. III, p. 187. Nevertheless, we all celebrate this feast on September 14."

¹ The name of the month is not clear here. Fr. Joseph Peediyekal (Pidiakel) wrote to Mr. T. K. Joseph: "The feast of the 18th day is the feast of the miraculous cross at Mylapore, held on December 18." This is correct. "In conformity with the custom of this Diocese," the Diamper Council (Sess. 8, decree 9) fixes as a feast the 18th December, "the day when the cross of the glorious St. Thomas the Apostle sweats." On the day of our Lady's Expectation (December 18), to which title the Church of St. Thomas' Mount was dedicated (A.D. 1547), the feast of St. Thomas was anticipated at the Church of St. Thomas Mount, because the feast of St. Thomas on December 21 was celebrated at the Church of the tomb, now the Cathedral. On December 18, 1557, 1558, 1561, 1581, the cross of St. Thomas Mount was seen to sweat, and this phenomenon often recurred in the sequel, though with intervals of years, and not always on December 18. Cf. Gouvea's *Jornada*, fol. 78r-79v. Fr. Bernard says that Bishop Joseph (1557-67) ordained that the feast of December 18 be kept by the Malabar Syrians; in that case, the sweating, or the finding of the cross of St. Thomas Mount, or the Expectation of our Lady was commemorated on December 18 in Malabar.

"It is Mar Simon who instituted the feast of the 18th December, in 1580, in commemoration of the "Cross Milagre" [cross of the Miracle] at Mylapore. On the very same date a silver Persian cross was made and was taken in procession. I have seen this [silver] cross at Muttuchira." (Fr. Peediyekal to me, 2-11-'26.) I prefer Fr. Bernard's view. Simon was an intruder.

² On the photograph of the Archaeological Department, Trivandrum, they appear side by side, and the photograph seems to have been made direct from the stone, and not from estampages juxtaposed. It seems to me also that the writing in the second section is by a different hand and more slanting. But see p. 358, n. 1.

Fr. Peediyekal writes to me (2-11-'26) where the stone with the double inscription originally was: "Attached to the northern side of the Church of the Holy Ghost, there was a two-storied room. The upper story was used as the Priest's House. On the western wall of the part downstairs, used as the sacristy, was placed an inscribed stone tablet, 30" by 40". The inscription was in Nanam Moonam, or old Malayalam."

Christian street near the Church.¹ Still another, probably in a chapel, was in existence in a compound in the street."² (Letter of 6-1-1926.)

Getting confused on hearing of so many churches, chapels, crosses, etc., I wrote to the Vicar of Muttuchira, Fr. Jacob Muricken, who sent me (10-4-26) a sketch, which I venture to represent here in the following simple way :



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A

S

The Vicar's explanations are :

1. Church No. 1 : old name : Church of the Holy Ghost ; new name : Church of St. Francis.

2. Church No. 2 : Church of the Holy Ghost.³

3. Church No. 3 : St. Sebastian's, with a very small open-air cross in front (No. 7).

a. Chapel No. 1 : old name : Holy Cross ; new name : St. Anthony's ; contains cross "No. 6."⁴

b. Chapel No. 2 : St. Theresa or the Flower of Jesus.

A. Open-air cross (cross "No. 2") with inscriptions and a cross ("No. 3") in the shape of a bow.

The exact position of the cross with the Persian inscription is described by Mr. Paul Madathil : "In the demolished old church there were three altars. At the eastern end of the church, which stood east and west, there was the principal altar ; to the right and left of it (south and north) there were two minor altars. The cross alleged to be Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's discovery was built into the wall, in the northern altar, and at a height of about seven feet from the floor. It was over this that the altar was built, of wood. On this wooden altar there was fixed, so as to be visible to all and exactly at the place where this cross stood, a wooden cross of the same form There are many who saw (the slab) after it had been pulled down. They say that, at the time, not more than one span was damaged."⁵

I understand from Mr. T. K. Joseph's letter of 15-18-9-'26, quoting Fr. Peediyekal (24-10-'25) that this stone was removed from a *manitōrā*, when the *manitōrā* was pulled down. *Manitōrā* is explained as a bell (*manī*) tower (*tōrā* ; *Port.* : torre). (T. K. J., 5-10-'26.)

¹ This is referred to further as Cross No. 6.

² "This cross is not now in existence. It is not the one near St. Sebastian's Church."—T. K. J.

³ Fr. Peediyekal says that Church No. 2 was begun in the M.E. 1030 (A.D. 1854-55), and finished in M.E. 1033. (Letter of 2-11-25 to Mr. T. K. Joseph.)

⁴ "Cross No. 6 in St. Anthony's Chapel, as far as I know, is a masonry cross. It is in the street."—T. K. J.

⁵ 28-10-1925 to Mr. T. K. Joseph (translated).—If only one span

Other bits of information are culled from letters received by Mr. T. K. Joseph.

"This Jacob [of the second inscription] is Mār Jacob Kattanār, Archdeacon of Mar Simeon, of the Natakkaḷ family [in Muṭṭuchira]. He [Mār Jacob] lies buried in the Muṭṭuchira Church. . . . The Muṭṭuchira Church was founded in the name of the Holy Ghost, and the feast of the Cross was celebrated there for a long time. It was built at the expense of the Portuguese, and in those days the Paulists [Jesuits] lived there¹ It is certain that the Church was built in 1528. It has, therefore, to be supposed that this Persian Cross was brought from somewhere else and put up there."²

Mr. Paul J. Madathil of Muṭṭuchira writes that St. Sebastian's or Prāsu Church was built, according to tradition, by Fr. Jacob, who was "administrator" of a diocese in France or Portugal.³ He had vowed to build five Churches in Malabar. Accordingly, (1) he rebuilt the old Church of the Holy Ghost at Muṭṭuchira, erecting the building recently demolished: he built the Churches of (2) Kōtanallūr, (3) Ilāññi (Elañji), (4) St. Sebastian's or Prāsu Church at Muṭṭuchira, and (5) another, unknown to Mr. Paul. The old Churches at Kōtanallūr and Ilāññi are, he says, similar to St. Sebastian's at Muṭṭuchira. Fr. Jacob is said to have been buried in the Church of the Holy Ghost recently demolished.⁴ Mr. Paul wrote an article in the *Manorama*, a Malayalam newspaper, on "Muṭṭuchira and its Persian Cross," and Mr. Karōṭṭu C. George of Muṭṭuchira agrees with him.⁵

Fr. Peediyekal writes to me (2-11-'26): "The fact that Fr. Jacob was a native of Muṭṭuchira and the Archdeacon of Mar Simon is clearly stated in Dr. Hough's history. The tradition is that he was buried in the Church of the Holy Ghost, near the side altar. In the attempt to repair the floor, in the

was damaged, it would follow that the rest of the damage was carried out systematically with a view to do away with the inscription and the decoration at the foot. It will be an evil day for Malabar archaeology and history when such methods can be considered proper, whatever the intention may be or the cause to be benefited. The cause to be benefited might be the theory of non-Nestorianism. As if it were proved that the inscription at Mylapore and elsewhere is Nestorian.

¹ Fr. Joseph Peediyekal, 24-10-'25, to Mr. T. K. Joseph (translated). I do not think the Jesuits ever were there. Fr. Andrew Lopez, S.J., does not mention the place in his survey of the Jesuit Missions in South India (1644). Neither do I accept without good proof that the Portuguese built that Church.

² It should be proved that the building of the Church was not a re-building. The cross could have come only from a demolished Church, as no Church would have surrendered its cross to another.

³ This Father Jacob was a 'Caçanare,' says de Gouvea; therefore, a Syrian priest. To connect him with a diocese in France or Portugal, or even a Latin diocese in India, appears impossible.

⁴ Fr. Joseph Peediyekal, 24-10-'25, to Mr. T. K. Joseph.

⁵ Mr. T. K. Joseph (15-18-9-'26) to me.

year 1886, when the bricks of the floor were removed, a number of inscribed tombstones were dug out. Among the stones taken from the floor of the side altar, was a stone on which was inscribed the name of Fr. Jacob and the date of his death and burial. This slab was placed on the northern side of the Church by the Rev. Fr. Joseph, a member of the Nadakal family, who was living when I was vicar there, and who told me he was related to the Archdeacon. I saw this tablet and showed it to the historian, the Rev. Fr. Bernard, T.O.C.D. The Nadakal family to which Fr. Jacob belonged, is one of the oldest families of Muttuchira.

"The word *padiri* is the Malayalam pronunciation of the Portuguese word *padre*, father. After the coming of the Portuguese, all the European priests came to be called *padiri* by the natives. According to this custom, the natives addressed as *padiris*, not only the European priests, but also the natives ordained by the Latin Bishops. Fr. Jacob was ordained by a Latin Bishop at Vaipicotta.¹ Therefore, it is no wonder that Fr. Jacob, who by rite was a Syrian, came to be called a *padiri*. Later on, this sort of interference on the part of the Latin Bishops in ordaining the Syrian priests was put a stop to at the Synod of Goa.

"Since the stone tablet can be interpreted as meaning that the Church of Muttuchira was built at the expense of the Portuguese,² the tradition among the people is quite correct. Tradition also says that the Paulists [Jesuits] since occupied this Church.³ I do not, however, remember to have read anything about this to support this tradition. One thing is quite certain, that, since Muttuchira is not far from Kaduthuruthy, where a seminary and a Church of Friars existed, it could be

¹ Fr. Jacob is called a *padiri* on September 13, 1580. How could he have been ordained at Vaipicotta, when the date of the seminary there is given as 1581 in the *Travancore Manual*, II. 169? Though a Jesuit Residence was begun at Vaipicotta in 1577, it must have taken some time before Syrian priests could be ordained there. (Müllbauer, p. 155.)

² To come to this, Fr. Peediyekal translates this part of the double inscription on the stone tablet: "In the year 1528, A.D., to build a holy cross here, sanction of the Rajah of Edathi [Katutturutti and Vada-kencore] and Mar Geovarghese [George] was obtained, and it was built at the expense of Fr. Mathi padri, the nephew of Novis, a native of Portugal" (2 II '26). I must adopt Mr. T. K. Joseph's translation in preference.

³ There is no proof for this.—We read in A. Polanco, S.J., *Chronicon Soc. Jesu*, t. II, Madrid, 1894, p. 757, under the year 1552: "(Fr. Anthony de Heredia, S.J.) also betook himself [from the House of Cochín] to some neighbouring places, where there are many Christians, who are said to have been initiated into the mysteries of our religion by St. Thomas the Apostle. He said Mass in their Churches and made the orphan boys, whom he had taken with him, sing. He also held public processions with the Christians of that religion. The people were much consoled thereby, and they insisted that he should often come back to them and give them spiritual consolation."

influenced by the foreign priests of Kaduthuruthy.¹ The square wells outside the Church, the decorations on the walls and altar, which are uncommon in Malabar, all attest the fact that the Church was under foreign influence.

"It is certain that no Church existed at Muttuchira before 1528. If a Church had existed at Muttuchira before 1528, there would have been no need of a royal permission to build a Church there in that year. According to the custom of the land, a royal permission is necessary only to build the first Church in a place, not to build additional Churches or to rebuild Churches.

"Fr. Jacob was not a foreigner, but a native of Muttuchira, of the Nalakal family. To suppose that a foreign administrator from Portugal or France rebuilt the Church of the Holy Ghost and built the Churches of Elanji, and Kothanalloor, and St. Sebastian's at Muttuchira, is not reasonable. About 1528 no foreign power had spread to the interior of Malabar, to places like Elanji, Kothanalloor, and Muttuchira."

Fontana (*Monum. dom.*, 439) and Lucas de S. Catharina (iv. 206) say that a Dominican, Ambrose, was Archbishop of the Thomas Christians about 1526 and that he united many of them to the Roman Church. Might this 'Ambrosio' be concealed under 'Bishop Abo' of the Muttuchira tablet of 1528, thus conciliating tradition, which, however much unexplicable, is at times an excellent guide? Cf. Müllbauer, p. 151 n. 5.

In 1555, the Catholic Patriarch Simeon Sulaka sent to India Bishop Joseph II., perhaps identical with Le Quien's Joseph III., or with Hernes or Asmar Abib, alias Elias, Archbishop of Amida, who came to India in 1555 with Ambrose Boticeili or Theseus, Bishop of Aria in *partibus infidelium*. According to Assemani (III. 2, 165, 444), Bishop Elias was still in India in 1565. Le Quien states that Bishop Joseph II. asked that Bishop Ambrose of 'Monteceli' be appointed as his Coadjutor with right of succession. This Ambrose is the Ambrose Theseus of Assemani, and is oftener called Ambrose Ronticali.

¹ The Franciscan Convent of S. Antonio at Cochin, rebuilt in 1523, and increased in 1580, had 30 religious under Gonzaga (ante 1587?); that of S. Antonio at Cananore had 15 religious and a course of Philosophy under Gonzaga. The first was taken by the Dutch in 1663; the second, about the same time. The Franciscans of the Observance had still in Malabar till the 18th century the following five churches: 1. S. Cruz, at Mangate; 2. S. Francisco, at Arvanallo; 3. Nossa Senhora, at Karatoure (Carturte or Katutturutti?); 4. N. S. dos Anjos, at Paloutari (Palurte?); 5. S. Antonio at Caliculam. Before 1542 the Franciscans were at Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore; at dates difficult to establish, they were at Batimena, Alapore, Porka, Marta, Gondra, Caliculam, Bandegeri, Melandurte, Baus (?), Vaipim, Palliporte, Trevilam, Calicor (Calicut). Cf. Müllbauer, pp. 36, 54, 323-324, 329.

We hear of a Dominican house at Papeli in Malabar, and of a Church built at Caturte (Katutturutti) by the Dominican Donato, a Roman, in 1620 (Müllbauer, p. 298-299, with n. 1 and 2).

He was from Malta. With his confrère Fr. Anthony, he had accompanied to Mesopotamia John Sulaka, who had been proclaimed in Rome Catholic-Chaldean Patriarch. From Mesopotamia he went to India with the Bishop of Amida, taught theology two years at Goa, and died at Cochin in 1557, when on the point of going to Europe. (Müllbauer, p. 151, n. 5, quoting Cacegas, l. 358, and Cardoso, *Agiolog.*, l. 175.) An unpublished letter of 1579 by Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., in my possession, shows that in and before that year some Dominicans moved about among the St. Thomas Christians in the interests of reunion.

The presence of foreign influence in 1528 would explain the journey to Portugal of Father Matthew and Fr. George. It might explain George's title of Frei. Possibly too, tradition has given to Fr. Jacob of 1580 the title of "foreign administrator from Portugal or France," whereas it might be a description of Bishop Ambrose. It may be also that this Bishop Ambrose built the other four churches mentioned by Mr. Paul J. Madathil: for Fr. Peediyekal agrees with the tradition that the Churches of 'Elanji' and 'Kothanalloor' were built with foreign money. The reasons he gives for such foreign help are inadequate. He must also suppose that the Church of St. Sebastian is later than 1599, because the title shows an exotic devotion. In what year will he place its erection, if it is also called Prāsu Church, and Prāsu might mean Frades, or Friars? Might Prāsu not be a corruption of Ambrose? Mār Aprōt became Ambroāt and Proth. Why could Ambrosio not give Prāsu? Of what year too were the Churches at Ilāññi and Kōtalanūr? After 1599 we find chiefly the Jesuits in the interior of Malabar, and they were not 'Frades.' We find no Frades at Muṭṭuchira after 1599.

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State, for the year 1100 M.E., 1924-1925, A.D.* (Trivandrum, 1926), Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar writes of Muṭṭuchira and its church (fifteen miles from Kottayam and one mile from Kaṭutturutti):—

"I was told that this church was originally called the church of the Holy Ghost (Syr. *Ruhadak Kudisa*), and that it is proposed to re-christen it, on completion, as the church of St. Francis of Assisi. The tablet-cross appears to have been brought hither some centuries ago from another old church which had probably existed elsewhere near by,¹ and it was found in the foundation of the altar of this chapel, when the floor was raked up during the repairs.²

¹ There is no need of suggesting that the cross came from a church in another place, unless it is proved that there was no church at Muṭṭuchira before. Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar suggests the same thing for the cross of Kaṭamattam in his report of 1923-1924.

² It was either behind or beneath the altar of this Church (the Church

"The tablet, which measures 2' 8" by 2' and is about 5" in thickness, has a shape similar to the St. Thomas' Mount Cross, *i.e.*, it consists of a square, one side of which ends in a segmental arch at the top. A narrow belt, 2½" in width, runs all round the edge of the cross, and on it must have been engraved the Pahlavi letters, similar to those found on the other famous crosses at Kottayam and at Kadamarram.¹ But, unfortunately for the cause of epigraphy, this inscribed arch of stone has been mutilated, and only a portion of about 24", forming the left upright limb² of the belt, has escaped damage. More important than this is another smaller arch ¾" in width, which runs parallel to the outer arch, separated from it by a groove 1" wide (P. 7). On this narrow ribbon of stone also are seen traces of Pahlavi writing. This belt has also suffered damage, and it is possible that, in its entirety, this additional line may have contained some interesting information other than the formula of adoration that has been met with in the other crosses.

"Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., has, while identifying the fragmentary writing on the outer arch with the writing on the other known crosses, suggested new readings and has deciphered the damaged writing on the inner limb to signify :

"Lord Messiah the supreme"

I have prepared an elaborate paper on the four Pahlavi crosses of Travancore, and I have fully acknowledged therein my indebtedness to both Dr. J. J. Modi and Mr. Anklesaria for their very valuable and scholarly help in this matter.

"The open-air stone-cross standing in front of the principal church at Muṭṭuśīra³ has an inscription on its pedestal recording the date of its erection to be Kollam 799 (A.D. 1623). The stone base is devoid of any ornament, such as scraphs⁴ heads, crosses or animal designs that have been found in the pedestals of crosses elsewhere, but one of the broad members of the pedestal in its western face contains a replica, on a smaller scale, but in a complete form, of the Pahlavi Cross described above.⁵ From this, one may perhaps surmise that the damage done to the cross, either by accident or by other causes, must have happened later than the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D., and that it must have been put face downwards in the floor of the altar by some individuals.⁵

of the Holy Ghost), and was found when the wooden altar was removed for the reconstruction of the Church.

¹ Add : Mylapore.

² Side (?).

³ This is the Tamil pronunciation.

⁴ Having no photograph or sketch of this replica, we ask whether it shows the whole front of the stone with the Persian inscription, or only the cross on it.

⁵ From Mr. Paul J. Madathil's letter we understand that the stone cross was fixed in the wall, with the inscribed face on the outside.

“ Besides these crosses, a few inscribed ones were also found in the church that is being renewed, and those which were lying about have now, at my suggestion, been collected and kept together in a corner. Most of them are the usual Vattejuttu epitaphs of the post-Portuguese period which one commonly finds in the Travancore churches ; but only one is of some special importance.

“ The record begins with the date A.D. 1528, in which a cross (*silva* ¹ mentioned as *tilivā*) of wood ² appears to have been erected under the orders of the patriarch (*tamburāṇ*),³ and then enumerates a few bishops who had been in charge of the Syrian church of Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., such as Mar Denha⁴ and Mar Givargis⁵ (George). After them is mentioned Mattāyi-pādiri, who went to Portugal,⁶ and who is represented as the *marumagan* of one of the bishops.⁷ This Vicar⁸ who is styled a *pādiri* is evidently different from Matthew, one of the three men who went to the Patriarch Mar Simon in A.D. 1490,⁹ because that man is said to have died in Portugal. The bishop Mar Simon together with his vicar (*pādiri*) Jacob¹⁰ is said to have taken out this wooden cross (*mara-tilivā*)¹¹ on the 13th Kaṇṇi of the year A.D. 1580, which was the anniversary day (*tilivā-perunāl*) of the Invention of the Cross (by St. Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine)¹² and to have consecrated a stone cross (*kariṅgal-tilivā*) instead.¹³ on Good Friday the 29th day of Minam in A.D. 1581. This stone cross must however

¹ *Slibā* is the word.

² The inscription does not say that the cross was of wood.

³ Mr. T. K. Joseph remarks that the patriarch is never called ‘*tampurāṇ*’, and that the orders were from the king (*tampurāṇ*).

⁴ This leaves out Mar Abo of T. K. Joseph. His name would be in the word *mārāyū* (Report, p. 11) misread for *Mārāvu*. The Bishops (only two are enumerated) were then in charge.

⁵ Givargis would not be a Mar or Bishop. He was a *Frade Frei*, *Frey* (friar, monk : Portug.), a *Fra* or *Frate* (Ital.).

⁶ Mr. T. K. Joseph understands from the inscription that both Frei George and Father Matthew went to Portugal, after the setting up of the cross in 1528.

The inscription states that Father Matthew was Friar George’s nephew (sister’s or brother’s son). Might Friar George not have been one of the three who went to Mesopotamia in 1490 ?

⁷ Nephew of Frei George.

⁸ The inscription does not say he was a Vicar.

⁹ Matthew, Joseph’s brother, who died in Europe, was not one of the three who went to the Patriarch Simeon in 1490.

¹⁰ Say : with Father Jacob.

¹¹ Mr. T. K. Joseph speaks of a holy cross, perhaps of stone, put up on a wall (?) covered with wood. He reads *mār tilivā* (holy cross) instead of *mara tilivā* (wooden cross).

¹² The Invention of the Holy Cross falls on May 3. Kaṇṇi 13 is by T. K. Joseph converted to Sept. 13, which is the eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

¹³ ‘Instead’ is unwarranted ; neither does the inscription say who put up a cross on Good Friday, 1581.

have been different from either the Pahlavi cross described above, or the open-air stone-cross in the church compound, which was erected only in Kollam 799 (A.D. 1624). One point has, however, to be noted, namely that 29th Minam (March 27, A.D. 1581) fell on a Sunday, and not on a Friday. Friday was March 25, Minam 27.”¹

The inscription referred to is in two sections and runs thus :—

(I adopt Mr. T. K. Joseph's transliteration.)

(Section 1) :

- Line 1. Mārāṇ Ichō Michi=
 2. yha perannitṭe 152=
 3. 8 mātē i nelatṭe chutta=
 4. m āṇa tiḷivā nirut=
 5. ti, tampurāṇṭe kalp=
 6. peṇayāl, Maṛ (*sic*) Taṇā Mārā=
 7. vu Kivarukitē pirāti=
 8. yum kūṭa. Itiṇ=
 9. ṭe chēlam Porattakā=
 10. I tēchitṭe pōyi, taṇṭe
 11. marumakeṇ Mattāyi pa=
 12. tiriyum kūṭa—.

(Section 2) :

- Line 1. Michiyha perannitṭe 1=
 2. 580 mātē kaṇṇi nāyir
 3. 13 tīyati māru tiḷivāṭe
 4. perunālkkē i mār tiḷi=
 5. vā eṭutṭe marattil² po=

¹ Cf. Report, *op. cit.*, p. 11. By mistake the report (p. 7) makes two persons out of Mar George and Mar Denha. Mar David should be called Mar Jahb Alaha, and Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas should not be omitted as coming to Malabar in 1504.

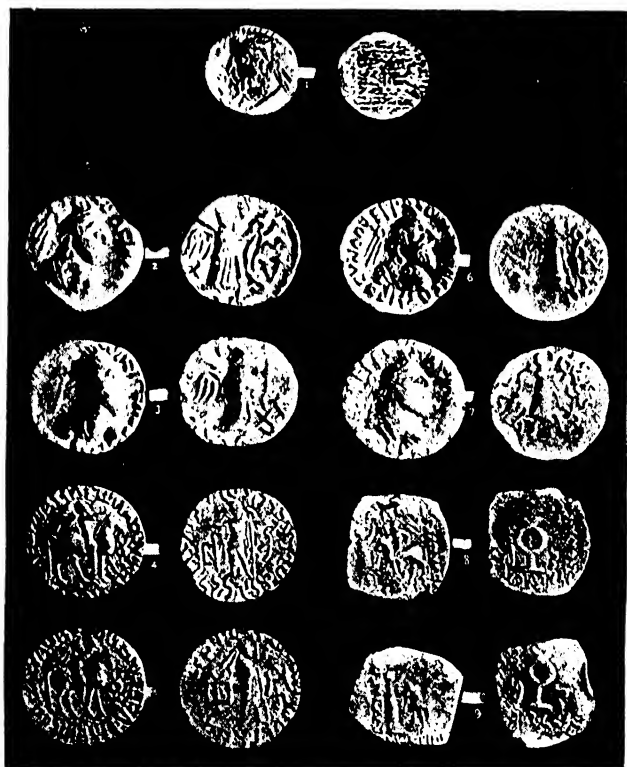
Mr. T. K. Joseph says that “Minam 29” is quite clear in the inscription, and that it corresponds to the Syriac month Ōdōr (March).

What does Minam 29 correspond to? Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar makes it March 27, 1581, and says that Friday was March 25 (Minam 27). By the method and tables published in *The Statesman*, Sunday, Sept. 12 and 19, 1926, by P. K. Chatterjee (26, Harrison Rd., Calcutta), I find that March 25, 1581, was a Saturday. Mr. Chatterjee agrees with me (27. 9. 1926).

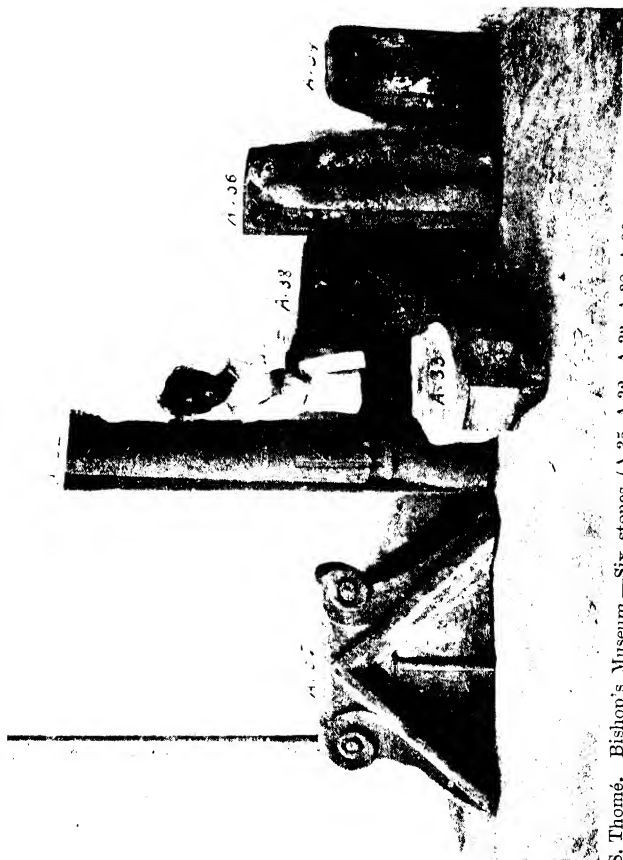
Can we make out that the first section of the inscription was written at another time than the second? In 1528, or before 1580? Or that both sections were not written till after 1581? A look at the photograph, where the two sections are side by side, shows that the second section is of a different hand.

Mr. T. K. Joseph, judging from the estampages, is of opinion that the two parts of the inscription are of the same period, probably of the same hand and that the letters in the second section are not more inclined, but a little smaller (9-10.26).

² In line 5, *r* seems to be a correction from *n* written first.—T. K. J.



Coins of King Gondopharos.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Six stones (A 35, A 32, A 33, A 38, A 36, A 34), apparently from a pre-Portuguese Church near St. Thomas tomb. Cf. p. 10, No. II.

6. tiññe niṟutti Maṟu Chema=
7. oṇ mettaraṇṇum pāti=
8. ri Yakkōvum + kāṇii=
9. tē¹ 18 tiyati perunāḷkke i=
10. tāra²-k-kuriche vechchu + 15=
11. 81 maṭe mīṇa ṇāyer 2=
12. 9 tiyati tukkaveḷḷi aḷch=
13. cha nāḷ i-k-kariṇkal tiḷivā³
14. niṟutti.

In 1490 three Malabar Christians, George, Joseph, and a third unnamed, who died on the way, went to the Patriarch Simeon (1490–1502) to ask for bishops. George and Joseph were ordained priests. Simeon consecrated bishops, two monks, both named Joseph, who took the names of Thomas and John and went to India. Thomas returned soon after. The Patriarch Elias (1502–1504) consecrated as bishops Rabans David the Long, George and Masud, under the names of Jaballaha, Denha and Jacob respectively. Jaballaha was appointed Metropolitan. These three, together with Mar Thomas, set out for India, where we find them in 1504 reporting that Mar John was still active.⁴ Mar Jacob, surnamed Abuna in St. Francis Xavier's letters (1542–1549), died in

¹ *Kāñiite* is a corrupt form of *Kōṇūṇ-Kdīm*, the Syriac month December.—T. K. J.

² The word is—*tāra* or *-tār*. I suggested *pītāl*, Hindustani for 'brass'; but T. K. Joseph objects that a cross of brass encased in silver, the cross he supposes to be meant, would not be called a brass cross. He now proposes *chitira*, for *chittira* (Skt. *chitra*), artistic, ornate. At first, he had read *pūtāra*, not knowing the meaning. Brass is *pittala*, *pichchala* in Malayalam. The *Archaeological Report*, 1924-25, p. 11, has: *perunāḷkka i-tarakkurisa* for T. K. Joseph's *perunāḷkke i-tāra-k-kuriche*. A better stampage is wanted.

³ See translation *supra*, pp. 349-350.

⁴ Assemani, t. III, Pt. I, pp. 589-590.

The Syriac MS. No. 25, of Paris, bears the following colophon at folio 7: "This book was written in the year 1815 of the Greeks (A.D. 1504),—and glory be to the Lord—, with the hands of the stranger Jacob. Let it be known to thee, my lord the reader, that, in the above-mentioned year, we arrived in these Indian countries at the town called Cannanore, in which we found our true brethren, the Franks called Portuguese, who were greatly pleased with us. Let it be known also that in the year 1813 (A.D. 1502), at the beginning of the month of September, our common Father, Mar Simon, the Catholicos of the East, left this world of miseries. The Bishops assembled near our Father Mar John, the illustrious Metropolitan, and ordained Mar Elijah Catholicos and Patriarch to the throne of the East. And this Father Mar Elijah ordained the following Bishops for India: Mar Yahb Alaha, and Mar Thomas as archbishops, and Mar Dinha and me, the humble Jacob, as bishops, in the holy monastery of Mar John the Egyptian, which is situated near Gazarta of Zabdai, in the district of Kaulaz, on the second day of Easter, in the year 1815 of the Greeks (A.D. 1504)." Cf. A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in India*. Reprinted from: *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, pp. 41-42.

Malabar in 1549.¹ Mar Abo would be different from Mar Jacob, Ābūpā (Syriac) meaning simply, 'our beloved father,' a term used in reference to priests, bishops and patriarchs.²

In 1501 Pedro Alvares Cabral took to Portugal two Malabar Christians, Joseph and his brother Matthew. Matthew died on the journey (1501). Joseph, known as Josephus Indus, reached Lisbon on July 31, 1501, visited Rome, Venice, Jerusalem, and Lisbon and returned to India.³ (Cf. Germann, 317; Müllbauer, 44.) Father Matthew of the Muttuchira inscription was not, in that case, the Matthew who went to Lisbon with Josephus Indus.

If Josephus Indus did not go to Mesopotamia in 1490, he went with Mar Thomas in 1492, became a priest, and returned in 1493. From an account of 1505 (*J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, N.S., XIX, 1923, p. 220), it is clear that two Indian priests were then in Portugal: doubtless, Joseph and Matthew.

The Franciscan Friar Simão de Guimarães, who came to India with Pedro Alvares in 1500, is mentioned as labouring among the St. Thomas Christians.⁴ Another Franciscan, Friar Luis de Salvador, who came to India the same year, was for a time at Cannanore and Cochin; he visited the court of the king of Diamper, and went next on a visit to St. Thomas' grave at Mylapore. In 1510, after the capture of Goa by the Portuguese, he was sent on an embassy to the court at Vijayanagar,⁵ but was murdered there by a Turk in 1511. On the basement of the temple of Vithalaswami, Vijayanagar, Fr. H. Heras, S.J., has found what he thinks to be a portrait of this Friar. In an endless procession of horses and men figuring Portuguese fidalgos, there is in front of them and turned towards them the strange figure of a bearded man, dressed in a long gown falling to his feet. His head is covered with a bonnet showing at least two of its angular points. His left hand holds a long staff.⁶ No doubt, a Padre; possibly, Friar Luis de Salvador.

A Malabar Christian was in Portugal about the time when the Muttuchira Church was built. King João, who reigned from 1521 to 1557, ordered to instruct him in the sacred letters, so that on his return he might teach his own people through his native Malavar. He stated that two disciples of St. Thomas built a Church (one at Cranganore, the other at Quilon).

¹ On Jan. 26, 1549, St. Francis Xavier writes that the "Armenian" Bishop Jacome Abuna has been 45 years in Malabar. Cf. *Travancore Manual*, II, 157. Fr. Nicolo Lancilotti writes the same from Cochin, Dec. 26, 1548. Cf. *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, Florentiae, 1887, p. 65.

² Note from Mr. T. K. Joseph (19-9-'26).

³ Müllbauer, *Geschichte der kath. Missionen in Ostindien*, p. 44. Cf. Germann, 315-317.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶ *The Examiner*, Bombay, Sept. 4, 1926, p. 429; or rather: H. Heras, S.J., *Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara*, in *Journ. of the Mythic Society*, XVII, No. 3 of 1926, pp. 85-88, where the carving appears in a photograph.

St. Thomas left them in charge, when he went to Coromandel, and each of them was buried in his church.

"This Christian also related to us," says João de Barros, "that in the house of Coulam, which was built by another disciple of the Apostle St. Thomas, stood a sepulchre of the Sibyl whom they call the Indian (Sibyl), and that that Church was an oratory of hers. And that, through her warning, announcing the birth of Christ Jesus, a king of the Ceilam island, called Pirimal, went in a ship to the coast of Mascate, to join two kings who went to adore the Lord at Bethlehem, and that he was the third, who, at the request of the Sibyl, brought to her the image of our Lady, painted in a picture (*relavolo*), which was placed in her own sepulchre. Of the journey of those kings and of the place where lived the other two (*P.* 237) in whose company he went, we wrote in our Geography, when we speak of the cities of Nazua and Balla, which are at the back of the mountain-range running along the coast of Mascate, which Province the Arabs call Yman."¹

Gouvea's *Jornada* (Bk. 1, Ch. 14, fol. 48b, col. 2) refers to the Mutṭuchira Church.

"The next day, which was the second of the octave [of Easter, i.e., Easter Monday, 1599], the Archbishop [A. de Menezes] went [from Carturte² or Kaṭutturutti] to the Church of Nagpili,³ about half a league from Carturte,⁴ where had been first the Caçanar⁵ Jacob, whom the false Bishop Simeão⁶ left in his place, when he went to Portugal,⁷ as was said above. He was very well received by all the people and by the Caçanares of the Church, all of whom tendered obedience to

¹ João de Barros, *Du Asia*, Dec. 3, l. 7, c. 11 (Dec. 3, Pte 2, Lisbon, 1777, pp. 236-237). João de Barros lived in 1496-1570. His Geography is not published.

² Katutturutti (=sea-island).—T. K. Joseph.

³ Nāyappalli, not Nāgappuḷa. The Nāyappalli Church is called also Mutṭuchira Church, although the names refer to two different localities close to each other.—T. K. J.

⁴ Mutṭuchira is one mile S.E. of Katutturutti, while Nāgappuḷa is about 25 miles by road E. by N. of Katutturutti.—T. K. J.

⁵ Kattaṇār, correctly Karttaṇār, pronounced Kassaṇār by some people, (*r* and *ṇ*=*r* and *n* in the English 'ran', 'wren', 'ruin'). Kattaṇār meant 'lord' in old Malayalam. It is a title of honour applied to Syrian Christian priests of Malabar. Lords or chiefs of small territories are called *Karttāvus*, from Skt. *Kartā*. The priests of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar are lords or chiefs of their parishes, which are called *iṭṭāvaka*, literally 'a chief's territory.' Their bishops represent their ancient king and have royal titles and dignity.—T. K. J.

⁶ Mar Simon came to Malabar in 1578, and died [in the Franciscan Convent] at Lisbon in 1599.—T. K. J.

⁷ The 3rd Provincial Council of Goa (1585) decided to remove Mar Simeon from the Malabar Coast. He was arrested and was sent through Goa and Portugal to Rome. "He appointed a Syrian priest named Jacob to be his Vicar General among the Thomas Christians, and this Jacob continued to teach Nestorian doctrines among them for twelve years after this." (*Travancore Manual*, II. 169.)

him and to the Holy Roman Church, as had been done by those of Carturte, where the greater number of them had been present (*Fol. 49a, col. 1*) at the offices of the Holy Week; and so he confirmed all the people and baptised in the same way the little children, and he preached to them, the people of this Church joining in everything the people of Carturte as regards obedience to the Archbishop, whereupon he returned the same day, and on the morrow he left for Molandurte.”¹

Another visit of the Archbishop is described in Gouvea's *Jornada* (Bk. 2, Ch. 14, fol. 109b, col. 2).

“From Corolengate² he turned to the Church of Ignhaperi³ in the same lands of the Pimenta⁴ Queen (*da Raynha da Pimenta*: Pepper Queen), which is called of the Holy Ghost. He had been in it twice already when he was the first time at Carturte.⁵ It is a small Church, but very devout, and of those which are best adorned in the Serra.⁶ And in it resided the Caçanar Jacob, a schismatic, who with some other priests whom he won over upheld against Mar Abrahão the faction of the intruder Bishop Mar Symeão, and they followed them, as we said in the first book.

“One evening, the Archbishop, as was his practice in all the Churches, was baptizing in that Church some boys and little children, who had been brought together. While he was doing this in a very devout small chapel, where stood the font, there arrived, with letters from the ships of the kingdom, a servant of his, who came from Goa, and had disembarked at Cochin. The Archbishop finished the ceremony, and opened the letters. They contained very distressing news, chiefly the death of the Catholic King Dom Phelipe the First, our Lord, who had sent him to India. The loss affected the whole of Christianity. There was also the news of the death of the Countess de Rodondo, Dona Mecia de Noronha, his sister. And after this, came other news of much discomfort to him, which had followed the former. He kept it all to himself in great secrecy; and, as there were many Gentios who had come to see the ceremonies of the Church, as was their wont in all the places, he gave order to ring the bell and sang the *Tc Deum laudamus* with the priests whom he was taking with him. And he held a discourse to the Christians, telling them to give great thanks to our Lord, who favoured so much the interests of Christianity

¹ Molanturutti (=bamboo-island), commonly pronounced Molanturutti.—T. K. J.

² Kuravalanñāte, commonly pronounced Koravalanñāte (e=e in the English ‘her’), is near Muttuchira.—T. K. J.

³ Ignhaperi=Nayappalli (Muttuchira).—T. K. J.

⁴ Probably for Pimenata, Veimmalanāte, the name of the Queen's territory, with Katutturutti as capital.—T. K. J.

⁵ I do not find in Gouvea any account of the second visit to Muttuchira.

⁶ The Mountains of Malabar.

in those parts: (*Fol. 110a, col. 1*) six ships had come from the Kingdom with many thousands of soldiers, and much money; the kingdom was very prosperous; King D. Phelipe, our Lord, promised to send many more people within the year. He said all this, so that the news might spread over the whole of Malavar, news at which our enemies, chiefly the Moors, lose heart, whereas our friends take courage, and we are respected and feared among those infidels, chiefly at that juncture, when, owing to the check we had received at the hands of the Cunhalê,¹ the Moors of Malavar thought that we had no strength left to wage war against them and destroy them. Thereupon the Archbishop left for Carturte "

C.—A Maltese Cross at Kaṭutturutti (Major).

At Kaṭutturutti (Ettumanur P.O.), inside the Church of St. Mary's, a Southist Romo-Syrian Church, built about A.D. 1500,² along the left wall of the nave, and near the lateral door, a small cross is cut in a stone inserted in the wall. This cross, Maltese in appearance, is in old style, as shown by the wavy projection meant to represent leaves, on both sides, above the calvary.³ This wavy projection is not unknown in Europe. I find a sample of it in the brass crucifix on the main altar of the chapel of this College, St. Joseph's, Darjeeling.

The inscription round this Kaṭutturutti cross says: "Kollam era 782. The Church was consecrated by Mar Abraham." K.E. 782=A.D. 1597. The cross and the inscription would have been made, we must suppose, on the occasion of the consecration of the Church.

We reproduce this cross further on, to show that the Maltese type of cross, common in China, was not unknown in Malabar, and that, therefore, the Maltese crosses found at Mylapore may be pre-Portuguese.

¹ Kuññāli.—T. K. J.—The Viceroy of Goa had sent his brother, D. Luis da Gama, against the "Cunhali" and had lost 40 Portuguese in the operations. Cf. M. Xavier, *Compendio Vniuersal*, Nova Goa, 1917, p. 70. A much larger number of killed on the Portuguese side will be found in Pimenta's *Nova Relatio* Anno 1598 & 99, Moguntia, 1601, pp. 142-143.

² Date given in *The Catholic Directory*, Madras, 1922, p. 309.

"An inscription around a cross, on a granite slab fixed on the outside of the northern wall of the old church of Kaṭutturutti, says that, on Sunday, February 22, 1590, Bishop Mar Abraham, aided by four priests, laid a stone for the chancel with the object of rebuilding the church into a bigger one. I published a translation of this inscription in *The Western Star*, a Trivandrum newspaper, on 9-2-1922."—T. K. J.

February 22, 1590, was a Thursday (N.S.), a Sunday (O.S.).

³ "To judge from a sketch of this cross in my file, this is an imitation, with slight modifications, of the Persian crosses at Katamattam, Muttuchira, or Kottayam, probably of the one at Muttuchira, close by."—T. K. J.

The Christian art of the St. Thomas' Christians in Malabar, chiefly their magnificent open-air crosses, must form the subject of a separate study.

D.—Neranam.

While rebuilding their Church lately, the people of Neranam made some interesting discoveries.

I visited the place, one of St. Thomas' Seven Churches, now Jacobite, on January 28, 1924, but reached too late in the evening with my party to be able to photograph the many relics of stone carvings which had belonged to the old church.

The open-air cross and its carved panels; in the Church: the brass lamp-stand, and the big old baptismal font decorated with different types of crosses; in the garden: a pillar near the treasury bearing the carved figures of Saints Peter and Paul; two pillars, each with a defaced female figure holding in front of her a cup for illuminations; another with a defaced figure of a woman holding a cup (above her head?): two stone lamp-stands of nine storeys; a loose stone showing a boar fighting a tiger: these were only some of the things, now discarded perhaps as idolatrous or pagan, or to be discarded as such by and by, under the influence of certain foreign religious pressures, which we would have liked to photograph. Some of the decorations on the open-air cross were: lotuses, a deer, a lion, a peacock, an elephant holding something in his trunk, a lion fighting elephants, the sun, a big fish showing his teeth, etc.

What attracted, however, chiefly my attention was a type of cross on a fragment of stone lying in the Church compound, which I had not seen before and saw nowhere afterwards in Malabar: it seemed to be a combination of a cross and of St. Thomas' carpenter's rule. I insisted with the Priest in charge that this cross should be placed in the treasury of the Church, which I doubt not was done.

I had come all that distance chiefly to hear about a 'leather book,' which I had been told had been found under the altar. From the disconnected account given us by the Priest, who did not speak English, I understood that what had been found within the altar was a granite stone; it had a cross above, and two below (at the corners); that stone was covered with another of same shape and size, but without crosses; below these two stones there was a scroll of thick silver paper, which was supposed to have some holy oil on it; with it was found also a plain wooden cross with metal linings at the corners and a ring at one end. This cross had been given to the present Metropolitan Mar Dionysios.¹ The two stones had been placed in

¹ In very ancient times the Christian practice in parts of Malabar, *e.g.* at Palur, near Cranganore, was to wear a wooden cross round the neck.

the treasury. We could not, however, inspect them, as we had not given notice of our arrival and the opening of the treasury is a complicated performance, requiring the presence of four persons, each of whom keeps one of the keys. In spite of that, we were told that a big gold cross, a gold chalice made in France, and a monstrance, with a lunette to hold the Sacred Host—evidently all relics of former Catholic occupation—had been stolen. The monstrance, very likely, dated from before the middle of the 17th century, when the Neranam Church was in union with Rome. A statue of the Madonna and Child, in the round, which we were shown, and another of pure gold, 18 inches long, which was in the treasury, must have been of similar date.

We noticed only one inscription; but many inscriptions, we were told, had been used for steps in several places, as is the practice in many other Churches of Malabar. Quite a large number of inscriptions too had been walled up, for safe-keeping, within the masonry of the new Neranam altar. If my memory serves me right, large funerary urns were at times dug up not far from the Church.¹

This is what we found and heard at only one Church, during a visit which lasted only an hour and a half, most of our time being spent in conversation with the Priest, as it was dark. Who knows what a thorough exploration of the grounds, an inspection of the treasury, and the Priest's books and palm-leaf church records, if any, might have revealed! Many churches too have their traditions, written or oral, their church songs, the story of their filiation, etc.

I have said, and I wish to repeat here, that Malabar is an *El Dorado* for the Christian archæologist and liturgist, a *terra incognita*. Hundreds of churches will repay a visit, and many of them hold out an even richer harvest of antiquities than Neranam.

Eager as I was to know more about the wooden cross given to the Metropolitan Mar Geevarghese Dionysios, I wrote to His Grace with the result that I obtained a photograph of it. From His Grace's secretary, Mr. K. V. Chakko, B.A., L.T., Niranam, Tiruvalla P.O., I had two letters, the second dated November 22, 1926, and both containing valuable information on some of the points of interest noted above, as also on others which were new to me. These will be duly recorded here.

"1. There are two slabs :—²

¹ "Some three or four years ago, it was reported to me that a big funerary urn, on the bank of the river near one of the two Neranam churches, was visible to those who passed by in boats, having been half exposed from top to bottom by the action of the water."—T. K. J.

² This refers to the two stones, referred to above, incorrectly, as having been found within the altar.

"(a) The nether stone measures $8\frac{5}{8}" \times 7\frac{1}{2}" \times 1"$. There are three crosses, similar in shape and size, lightly carved on it. (*Fig. 1.*) Each arm of the cross is $\frac{3}{4}"$ long. They form an isosceles triangle, the base measuring 3", and the sides 5" each. The edge near the top cross is broken. The other three edges are fairly polished.

"(b) The upper slab is now broken. The two pieces, when put together in position, measure $14\frac{1}{2}" \times 10\frac{3}{8}" \times 1\frac{1}{2}"$. The slab is roughly polished like the other one.

"There is no inscription whatever on either of the two stone slabs. The stone slabs *a* and *b* were found, not at the altar, but to the south of the southern grave (cf. *infra*, No. 4), very close to the chancel wall, almost near the south-west corner of the oblong chancel floor.

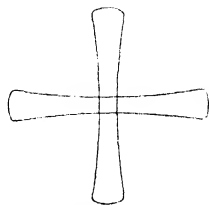


FIG. 1. One of the three crosses of the nether slab (Neranam).

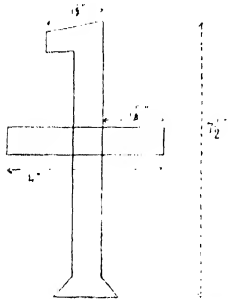


FIG. 2.—Cross on a fragment of stone at Neranam.

"2. Below the step just in front of the altar was found a silver-looking tube, which, when scraped, was found to be of copper. It looked somewhat like a cartridge, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}"$. The tube contained some yellowish powder believed to be Holy Chrism used in the Sacrament of Confirmation throughout the Eastern Church. [See the next letter for an explanation of this find.]

"3. The cross as sketched in your letter measures $7\frac{1}{2}" \times 4"$. (*Fig. 2.*)

The hook at the top measures $1\frac{1}{2}"$. It narrows towards the end and slightly slants towards the left arm of the cross.

"4. In the body of the Church, on either side of the central walk proceeding west from the centre of the altar, were found two graves. Only bishops received burial in such a highly sacred place.

"(a) The north grave yielded the wooden cross and a ring.

"(b) The south grave yielded a ring and a silver *slība* or cross, such as a bishop holds in his hand when he blesses the people. The *slība*, wrought in thin silver plates, was fastened on to a silver plate, to which was attached a handle. The same was in all probability put into the hand of a deceased prelate when placed in the grave. Bishops even to-day are buried in the sitting posture, arrayed in full episcopal vestments.

“(5) There was also found, embedded in the north wall of the chancel a copper vessel, 17½” in height with a girth in the middle of 37”. The girth at the top is 16½” and at bottom 25¾”. It is now kept in an almirah built into the chancel wall behind, and screened by, the high altar. It contained solidified Holy Chrism, which is being used at present, as occasion demands. The vessel was well sealed up, when found.”

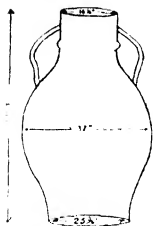


FIG. 3.—Copper vessel, containing Holy Chrism, found within the North wall of the Church at Niranam.

The Secretary's second letter, dated Niranam, Tiruvalla P.O., Travancore. November 22, 1926, runs thus:—

“His Grace Mar Dionysius commanded me to forward to you the accompanying copies of the photograph of the pectoral cross. It looks the same on either side, and so only one side was exposed to the camera.

This cross was found in one of the two graves in the chancel. It is of wood, which to acquire sanctity may very likely have had contact with our Blessed Lord's Cross or the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. When dug out, it was encased in some gilt metal. It was given to the late Mar Joseph Dionysius, who substituted gold for the baser metal, but the original look and style of build was strictly preserved. His Grace the present Metropolitan is an eye-witness to the original and the re-build. The cross is now in the possession of His Grace, as the successor of the late Joseph Dionysius.¹ The exposed part in the middle is of wood, as mentioned above. The Bishops were buried in olden days in the chancel, then in the easternmost part of the nave, now only outside the church, in the verandah, etc.

“There is no wearing of wooden crosses round the neck these days. Children wear a gold cross in the middle of a necklace, especially boys. The *thali*, an Indian marriage ornament worn by every married woman, also has a small cross worked into it, on the obverse side.

“There is a stone-laying ceremony performed by the Bishop at the time of consecrating a Church.² . . . The stone, a small block of granite or laterite, is taken. It has a small pit in the middle. Into this is placed a small silver case into which is put some frankincense (such as is used for the censur during any service in the church) and a portion of the Holy Chrism;

¹ T. K. Joseph suggests (11-12-'26) that a cross of small value was substituted for a Bishop's costly gold cross set with stones, when the Bishop was buried.

² “Not the laying of a foundation-stone as obtaining in the West.” (K. V. Chakko in his first letter, undated, received by me on Nov. 14, 1926.)

also a very small gold cross. An inscribed stone covers the nether stone and the pit containing the silver case. This is buried in the chancel, and the 'thronos' or altar is built over it.

"Most unfortunately, part of the chancel floor at Neranam was dug up rather carelessly and with no antiquarian by, and some loss may have occurred.

"What is given above is the substance of His Grace's words, of which I took note. His Grace will always be happy to give whatever help he can to further your endeavours."

These notes ought to prove of value on occasions when old Malabar churches are demolished, or the floor of old churches is dug up. They show what one may expect to find.

E.—Crosses at Kollad.

"On 13th Vrischikam, 1096 M.E. (1920 A.D.), on the top of a hillock at Kollāṭe (Kollād) near Kottayam, Travancore, a 'miraculous' cross or rather a set or three crosses, was dug up. The stone-cutters were digging for laterite stone for the Church, and by chance came upon a row of three square holes in the bed of laterite. The row of holes was one foot broad. In the hole at either end there was a square granite slab each (4 inches square) with a cross mark, while in the central hole there was a granite cross about 3 inches long, covered with gold-lace cloth. The cotton core of the gold threads had decayed, and the fabric was therefore tattered. These crosses are now in the Reformed Syrian or Mar Thomas Church at Kollād." (T. K. J., 21-10-'26.)

"The Kollād crosses I wrote to you about, some days ago, are Latin crosses. Just now I have received an actual size sketch of them. They were deposited in holes in the laterite bed, which were 1½ ft. deep, while the bed of laterite was itself 5 ft. below the surface. There were no graves in that place, nor any inhabitants until a few years ago. Who put these crosses there? I cannot say. When? I cannot say. But they may be of the Portuguese period, if Latin crosses were not in vogue here during the Portuguese times" (T. K. J., 28-10-'26) Some of our Persian crosses are more Latin than Greek; let us say they are Latin. See the cross at St. Thomas' Mount, Mylapore, and the cross of Anuradhapura, Ceylon.

On October 31, 1926, Mr. T. K. Joseph sent me actual size sketches of the three crosses, two of them marked on detached stones, the central one being a cross-shaped stone clearly of Latin form.

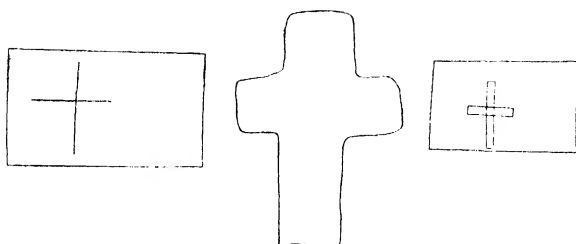


FIG. 1.—Three crosses found at the Kollād (1920).

On October 16, 1926, my correspondent comments again on this find. "After much correspondence of enquiry, I have come to the conclusion that the Kollād crosses were laid in olden days as foundation crosses for a church contemplated, but not built. They are Latin crosses. The boundary marks for the Church have also been discovered there. Please refer to the sketch herewith.

"These crosses, and the 5 holes (1-5) in the form of a big Latin cross, were actually there in the bed of laterite, 5 ft. below the surface. The dotted lines of the sketch represent my interpretation."

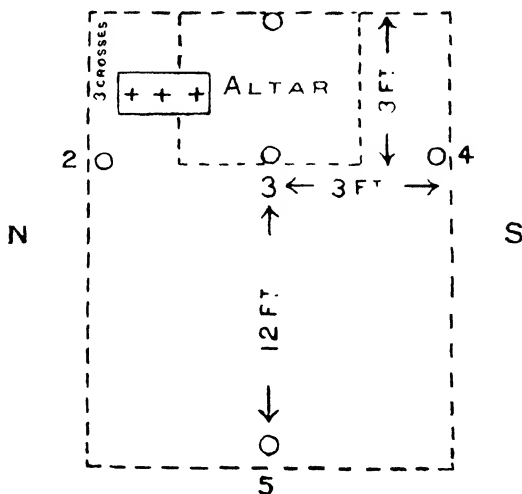


FIG. 2.—Tentative plan of chancel of a projected church (?) at Kollād, Malabar, at the place where the three crosses were found.

On 28-3-1924 the ⁺Rev. ⁺Thomas ⁺Joseph (Ravoor, Kudu-
velil House, Maraman, P.O. Kozhenchery, Tiruvalla, Travancore) wrote to me that within a church had been found a skeleton, round the neck of which was tied with a wire an inscribed copper plate. His exact words are : "I understand a stone written in ancient language is kept in a house called Changail Kozhy.¹ It can be easily taken. Another cross was found when the new foundations were digging. This copper was tied to the neck of a dead body." Further inquiries remained without response.

¹ "I am informed that it is nothing more than an ordinary inscribed grave stone of the Portuguese period."—T. K. J.

2. Ruined Churches near Kodiveri, Coimbatore Dt.¹

After my own adventurous and futile attempts to discover the site of the church of Nilakkal (Chāyal), one of the Seven Churches popularly said to have been built by St. Thomas the Apostle himself, attempts which cut out six precious days (February 1-6) from my tour in Malabar (1924), I was not a little interested to read in *The Examiner*, Bombay, Jan. 5, 1924. p. 10 :

“ *Vanished Indian Missions.*—Discoveries of much interest are expected to result from investigations which are being made in the Nilgiri Hills, in South India. A missionary of the Mission of Kodiveri, Erode, Coimbatore, in this region, is conducting researches into the buried Catholic Missions of the hills near his Mission. It is thought that further exploration may reveal, among the stone crosses which were recently unearthed in a forest near by, more traces of these long vanished Christian settlements. . . .” *C.T.*

Stone crosses ? We had gone in search of one at Nilakkal, in search of the pedestal and other parts of it, since the top portion above the horizontal beam, bearing ancient Latin (?) characters, representing I.N.R.I. (?) or XPI (?), and other characters (?) in an Indian (?) script, had been brought away some twelve years ago to the top of a hill at Kūvapalli, near Kanjirapalli, where it is now religiously kept as a great treasure.

Stone crosses ? I had seen any number of them in Travancore and Cochin, open-air crosses, magnificent pieces of art, most of them, crosses old and modern, some dated, most of them undated, and going back God alone knows how far back. Practically everyone of the Syrian Churches of Travancore and Cochin, Catholic or Jacobite, prides itself on one of these crosses. How far North and West and East did this line of crosses extend in ancient, I mean pre-Portuguese, times ? The suspicion is that, as there were ancient Christian settlements at Calicut, in British Malabar, so there were in Kanara, thus joining us, through Konkan and its harbours, on to the Christian settlements of Thana, Supera (near Bassein), and Broach, in A.D. 1323, even as far Sind.

Stone crosses ? I remembered stone crosses of large dimensions found by W. King, near closed dolmens at Mungapet, in the territory of the Nizām of Hyderābad. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1877, p. 177 ; Mgr. Laouenan, *Le Brahmanisme et ses rapports avec le Judaïsme et le Christianisme*, Pondichéry, 1884, I. 227 ;

¹ Reprinted with some changes from *The Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1924, June 11, pp. 385-386 ; June 18, pp. 401-402.

Indian Antiquary, IV (1875), 306; VII (1878), 234 (mentioning also a cross and dressed memorial stones of truncate pyramidal shape at Basatpur, near Leiyo, in the valley of the Bikaro River, Hazaribagh District, about which the Archaeological Department of Patna could not, after some search, give me any clue in 1923); Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 486-488, describing and figuring stone crosses at Katapur and Nirmal, in the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. J. Walhouse (*Ind. Antiq.*, VII, 1878, p. 234) greatly wondering whether Fergusson and King refer to the same crosses or not.

Stone crosses? Crosses on stone? In February, 1921, Monsieur G. Jouveau-Dubrueil spoke to me at Pondicherry of a cross discovered by him in prehistoric surroundings beyond the Palar River, as he was going from Chingleput to Uttaramallur.¹ He had passed, on the right, a very small hill with a fort, when on both sides of the road he noticed circles of stones and cairns. At one of the circles there was in the centre a big stone supported by three or four others, and, while examining the lower face of the big stone, actually going underneath it, he found on the surface, which had been flattened, "a very distinct cross, which surely was not natural, but engraved. This kind of dolmen was very near the road, but I do not remember very exactly where. I think, however, that it was south of the road from Chingleput to Uttaramallur." (Letter from Cannanore, June 20, 1921.)

What stone crosses then had our missionary of Kodiveri found? Had the St. Thomas Christians ever spread as far as the Nilgiris? Were these crosses relics of the evangelisation of Mysore by the Dominicans in the fourteenth century? Could we rely at all on the statement in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, s.v. Preachers, that Mysore was evangelised by the Dominicans in 1325? The date was that of Friar Jordanus of S'everac, who was at Thāna, Supera, Broach, and Goga at the time, all places on the West Coast, and far from the Mysore hinterland. We hear of the Friar again in 1329 and 1330, when the Pope sent him as Bishop to Columbum (Quilon), after first raising Columbum to the rank of a city, and its church to that of a cathedral; but no one can say whether Jordanus ever reached Columbum again, and with him ends what we know of the story of our medieval missions. Yet, what of certain crosses mentioned by Father A. Launay as at Anekal, in the Bangalore District, one of which he says had a cross, and the date 1400? In 1599, at the Council of Diamper, there was an impression that the Malas or mountaineers of Malabar and the Todas of the Nilgiris had come from the Mylapore side and were apostate Christians. Father James Fenicio, S.J., went from Calicut to the Todas in 1603, but found that they

¹ Also spelt: Uttaramerūr (*G.J.-D.*).

worshipped the buffalo, as they still do. Were the crosses of Kodiveri merely remnants of the Jesuit Missions in Mysore during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? And had Tipū Sultān's evil reign sufficed to heap up ruins in Mysore?

When I was making these reflexions, or at least most of them, on February 21, 1924, I was comfortably settled in the Bishop's House, Trichur, recovering from my Malabar tour. I called for Mr. E. I. Chandy of Pallam, Kottayam, the young man who had for nearly a month shared all my wanderings, showed him *The Examiner* and gave him a surprise. But that young worthy surprised me a great deal more by saying he had read some five months before in one of the Malabar papers that a cross-shaped foundation had been found on the banks either of the Tapti or of the Narbada. The writer of the article, who probably was the discoverer, concluded that it was a Christian church. "Why did you not tell me that before?" I asked: for I had very nearly missed that important piece of information, considering that I was to leave Malabar altogether two days later. Cross-shaped foundation? Exactly like the information someone had given me about the Nilakkal church, which we did not find after all in the Malabar elephant-infested forests. The Tapti or the Narbada? That was precisely where Friar Jordanus had been, and where we expect the bishop of Kalliana to have been about A.D. 535.

The next moment found me writing a letter to one of the big men in the land of the Five Rivers, one interested in our ancient missions, though not a Catholic, one whom Mr. Chandy's information would probably not have escaped. My next letter was addressed to the missionaries of Kodiveri. I told them some of my wonderful fancies, and asked them what they had really found. I even wrote to the priest at Erode asking him to meet me at the refreshment-room of Erode, two days later, when I passed, and tell me whatever he knew of the Kodiveri finds, if he knew anything at all. Somehow, he missed me, or he did not come, perhaps because it was Saturday, a day for confessions.

Here is the letter of Father J. B. Petit of Kodiveri. However disappointing for one who measures Christian antiquity in terms of Malabar, Mylapore, or Gobi Desert history, it is quite satisfactory according to our usual Indian standards.

SIKHARASAMPALAYAM,

1-3-'24.

DEAR AND REVEREND FATHER,

Only this evening do I receive your letter, dated 21-2-'24. I was absent from Kodiveri the whole of this week, and I am in a small station for the administration of the Catholics.

I regret very much that I am going to disappoint you.

The crosses I have found in the Moyar Valley are grave-stones, and they are not very old. I had read in the book of the Rev. Fr. Bertrand of Trichinopoly a letter of the Rev. Fr. Balthasar da Costa speaking of a flourishing community of Catholics in a place called Ossola in 1653. It is this place I have found. The only vestiges that remain of this place are about ten tombs with a roughly cut stone cross and no inscription at all. So, these crosses are not pre-Portuguese crosses.

In another place in the forests, called Guttialatur, I have also found the relics of an old chapel with the altar still standing; but this too dates from the time of the Portuguese missionaries.

In another place, named Thoraiampalayam, I have been shown a grave which is thought to be the grave of a Portuguese missionary.

In another place, named Shemandampalayam, I have seen another grave, which some say is the grave of a missionary, while others think it is that of a catechist. But nowhere have I found any inscriptions.

As you know Father Launay's book on the Missions of Pondicherry, Coimbatore, etc., you must have seen in it a sketch of some stones forming a portico at a place named Kanavakarai, in the Coimbatore Mission, and you must have been able to see whether it belongs to the Portuguese period. . . .¹

I shall feel much obliged to you, if you will kindly send me a copy of the Mission map of Madura in the eighteenth century, as there are some other places, mostly on the hills of Sattiamangalam, where there were Catholic stations then, but which I cannot find. . . .

J. B. PETIT.²

¹ An illustration of this portico appears in A. Launay's *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde*, Paris, V (1898), p. lxxxiii. It is also described *ibid.*, I (1898), p. lxxxviii. There can be no doubt that these ruins are of the Portuguese period. One of the monolithic pillars bears a cross and the monogram of the Society of Jesus, IHS, with a cross above the H and three nails below; another pillar has a cross and the monogram of Mary, M and A interwoven.

² Fr. J. B. Petit wrote again about Ossola and Kanavakarai (4-1-1926):—

“As for the crosses I found at Ossola, I did not measure them, and I cannot say whether they are Latin or Greek in shape. One of these crosses is on a tomb registered by the British Government as that of a European supposed to have been mauled by a tiger or a bear about 80 years ago. All the other tombs with cross stones stand in a line along the disused Sultan Road from the Gazulatti Pass to Gajanoor and Talavadi and Mysore. As there are near by the ruins of a fort of Tipu Sultan, I am rather inclined to think they are tombs of officers in the service of Tipu Sultan, perhaps the tombs of French officers or soldiers, as there were some in Tipu's armies. If they were tombs of British officers, there would be an inscription.

“As for the stones forming a portico at Kanavakarai, I have never seen them, though I have seen a reproduction. Unhappily I have not Fr. Launay's book here. I think these stones must be post-Portu-



S. Thomé, Bishop's Museum.—A 43.—Large shallow stone basin with rope-like rim: a baptismal font (?). Cf. p. 11, No. 12.

I have by now congratulated Fr. Petit on his finds, and, to assist him in making further discoveries, I have sent tracings of portions of Fr. L. Carrez' maps, Nos. 42 and 43, in his *Atlas Geographicus Soc. Jesu, Parisii*, 1900

It may interest others than Fr. Petit to know the villages of the old Mysore Missions which were evangelised by the Jesuits of the Province of Goa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Fr. Carrez gives them thus in alphabetical order:—

Alembari, Anekal, Anupaleam, Arsuaca, Arubale, Bessuapatti, Budapari, Calcavery, Campinagapatam, Canarempettu, Canavacarei, Caramatampatty (in the map this name is written Carutampatti), Chadnugati, Chattiapatti, Chellam, Chiringapatnam, Chirucalei, Collegoutourou, Congorali, Crapari, Darnaporei, Devancottei, Ellamangalam, Guarenalli, Madiampatti (not on the map), *Maissour*, Maggué, Marandavalli, *Mogavanur*, Navalpatti, Noreng-pettei, Partavan, Penuguei, Poliamthurei, Pomuhuru, Rampur, Sumpali, Sandarapatti, Satyamangalam, Semeneluru, Tékelam, Temichenalli, Toirecompetu, Vandicottei, Vellalacondam, Velleypettei, Xavierpaléam, Xingapetti. (Names in italics are on Carrez' map, but not in his alphabetical list.) Only for the position of Xingapetti does Fr. Carrez express any doubt.

To begin with, I find that Ossola, Guttialattur, and She-mandampalayam, mentioned by Fr. Petit, are not on Carrez' map or list. Toirecompetu (in the map spelt Toirecampetu) is probably Fr. Petit's Thoraiampalayam. Kanavakarai (Canavacarei) is there.

I now bethink myself of Fr. Besse's *Mission du Maduré* (St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Trichinopoly) and its map, and I find that it is a great improvement on Fr. Carrez' map. It has more names of villages, fixes for several the date of their beginning as Christian centres, but leaves the position of several doubtful. Fr. Petit ought to have a copy of Fr. Besse's book, as most of the places on the map, if not all, are likely to come in for interesting points of history. I have taken the trouble to draw up an alphabetical list of the place-names in Fr. Besse's map for the ancient Mission of Mysore and parts of the Carnatic and of Kumbakonam. Here is the result. Places in italics had no church or residence; others with an interrogation-mark are doubtfully identified:—

Alampaleam (?), Anakallu, Anupapaleam (?), *Ardenalli*, Arsinacarey, Arubale, Besserapa, Budapari, *Cabala*, Cacavari (1700), Cagalnata, Canakempalayam, Canavacarrey (1650), Cancarnavalli, Capuragatti, Cargundi, Carumatampatti (1674),

gueze; the reason is that about 1660 there was a priest residing at Kanavakarai, and, if he had had in his residence a pre-Portuguese Christian monument, he would surely have reported the matter to his superiors. Possibly; but our literature about the Missions of the 17th and 18th centuries in those parts is practically non-existing.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Heavy stone receptacle (A 55) : altar (?), tabernacle (?), relic-chamber (?); scallop shell at the top; urn with coils of branches and leaves at bottom. Cf. p. 12, No. 13.

Changama (1665), Chirangapatam, *Coimbatour*, Colegular (Darmapouri, 1670), Congoralli, Coralam, Crapari, Cuttucallu, Dananeancotte, Darmapouri (Colegular, 1670); Devinniccole, Dharapuram, Doreipaleam, Elamangalam (?) (1674), Erode (1641), Erudurgam, Garenalli, Gutialatur, Karur (1640), Kouryellam, Madiampatti (?), Magri-Durga, Marandaralli, *Mayssur*, Maramangalam (?), *Melcottei*, Metupalayam (?), Navalpatti, Niringuipcut (*sic*), Palicund, Palliam Tovvei (?), Peddu-najaka-Durgam, Permuguey, Pomalur, Punganur, Salem (Xellam, 1623), Samangalam (?), Sampaly (1674), Sattiamangalam (1640), Sirucalei, Somenchur, Sonna Kallu, Tirupatur, Tiximenalli, Vadicottery (?), Vaniputur (1644), Vellala Condam, Velleyampatty (?), Xavierpaleam, Xellam (Salem), 1623.

To return to Anekal. From its position in Fr. Carrez' map it corresponds to the Anekal, near Bangalore, of Fr. Launay, and therefore the stone found there, which is said to have the date 1400, may be of a later date. Could not this matter be set at rest by someone at or near Anekal? We read in A. Launay's *Hist. des Missions de l'Inde*, t. 1, introd., p. xlix, about Anekal or Anekallu, in the Bangalore District:—

"There has been found, in the territory of this parish, in an aqueduct, a tombstone on which are engraved a cross and the date 1400, which places this Christianity in the front rank of antiquity in Mysore. Three other stones were also found in a garden of the same village: on the first is engraved a Greek cross and the Canarese inscription *Jesu nateru* (Lord Jesus): the two others have only a cross."

If I understand Father Launay aright, four crosses were found, and one from an aqueduct had a cross and the date 1400, without any other lettering. Father Launay must have had good authority for the date 1400: else he would not have made the reflexion that this date "places this Christianity in the front rank of antiquity." Besides, there would be nothing so very surprising if the date 1400 turned out to be correct. Anekal may have been a very important place in olden times, and we know that there was a Christian minister, Nimch Pezir, at the Court of Vijayanagar in the time of the Persian Ambassador Abdur Razak (cf. Major's *India in the XVth century*).

I referred this matter to the President of the Mythic Society, the Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, The Cathedral, Bangalore. His answer (June 2, 1921) was disappointing: "I am sorry to say that Father Launay's information is quite incorrect. The stone, which is lying in my compound, is simply a boundary stone with a cross engraved. There are also a few letters, which are altogether illegible." I must now infer that the stone from Anekal with a cross and the date 1400 was brought to Bangalore. Supposing that to be the case, do the few letters on Fr. Tabard's stone stand for the date 1400

vouched for by Fr. Launay? Was the Archæological Department of Mysore ever approached to take an estampage of the inscription? I have seen inscriptions apparently altogether obliterated yield remarkably good estampages. And what of the shape of the crosses? Much depends on that also, in case the date can no longer be made out with certainty. Two years ago the description of a cross on a stone in the Anuradhapura Museum, Ceylon, was that it was a Greek cross. I might have left it at that; but Father S. Guana Prakasar, Nallur, Jaffna, sent me a photograph, and the cross turned out not to be Greek, but a most valuable link between our oldest crosses of Malabar, Mylapore, Malaca, and China, a Persian cross of about the sixth or seventh (?) century.

Among the ruins of ancient Missions in India should we not count ancient unpublished Christian books in the vernaculars? Some years ago I made an appeal for a further search after Telugu (Christian) manuscripts. (Cf. *Catholic Directory*, Madras, 1918.) Father J. Aelen, of Nellore, took the matter up, and with good results. He wrote to me on February 4, 1923: "Yes, for several years it was my hobby to collect old Telugu Catholic manuscripts. I now have fifteen complete unpublished manuscripts, seven incomplete unpublished manuscripts, of which a few pages are lost, and the names of about ten manuscripts which I know to exist, but which I have not yet found. Many of the former are mentioned in your list in the *Catholic Directory*. . . . I had an idea of publishing an article about all these manuscripts in the *Catholic Directory*, but I was too late. I shall now print it and send a copy of it to all the priests. I have a press, and we are printing full speed: first of all, all the old books; then the unpublished manuscripts. I do not know whether I have found valuable manuscripts. I have two sets of Sanskrit slokas with the Telugu meaning. But the most interesting find I had, was a few verses about Christ. Looking afterwards in a Hindu book of poetry about Rama, I found that these verses about Christ were quite the same, with a few changes.¹ I have only a few stanzas of that poem, and am trying to get the others."

¹ Sometimes I suspect that Vishnu-Rāma, brother of Vishnu-Krishna, might stand for Yishu (Yisho) Christ or St. Thomas. In the Jāt country, there is a Rāma riding a horse, perhaps St. George confused with Christ or St. Thomas. But one feels diffident, on putting such things down in cold print.

The Portuguese missions in the Telugu country date from the beginning of the 17th century; chiefly the French Jesuits of the Carnatic Mission in the 18th century had much success. It is possible that some Christians of the 18th century, or later, used an existing poem and changed Rāma into Christ; but a plagiarism may also have been perpetrated by non-Christians in the 18th or 19th century. What happens now or happened within modern times may have happened in the earliest centuries of Christianity. We have proofs that strange things did happen in a very remote past.

Fr. Aelen owes us still a description of the manuscripts he recovered from old Catholic families in the Telugu villages. I met him in Madras last January, and heard that among his manuscripts there are some Telugu ones in the Kanarese script, as also some Kanarese ones in the Kanarese character. These last ones would be very valuable acquisitions on the Calicut and Mysore side, and we trust that this information will not be lost. The surmise is that hoards of old Kanarese manuscripts exist still in the direction of Satyamangalam. To discover them requires only a man with a hobby. We commend the search to Fr. J. B. Petit.

During my tour in Malabar, I came upon quite a number of unpublished old Malayalam manuscripts, and I believe that eventually it will be possible to recover the works composed in Malayalam by the Jesuit Fathers of Vaipicota, at the request of the Council of Diamper (1599). The list was not a small one. Some of the books I saw seemed to belong to the series. I found too, or heard of the existence of, Malayalam translations of the decrees of the Council of Diamper, some of them written in the Syriac character. I insisted as strongly as I could with the Discalced Carmelite Fathers of the Third Order to search high and low and compile at last a *Bibliotheca Catholica Malayalica*. They welcomed the idea with enthusiasm. So much is already known to exist that, as a friend of mine suggested at Kuravalangad, there is room for a *Malabar Christian Antiquary*, where local scholars could publish their finds and discuss in Malayalam, English, nay Syriac, points of Christian history. Would that this too materialised!

What more? Has anyone heard about the cross-shaped foundation, a church, on the banks of the Tapti or of the Nabada? My friend in the Land of the Five Rivers writes that he is unaware of such a discovery. Shall we leave it at that, if a find really took place?

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, DARJEELING.

21-3-1924.

We may add here that the discussion above bore fruits in ways not altogether unsuspected. *The Examiner*, Bombay, December 25, 1926, p. 624, has the following:

"Not far from Kodiveri there stand a few time-corroded crosses and a heap of stones that once made up a chapel wall—ruins of a mission set up by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century. In fact, there were once five chapels for the Christians of these parts. These ruins seemed to be the only traces of Christianity left, when it was discovered that certain Catholic practices had also survived among the otherwise pagan population, notably the sign of the cross, which their forefathers had learned to make, and of which their only knowledge was that

it was a sign which would bring blessings. Encouraged by this discovery, missionary work was resumed in this district, and some 400 converts have already been made.”

3. *Some Portuguese Antiquarians in India (1500-1700).*

We shall mention here certain finds made in Portuguese times at Thana, Goa, Mangalore, etc. Though none points clearly to very remote antiquity, we quote them at length from Fr. Francisco de Souza's *Oriente Conquistado* (Pte. I, Conq. I, Div. I, §§ 18-19, pp. 13-15 of the Bombay Edn.) and discuss them.

1. (P. 13). "Let us see now whether in this city [of Goa], or within the vast limits of this first Conquest, we can discover any traces of Christianity dating from before the coming of the Portuguese.

"And, to begin with the countries nearest to the river Indo [Indus], the great historian João de Barros states that the Resbutos,¹ the most ancient and valiant peoples of Cambaia, who live in a chain of mountains and forests running north and south-east from Cape Jaquete² (P. 14) up to the Kingdom of Mandou, adore, although gentios, one only God and three persons, and venerate the Virgin Mary our Lady. As our Missionaries never succeeded in penetrating those thickets, it is impossible to verify this information, which, if true, shows clearly that St. Thomas preached in those parts, and that his preaching, for want of labourers and owing to contact with the other gentios, became corrupt since. And just as the Assyrians, who peopled the lands of Samaria in the time of Salmanazzar, worshipped the true God together with the idols of their own country, so, it may be, the Resbutos do.

2. "In the year of the Lord 1320, according to the chronicles of St. Francis, there went over to Persia, impelled by zeal for the conversion of the Persians, four Friars Minor, Friar Thomas of Tolentino and Friar Jacome of Padua, Priests, with Friar Demetrio and Friar Pedro, lay-brothers; but, as these shut their ears to the truths of the Gospel, they went to the Island of Ormuz, whence they embarked for the Coromandel Coast; meeting, however, with contrary winds, they entered the bay of Bombaim [Bombay], and opposite Tana were martyred for refusing to become Moors. Their sacred bodies were buried by Father Friar Jordão, of the Order of

¹ Rājputs.

² This seems to be Cape Monze near Karachi. Cf. Fr. A. Monserrate's map in *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V, Pl. xii, where it is called Ponta de Jaquete do Norte. Prof. Th. Zachariae (*Journ. of Indian History*, II, 143) points out other references: de Barros, I. 9, 1; IV. 4, 4; IV. 5, 1 and 6; Couto, IV. 1, 8; *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Jaqueta (this last must be in the new edn.).

Preachers, who was going about those parts, preaching against the accursed sect of Mafamede [Muhammad], and, as he would not cease preaching, he died at the hands of the Moors with the glorious crown of martyrdom. The gentios of the Island of Salsete, edified by the life of the holy Missionary, greatly deplored his death, and, in everlasting memory of so admirable a man, they placed his image among their idols. In course of time, the pagoda where the image stood fell in ruins, and the image was buried beneath. Many years after, a Portuguese nobleman, named Antonio de Souza the Langara,¹ wishing to build houses on the site of the pagoda, had the ground cleared and dug up; and, while digging, they found the image of Friar Jordão as neat and bright as if it had been buried only just then. It was of black wood,² one palm high, and held its hands under the scapular; the hair reached the middle of the head.

“These two cases prove well enough that, before our discovery, missionary Religious were travelling in these parts; but, when we came to India, we found no longer trace of any Christianity founded by them.

3. “From the Island of Salsete in the north let us pass to Goa, where, a few days after our taking it, there was found in a wall a brass (*de metal*) Image of Christ crucified, which was sent to King D. Manuel as the richest pearl of the East, and the memory of this discovery is still preserved nowadays in the name *Rua do Crucifixo* (Crucifix Street). We do not therefrom conclude to a Christian settlement at Goa, because Goa was founded 31 years before this event, and, before its foundation, according to the tradition of the Moors, it was a forest, a hunting-ground, where stood the pleasure-houses of the Sabayo, which to-day are used by the Tribunal of the Holy Office, and, had there been any Christianity, the memory of it could not have been lost in such a short time. Some Christian foreigner saved in this manner the Holy Image from Mahometan perfidy.

4. “But the following is a clear indication. In the year 1532, within the same city, there was presented in court a deed of gift made in 1391 to a certain pagoda by Mantrazar, a gentio King; it was inscribed on a copper plate, at the beginning of which the King invoked God, Creator of heaven and earth, who for the sake of His people had been pleased to become incarnate in this world, and, when he signed, he confessed the Trinity in unity. This occurrence of the two chief mysteries of our Faith as regards the same God, and

¹ *Langrā* (Hind.): the lame.

² On what authority does J. Godinho (*Cath. Encycl.*, New York, IV, 610c.) say that it was a bronze statue? His article on Damão gives the following references: de Britto, *Esboço historico de Damão*; Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, II. This is too general to be of use.

chiefly the motive so clearly assigned for the Incarnation, give us strong reason to say that in the city of Goa, founded on the south side, where reigned Mantrazar, there was in olden times a Christianity, which at that time already inclined towards worshipping the pagodas, and since died out so completely that, when the Portuguese became masters of the Island, there was no knowledge left of these mysteries, unless perchance the Trinity and Incarnation professed by Mantrazar was not the true one, but fabulous. I speak thus reservedly, because the whole of this gentilism acknowledges a certain trinity of really distinct and separate natures proceeding from the first cause, which they call one sole God, while admitting a million incarnations, fables which one making gifts to the pagodas must have believed in. We might have said the same about the Resbutos, but for the great authority of João de Barros.

5. (P. 15). "Let us go down lower South, and we shall find in the Mangalor seas a clear indication of Christianity. About the year 1493, some fishermen went to cast their nets into the sea, and, when the next day they wanted to pull them out, they did not find in them a single fish, but they found a Cross, a fish of greater price than the golden trivet caught in the meshes of the Milesian fishermen. At the time, they did not value their capture at its proper price; but, seeing the sea suddenly sparkle at the very place where they had fished up the Cross, and knowing it was a shoal of fish, they stretched their nets again with the good result that they filled their *almadias*¹ with all kinds of fishes. And, suspecting some mystery in the wood, they took it to the Kinglet of the Banguel (*do Banguel*),² the lord of the country, who received it with much respect and placed it among the other rich jewels of his treasury. The Cross was a beautifully carved piece of olive wood, one palm and a half in length, and full of Relics from the Holy Land. Later, in the year 1611, Miguel de Almeida, a citizen of Goa, went to the Banguel, and, as he made friends with the Kinglet, the latter showed him his treasury, as these Kings of Asia are wont to do in token of great benevolence, and as Ezechias did to the Ambassadors of Barodac.³ Among his other jewels he showed him the Holy

¹ "An Indian boat made of an entire piece of timber." Ant. Vieyra Transtagano, *Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, London, 1773.

² This name is in Pimenta's *Exemplum Epistolae . . . Cal. Dec. Anno 1600 datae*, Moguntiae, 1602, p. 30. D. André Furtado de Mendoza, before arriving from Goa at the fortress of the Cugnale (Dec. 1599), pacified the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala. The Latin has: *Regem Banguel & Tainam Olala*, where 'Tainam' may be a misunderstanding due to a first misreading of *Rainha* (Portuguese): Queen. Bangel and Olala are on either side of Mangalore in a sketch of Mangalore in Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, 1674.

³ Read: Berodach. Cf. IV Kings, XX. 13.

Cross, an inheritance of his ancestors, and told him the above story. The Portuguese, as a Catholic, adored the instrument of our redemption, and asked the Kinglet pressingly for it, who finally gave it him in exchange for other pieces. Almeida returned to Goa, rejoicing and triumphant at having redeemed it from the hands of an Asiatic Prince as unbelieving as Chosroes. This case proves that, before the advent of the Portuguese, some Armenian¹ had navigated these seas: for the olive wood, of which the Cross was made, is not native to India. Perhaps the sea wished to show by this prodigy that at an early time the fishermen of the Cross went over to India to catch in St. Peter's nets great shoals of infidels.

6. "Let us pass from Mangalor to the Kingdom of Calicut. Some have written that, near the City of Calicut, there was a temple where an Image of the Virgin Mary our Lady was venerated, and that the first discoverers of India prostrated themselves before it. But, as the Malabares have no remembrance of such an image, I give credit rather to the account of João de Barros. This author attributes what happened to a mistake on the part of some Portuguese, who, owing to the resemblance of the images which they saw in a *charola*,² venerated idols as Saints; and the confusion was all the easier with regard to the Image of our Lady, because her Asiatic dress is like that of the goddesses of the gentios.

7. "On the confines of the same kingdom of Calicut, to the interior, there were some villages of Christians at a place called Todamala, and, according to the account of the Synod of Diamper, which was held in the mountains of Malabar by D. Aleixo de Menezes, the worthy Primate of India, they descended from the ancient Christians of St. Thomas, who during the general persecution of that Church fled from Meliapor into the interior until they stopped at that place; and, as they lived forty leagues or more from the other Christians of the Serra, and had no Prelates or Priests, they gradually forgot entirely the law of Christ, and, keeping only the name of Christians, followed in everything else the errors of the gentios.³

"Next come the relics of the Christianity of St. Thomas, scattered in the mountains of Malabar from Cranganor up to Coullão; and this was the only Christianity which the Portuguese found in India, though corrupted for many centuries past by the dogmas of Nestorius. We shall speak of it at greater length further."

¹ 'Armenian' was used at that time for all Asiatic Christians.

² A niche for the image of a saint.

³ On the supposed Christians of the Todamala or Mountains of the Todas in the Nilgiris, cf. L. Besse, S.J., in *Anthropos*, t. II, fasc. 6 (1907), pp. 970–975; T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of light in a dark land*, pp. 132–146, where read 'Fenicio' instead of 'Ferreira.'

It will be worth while to go again over some of the ground covered by Fr. Francisco de Souza.

1. *The Trinity among the Rājputs.*

Father de Souza's reserve in this matter is to be commended; but, if it would be rash to assert that the trinity of the Rājputs or of the Brahmaus is derived from the Christian Trinity, it might be unsafe to say that it was not influenced by it.

João de Barros may have taken his reflection on the Rājputs from *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da Índia desde Goa até Dio narrando a viagem que fez o Vice-Rei D. Garcia de Noronha em socorro desta última Cidade (1538-39), por Dom João de Castro*, publicado por Diogo Köpke, Porto, 1843, p. 114. After speaking of the Resbutos or Rājputs of Cambay, Dom João says: "We must know that the whole of this country [of Cambaya] is inhabited by a people called Guzarates, who are so weak and worth so little that they seem to be a great disgrace to the human race. Among them there are certain men, like philosophers and Religious, who are called Bramenes, and who believe in the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and in many other things of our most holy law."¹ Our passage says nothing, as we see, of the Virgin Mary. We must suppose that de Barros had other authorities: for we have not been able to trace in any work the passage in question.

Here is, however, a passage from de Barros, which is not altogether irrelevant. "Such treachery [from the Moors] they [the Portuguese] had not met with from the heathen, because they were naturally friends of the Christians,"² and conformed

¹ "Of Couto's two quotations from João de Barros and Damião de Goes, very vague quotations both, Caland has traced the second. It is difficult to say where Barros has spoken in the sense given by Couto (the Indians must have had an idea of the Most Holy Trinity.) Very likely, Couto refers to an expression in Barros' *Decadas da Índia*, II.5.1. But there might be question of another work by Barros, perhaps his *Geographia*. Cp. *op. cit.*, IV, 5.1 at the end." Cf. Prof. Th. Zacharias of Halle in a review of Prof. W. Caland's *De Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda*, which review appeared in *Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen*, Berlin, 1921, Nos. 7-9; or see my translation of the same review in *Journal of Indian History*, Allahabad University, vol. 2, pt. 2, 1923, pp. 143-144.

Prof. Jarl Charpentier of Upsala did not push this matter further in his *Supplementary notices on the discovery of the Vedas*, in *Journal of Indian History*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 161-187.

² In these days of home-rule, it is good to hear what the Hindus clamoured for in 1323, when Friar Jordanus wrote from Thana: "Let me tell you that the fame of us Latins is more highly thought of among the people of India than among us Latins ourselves. Nay, they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books. And, moreover, they are continually praying the Lord, after their manner, to hasten this wished-for arrival of the Latins. If our Lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys on this sea, what a gain it would be! And what damage and

with them in many of their customs, and in the fashion of their temples, as he had seen in the kingdom of Calicut. Even the King of Calicut's Brahmans, in the religion which they held of the Trinity of three persons and one only God, which amongst the Christians was the foundation of all their faith, conformed with them (though in another very different manner), which thing the Moors contradicted."¹

2. *The statue representing Friar Jordanus.*

We have the story of his martyrdom and of the discovery of a statue supposed to be his in another author, a Dominican.

(P. 245, Col. 2). "But all this [about the ancient Missions of the Friars Preachers in the East] is greatly strengthened by what was discovered in the year 1564 at the town of Tana of the Island of Salsete, near the city of Baçaim in India. Foundations were being dug for a certain building, (P. 246, Col. 1) when the workmen came across a statue, which, being cleaned and examined, showed perfectly in the dress and make a Dominican Friar. The news reached Father Frey Aleixo da Setuval, who was residing at our Convent of Baçaim. A man of great intelligence and good understanding, he tried to clear up what could be gathered about its origin. In the same place (*no mesmo lugar*) lived Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, one of the famous defenders at the siege of Dio, and he had power in it (*nella*) and authority; he caused the oldest gentios to come together and had them questioned each separately as to what they thought of the Image. The greater number agreed that they remembered how, when they were small, they had seen the same [Image] venerated in a Pagóde and held in repute by the people. And it was a tradition of their ancestors that two Cacizes from Franquia² (this is the name they give to the Christian Priests), coming to that place when it was a noble city, and one of them doing wonders which surpassed the power of nature, by giving sight to the blind, feet and hands to the lame and the maimed, and even restoring the dead to life, the King of the city ordered them to be killed; and the people, grieved at the cruelty and thankful for the favour, caused the statue to be carved, to the life, in memory of the dead, and showing their manner of walking and dressing. And they had not been satisfied with less than placing it among their idols in the Pagóde. (They called Pagóde the house which they use as Temple). As regards the manner

destruction to the Soldan of Alexandria! O, who will tell this to his holiness the Pope? For me, wayfarer that I am, 'tis out of the question." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 230.

¹ Cf. the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, *The three voyages of Vasco da Gama and his viceroyalty from the Lendas da India*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1869, p. 202 n.: no reference beyond the statement that the note is translated from de Barros.

² "For so they term us, not indeed from France, but from Frank-

in which it became buried there, they gave an explanation, saying that one of our Captains, in the beginnings of the discovery of India, had landed at the place with a big *armada*. (Col. 2) and had destroyed it and razed it to the ground, and the image had remained hidden among the ruins of the town and of the Pagóde. This tallies with the histories of India, which mention, as the author of the deed and of the war which was waged on this coast, the Captain-Major (*Capitão Mór*) Diogo da Sylveyra, the Governor of India being Nuno da Cunha.¹ Whence it is well proved that this Friar was Friar Jordão, a Dominican. The Chronicle of St. Francis (*Cron. de S. Francisco*, P. 2, L. 7, c. 35) relates that he was with four Franciscans, Frey Demetrio, Frey Thomás Tolentino, Frey Jacome of Padua, and Frey Pedro of Sena, whom the Gentios martyred in the city of Taná, near Baçaim, on the Coast of India. The Chronicle continues to say that it was he who buried the Relics,² and it mentions another Dominican, his companion, by name Frey Francisco."³ Francis of Pisa was this companion.⁴

The martyrdom of Friar Jordanus is asserted by Cardoso in his *Agiologio Lusitano*, Lisboa, 1657, II. 307: "This conflict [of the four Franciscan martyrs of Thana] was written by Jordão, of the Order of Preachers, who later obtained the same."⁵

The date of the martyrdom of Friar Jordanus should fall in 1330 or later. We know that in 1330 Friar Jordanus, then created first Latin Bishop of Quilon, was on the point of setting out for the East. Of an earlier period he had written:

land (*non a Franciá, sed a Franquiá*).'' Cf. Marignolli, c. 1348, in Yule's *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 336.

¹ Nuno da Cunha left Lisbon on April 18, 1528, and governed nine years and ten months, up to September 1538. Diogo da Silveira left Lisbon as Capitão Mor a first time on May 3, 1523, and a second time as Capitão Mor on September 1, 1529. Cf. M. Xavier, *Compendio Universal de todos os Viso-Reys*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917, pp. 16, 18, 66.

The destruction of the Pagoda would seem to fall in 1530, though I find that the fleet sent in 1530 to the coast of Cambay was under the command of Antonio de Silveira. Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, June 30, 1917, p. 252.

² The body of Peter of Sienna was not found after the martyrdom, says Bl. Odoric. (Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 67.)

³ Cf. *Terceira parte da Historia de S. Domingos por Fr. Luis Cacegas, reformada por Fr. Luis de Sousa*, Lisboa, 1767, Pte. III. Liv. 4, c. 2, pp. 245, col. 2-246, col. 2. The first edition must be of about 1677. Fr. Luis de Sousa's work (the 2nd and 3rd part of the history) received a first imprimatur in 1650.

There is a letter of Francis of Pisa, a comrade and friend of Jordanus, which gives details about the death of the four Franciscan martyrs of Thana. Cf. Yule, *Mirabilia: The wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus*. London, 1863, p. vii n. 1; Yule's *Cathay*, I (1866), 61 n. 1, 65 n. 2.

⁴ Romanet du Caillaud, *Saint Thomas de Tolentino* ..., in *Le Pèlerin*, Paris, No. 500, p. 4.

⁵ Is Cardoso's authority perhaps the discovery of a statue in 1564?

“Five Preaching Friars and four Minors were there [in India] in my time cruelly slain for the Catholic faith.”¹

From Zaiton in Southern China, where he was bishop, the Franciscan Friar Andrew of Perugia, could write in January 1326, of his four brethren martyred at Thana, and of “Friar Nicholas of Banthera, Friar Andrutius of Assisi, and another Bishop, [who] died on their arrival in Lower India, in a most cruelly fatal country, where many others have died and been buried.”²

For a different account of Jordanus’ martyrdom, we turn to a modern Dominican historian, Fr. André-Marie, who, after quoting from Echard (*Script. Ord. Praed.*, t. I. p. 549) Jordanus’ letter from Thana, dated January 21, 1323, writes:—

“Unable to bear any longer the loneliness to which he was reduced, and convinced moreover of the necessity of attracting to those Missions numerous evangelical labourers, Brother Jourdain left for Avignon, where the Sovereign Pontiff then was, John XXII., to give more stability to that Mission, appointed him Bishop of the Indians (*episcopus Columbensis*, as his bull of institution calls him): some say of Coulam, in Malabar; others, of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon.³ Brother Jourdain de Sévérac was (P. 42) instructed to carry the pallium to John of Cor, newly elected Archbishop of Sultania, and the bulls of the Pope to the Nestorians in India, who still called themselves Christians of St. Thomas.⁴

“Before setting out for his distant Mission, the new Bishop went to Toulouse, where the General Chapter of the Order was held that year (1328).⁵ One hundred Missionaries had been appointed for the Missions among the infidels; he obtained a large number of them, and, accompanied by Brother Télaimonot,⁶ he went to the East Indies to found several houses of his Order.⁷

“The Bishop had not forgotten the yearnings of the simple Missionary: Brother Jourdain still coveted martyrdom. This favour was granted him: he died at Tana (S Thomé of

¹ Yule, *Mirabilia*, p. 56. Yule did not know what became of Jordanus after his elevation to the episcopal dignity. Friar Jordanus had been in India for only a short time: from 1321 till some time after 1323. He had no doubt left for Europe before 1328.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1886), p. 225.

³ *Columbensis*: of Columbus or Columbum, i.e., Quilon.

⁴ Columbum was erected into an episcopal city on August 9, 1329. Jordanus was appointed to that see on August 21, 1329. The latest document entrusted to him was one for the Nazrani Christians of Quilon, dated April 8, 1330.

⁵ “Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*, 1330, 1336.”

⁶ “At this same time [1341 or thereabout] one Philip and Taclaueret, Dominicans, went to preach the Gospel in the East Indies.” Cf. Pierre Bergeron, *Traicté des Tartares*, Paris, 1634, p. 117.

⁷ “Wadding, *Annal.*, 1325, No. 14.”

Meliapour),¹ stoned by the infidels, we do not know in what year. The Christians, who loved him as a father, buried him with honour, and, to keep the memory of his virtues and of his glorious martyrdom, they caused his image, showing him in the habit of his Order, to be carved in relief on one of the altars of their Church. This monument, raised in honour of Brother Jourdain de Sévrae, was kept for centuries. The Christian faith was gradually lost in the Indies, and the Muhammadans destroyed the Church. Two hundred years later, however, when the Portuguese came to those parts, Blessed Jourdain's statue was found back, and the Indians, who had kept (P. 43) some traces of Christianity, said it was the image of Brother Jourdain, of the Order of St. Dominic, who had been martyred by the infidels.²

"The greater number of the above facts was communicated to John XXII.³ by Brother Francis of Camerino and by Brother Richard of England."⁴

It might be argued that some Buddhist or Hindu statue was mistaken by the Portuguese in 1564 for a Dominican Friar. We would answer that no Indian statues in our Museums resemble a Dominican Friar. The statue found must have been sufficiently distinctive, since we do not hear that anyone tried to connect it with the four Franciscan martyrs of Thana, whom Friar Jordanus had buried in the Church of St. Thomas at Supera. What happened to that statue? Was it not deposited in one of the Dominican Convents of India, preferably at some town near the place of the discovery? Could it still be traced, or was it sent to Europe?⁵

To those who would contend that Hindus would surely not have made a statue of a Frank Caciz and placed it in their

¹ Thana is not S. Thomé of Mylapore; it is in the Salsette Island, north of Bombay.

² "Année dominicaine (*Vies des Saints et bienheureux de l'Ordre*), janvier, p. 394."

³ John XXII. was enthroned on September 5, 1316, and died at Avignon on December 12, 1334.

⁴ Fr. André-Marie [Meynard], *Missions dominicaines dans l'Extrême Orient*, Bauchu, Lyon-Paris, 1865, t. I, pp. 41-43.

Pope John XXII. raised Friar Francis of Camerino to the Archiepiscopal see of Vespro, a town between the Black Sea and the sea of Azov, and Friar Richard of England to the Bishopric of Chersonesus in Crimea (*ibid.*, I. 44.)

⁵ Inquiries made in *The Examiner*, Bombay, November 11, 1925, as to the whereabouts of this statue, produced no response. That does not prove, however, that a search at Thana or in the neighbourhood might not be successful.

Since a Dominican of Bassein, Friar Aleixo de Setuval, came to Thana to inquire about the statue, he may have taken it with him to Bassein, and the statue may now be in another Church. Father E. Hull, S.J. (*The Examiner*, Bombay, 1917, p. 305) says that the old Portuguese Church of Amboli, in Salsette of Bombay, has pictures and statues said to have been taken from Bassein.

pagoda, we might answer first, on the authority of Fr. André-Marie, that the statue may, indeed, have been made by Christians and placed in their Church, which later was destroyed or became a pagoda. We expect that the Church was a Latin Church; for the Nestorian Christians of Thana would, we may suppose, have objected to a statue in their Church.¹ Under the circumstances alleged by the non-Christians at Thana in 1564, or not more than 230 years after the event, it is not incredible that the statue of a Christian *Cariz* should have been placed in a pagoda.

The following facts will show the mentality of our Orientals in like circumstances.

When Father Francisco Peres, S.J., died at Negapatam on February 12, 1583, aged 70 years, the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent there, Father Frei Luis da Conceição, wrote (Ash-Wednesday, 1583): "Many gentios accompanied him [to the grave], and they wept as much as, or more than, many Christians, his very devout admirers. Some told me that, had the Father died among them, they would at once have made for him a house of prayer, and would have honoured him as their Pagode, because he deserved it for his life and the good example with which he edified this people."²

Some Jesuit Fathers on their way to China came to Jaffna and thence to Negapatam (1655), where they found a ship for Siam. At Negapatam "they were taken . . . to a certain Pagode which is a temple of the (P. 150) Pagans; and, at the entrance to it, there is seen a stone Elephant, at whose feet there is a man lying. The story of this additional figure is that a Dutchman, having got drunk, cast himself down before this statue and died while asleep. The Pagans thought that this Elephant had killed him in punishment of his sin, and, in memory of this chastisement, they made a statue of the Dutchman, which they placed at the feet of the Elephant. Their mere natural lights prompt even the Idolaters to detest drunkenness and to punish the profaning of sacred places."³

"The *Missions Catholiques* of 1872, p. 701, contains an article entitled: 'Fang-t'ou-ti, a Chinese deity of French origin.' In 1836, Mgr. Rizzolati, Vicar Apostolic of Hou-Koang, went up the Tâ-ling, a peak in the centre of the mountains which rise between the towns of Fong-siang and Han-tchong.

¹ They might have accepted a statue, not carved in the round, but in relief; Fr. André-Marie asserts the image was carved in relief.

² Francisco de Souza, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Pte. 2, Conq. 2, Div. 2, § 8.

³ *Relation des Missions des Peres de la C. de J. dans les Indes Orientales*, dressée par un Pere de la mesme Compagnie, Paris, Jean Henault, M. DC. LIX, pp. 149-150.

Marco Polo is said to have his statue in the great temple of the Five Hundred Buddhas at Canton. Cf. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *World-Healers*, I. 215 n. 5.

Having entered a pagoda, he saw an idol wearing the priestly vestments and the *tsi-kin*, a kind of cap which the Catholic priests are allowed to wear since 1615 in the sacred ceremonies. This idol represented Father Etienne Le Favre, who in the 17th century was one of the first to preach the faith in Chen-si. There he remained famous for his miracles. Tradition says that one day, being obliged to traverse, owing to the duties of his ministry, the Tâ-ling region, then infested by tigers, the people tried in vain to keep him back. Meeting one of these wild animals, he forbade them ever to attack again the people of those parts. Since then, no accident occurred. He had announced the date of his death, which took place in 1659, on Ascension Day. Some moments before dying, he asked for a green bough; then, tracing in the air a sign of the cross, he expired.

"I remember having seen in the pagoda crowning the hill of Lang-chan, on the bank of the Yang-tse kiang, some kilometers east of T'ong-teheou, an idol with European features and costume, pretty similar to Father Verbiest's portrait. This is not an isolated case, according to those who have travelled in China.

"It is a well-known fact too that the Chinese watch-makers honour Father Ricci as their patron and keep his image or his tablet in their shop, with the usual incense-sticks and red candles."¹

Much could be added on the discovery in China at various times of Christian objects of piety, some clearly older than the 16th century. Thus Father Tisserand, a Lazarist, of Chu-Chou (China), found a statue of the Madonna in a pagan family.²

¹ Cf. Louis Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2e éd., Chang-hai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, Orphelinat de T'ou-sé-wè, 1904, pp. 165-166.

Fr. Etienne Le Favre: b. at Avignon in 1598; came to China in 1630; died there in 1659, and was buried at Siao-tsai-tse, a Christian settlement of Han-tchong fou, where his tomb is found. He is the author of a *Voyage par mer d'Europe en Chine*.

du Halde had written of Kouan Yun-tchang: "If after his death, this great man was worshipped as an Idol, this popular error proves nothing against his having been a Christian, but bears witness to his virtue" (*ibid.*, p. 165 n. 2).

"The famous Kouan Yun-tchang, who lived in the beginning of the second century, certainly knew Jesus Christ, as is borne out by the monuments written with his hand and afterwards engraved on stones. Copies of them were made which were spread in every direction, and which it is impossible to explain unless one be a Christian, because Kouan Yun-tchang speaks in them of the Saviour born in a grotto exposed to the winds, of his Death, of his Resurrection and Ascension, and of the vestiges of his sacred feet: mysteries which are as many enigmas for the Infidels" (*ibid.*, p. 89, or du Halde, *Descr. de la Chine*, III. 66).

² *Bollettino delle Missioni Cattoliche*, No. 44, November 3, 1911, quoted by Fr. Umberto Colli in *Scuola Cattolica*, Milan, December 1911, pp. 618-623.

“Saito Shirahei, a catechist of Takata (Japan) was sent into the Sado district to instruct the people. His work led him to the village of Hamo on the Island of Sadokeshima, where the goddess Kwanon has a shrine. Hitherto the villagers permitted no outsider to visit the shrine, and another catechist, Shiga Juko, making a tour of the island on a previous occasion, was refused entry. Saito Shirahei succeeded in visiting the shrine, and to his great surprise and joy found that the image of the goddess was a statue of our Lady with the Divine Child. According to the tradition of the people, this statue has been in Hamo for three hundred years, from the beginning of the time of the Tokugawas. This discovery is even more important than those made in Kyoto and Nagasaki four years ago.”¹

Finally, we have for India the remarkable statement of Friar Odoric de Pordenone, who eventually disinterred the bones of three of the Franciscan martyrs of Thana (A.D. 1323 ?) and carried them to a Convent of his Order at Zayton (China): the “Melic,” or *podesta* of Thana, afterwards “caused four mosques, *i.e.*, churches, to be built in honour of the Friars, and put Saracen priests in each of them to abide continually.”²

To these facts it might be objected still that our Indians are easily led to draw on their imagination, and that therefore the explanation about the Frank Caciz at Thana could have been invented by them there and then. True; but let the case of the Thana discovery be judged on its own merits. The Thana gentios did not invent the close resemblance discovered by the Dominicans between the statue and one of their Order, and Fr. André-Marie appears to have found in the records of his Order particulars derived from contemporary witnesses.

3. *The copper crucifix found at Goa (1510).*

Hieronymus Osorius writes :—

“Now it happened, after the island [of Goa] had come into the possession of the Portuguese, that, when a Portuguese made rather deep foundations (*altiora fundamenta*) for a house, he found a cross made of brass (*ex aere*), which was a strong proof that it had formerly been inhabited by Christians.”³

Another authority is Father John P. Maffei, S.J.

When Affonso de Albuquerque had taken Goa the second time, on November 25, 1510, he hastened to fortify the city. “While for the purpose they pulled down the temples of the Idols and the tombs of the Pagans and other buildings, they found within the walls of a house a brass image of the Cross

¹ *The Examiner*, Bombay, March 21, 1925, pp. 139-140.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 69.

³ W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 78n; quoting in Latin Osorius' *De rebus Emman. gestis*, L. 8, p. 191.

with Christ crucified :¹ an evident proof that there had formerly existed in these countries, through Apostolical tradition, not only the Christian faith, but with it the salutary use of images (which our upstart expounders of ancient piety and interpreters of the divine will try wholly to destroy). Albuquerque and all good people greatly rejoiced at this discovery : it presaged to them that town and church would one day be the chief seat of religion in India. Presently the image was cleansed. Not without tears, and with (P. 126) the pomp and solemnity which circumstances then allowed, it was carried by priests to the newly constructed church of the Christians, whence it was sent later as a most valuable present to Emmanuel, who valued these things a great deal more than gold and precious stones.”²

We read in the *Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque* :

“At this time some men were progressing with the destruction of some old walls in order to get stones for the works of defence, when they discovered in the foundations (*alicerces*) an image of the crucifix in copper. When the news of this ran through the city, Afonso Dalboquerque came down at once with all the people and clergy who were with him, and they carried the crucifix, with great devotion and many tears, to the Church. Great wonder was there that then (P. 18) seized upon the beholders : for within the memory of man there was no record of any Christians ever having been at that place, and they believed that our Lord had sent down that sign from Heaven, in order to shew that it was his will that the kingdom should belong to the King of Portugal and not to the *Hidalção*, and that their mosques should become houses of prayer, wherein his name should be worshipped. For whereas the city was very strongly garrisoned and provided with artillery and arms, and all other things necessary for its defence, our people had not sufficient—being so few in number—to take it, had there not been within it this signal of the Cross whereon our Lord suffered, which called upon them as it were, and gave them the power to attack the city ; had it not been also for the Apostle Sanctiago, who helped them, whereof the very Moors bore good testimony, to the effect that after the fall of the city they inquired of our men who was that captain with shining armour and a red cross, who marched with the Christians, striking and killing the Moors, for it was he alone that had taken their city from them.”³

¹ Note that Fr. de Souza also speaks of a brass crucifix, whereas Osorius mentions simply a cross, which might be plain, without the figure of the Crucified. It was a crucifix, as shown by the name given to one of the streets of Goa : Crucifix Street.

² Cf. J. P. Maffei, S.J., *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Antverpiæ, Ex officina Martini Nutij, Anno M.DC.V., pp. 125-126.

³ Cf. translation by W. de Gray Birch, London, Hakluyt Society, III (1880), pp. 17-18.

Not less patriotic are the reflections of de Barros.

“And, from certain indications found in it [the City of Goa], after we had obtained it, it appears that at some time it was inhabited by Christians. One of these was that a brass Crucifix (*de metal*) was found, while a man was destroying the foundations of some houses. Affonso (P. 435) d’Albuquerque ordered to bring it from there in solemn procession to the Church, and he later sent it to King D. Manoel as a proof that at some former time that image had received worship there. We must believe that it was so: for, as the Blessed St. Thomas converted great part of that country of India—we know nowadays that many houses (*casas*) were made by him in the Malabar country, and chiefly of the one he founded with his own hands in Choromandel—so it is possible that, from that Gospel seed which he sowed throughout that Province, there was some Christianity at Goa.

(*Follows an account of the Mantrazar copper-plate grant of 1391*).

“And, as we have not now any other memory of the foundation of this City of Goa except this barbarous and badly copied Grant and the finding of the sign of Christ crucified, which was made there, let us lay on it its foundations: for, to be solid and secure, all other foundation, whether spiritual or temporal, must be laid on this stone, Christ, our Redemption. And let us thank Him eternally, because it pleased Him that this His people, Christian by name, and Portuguese by blood, sent by that so Most Christian Prince, King D. Manoel, deserved to draw this image from the foundations of the pagan nation of the Gentios and of the perfidious Moors where it lay buried; and to the honour and glory of the same Christ was it freed from that barbarous captivity and placed on the altar of Catholic worship.”¹

4. *Mantrazar copper-plate grant of A.D. 1391.*

Fr. de Souza’s information on this grant is based entirely on de Barros, who, after referring to the discovery of the brass crucifix at Goa in 1510, writes:—

“Later too, at the time when I was writing this Chronicle, there was brought to us from the city of Goa the copy of a Grant which a Gentio King thereof, called Mantrasar, son of Chamandobata, and vassal of the King of Bisnaga, gave to a Pagode, of certain lands for the maintenance of the Priests, whereby he exempted and freed them from paying certain dues, according to the custom of the country. This Grant was written on a brass plate (*pasta de metal*) in Canarij letters; it had been written one hundred and forty-one years before, and was presented in court at the suit of a gentio, name Luco,

¹ Cf. João de Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. 2, liv. 5, c. 1 (Dec. 2, Pte 1, Lisboa, 1777, pp. 434–437).

a renter (*rendeiro*), in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-two, so that it might be seen that the lands of that Pagode were not (P. 436) liable to pay any tribute.

"The beginning of this Grant was in these terms: In the name of God, Creator of all the three worlds, Heaven, the Earth, the Moon and the Stars, whom they worship, and in him they give their good omen, and he it is who sustains them. To him do I render thanks and I believe in him, who for the sake of his people came into this world to be incarnate.

"From these words it seems that there was among that people some knowledge of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and in other words lower down, that is in his signature, the King confesses the Trinity in unity."¹

Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Goa) note that Goa, properly Gowa and (Mahr.) Goven, captured by the Portuguese in 1510, appears in earlier history as Sandabūr or Sindabūr (cf. *s.v.* Sindabūr), and that Gova or Kuva was an ancient name of the Southern Konkan (cf. H. H. Wilson's *Works*, Vishnu Purana, II. 164 n. 20). The place is called by the Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Ali (c. 1554) 'Gowai-Sandabūr,' which may mean 'Sandabūr of Gova.'

The same authors note further that in a copper-plate grant of A.D. 1391 (Sainvat 1313) we have mention of a chief city of Kankan (Konkan) called Gowa and Gowapūrā. "See the grant as published by Major Legrand Jacob in *J. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IV. 107. The translation is too loose to make it worth while to transcribe a quotation; but it is interesting as mentioning the reconquest of Goa from Turushkas, i.e., Turks or foreign Mahomedans. We know from Ibn Batuta that Mahomedan settlers at Hunāwar had taken the place about 1344." (*Ibid.*, *s.v.* Goa.)

Though the copper-plate grant translated by Major Legrand Jacob bears the same date as de Barros' alleged grant by Mantrazar, the only name in the former which resembles Mantrazar is Madhavarāj, and there is no allusion in it to the Trinity, the Creator or a Redeemer. The Madhavarāj copper-plate was communicated by the British Government to Major Legrand Jacob and may not be the one referred to by de Barros and Father de Souza. How, when and where the British Government acquired the copper-plate translated by Major Legrand Jacob, there is nothing to show.

5. *Vasco da Gama in a Calicut temple* (1498).

de Barros relates how Vasco da Gama and twelve of his men landed at Capocate,² and, going to meet the Zamorin at Calicut, entered a temple. "The next day, when they

¹ Cf. João de Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. 2, liv. 5, c. 1 (Dec. 2, Pte 1. Lisboa, 1777, pp. 435-436).

² "Appears to be Kappat or Kappata on the coast between Quilandi, and Calicut, alluded to in *Mal. Gaz.*, p. 45, and shown in the map in the same volume." (Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II. 86 n. 1.)

marched again, they came to a great Temple of the Gentio of the country, very well made of hewn stone (*cantaria*) with a summit (*coruchéo*) covered with bricks, at the gate whereof was a large pillar (*Padrão*) of latten, and on the top, for a finish, a cock. And within the body of the temple there was a portal, the gates of which were of brass (*de metal*); by these they entered (and came) to a staircase, which went up to the summit (*coruchéo*), at the foot whereof, where was the rotunda of it, were some images of their worship within a kind of niche (*charola*). As our people came in the belief that those people were of the Apostle St. Thomas' converts, according to the rumour there was in these parts and they had heard from the Moors, some knelt down (P. 333) to pray to those images, thinking them worthy of worship. The Gentio of the country was much pleased with this action, as it gave him to understand we were given to the worship of images, which they did not see the Moors doing."¹

More detailed is the account in Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, who brings Vasco da Gama and this twelve companions from Pandarani (Pantalāyini) on May 28 or 29, 1498.

"From the above-named place the Catual took Vasco da Gama to a pagode of his idols, telling him it was a church of much devotion, and he thought so the more as he saw above the chief gate seven small bells (*sinos*), and before it a copper pillar as high as a ship's mast, on the capital whereof was a big bird of the same copper, which appeared to be a cock. And the church was as big as a monastery, made entirely of hewn stone, and roofed with bricks, which bade fair to be a fine building within. And Vasco da Gama was much pleased to see it, and he thought he was among Christians. And when he had entered with the Catual, we were received by some men, naked from the girdle upwards and covered downwards with certain cloths up to the knees, and with another cloth thrown over the shoulder (*de cō outro sobraçado*). They had nothing on their head, and had a certain number of threads from the top of the left shoulder which passed under the right shoulder, (P. 57) in the way the Deacons wear the stole when they serve at Mass; and these men are called Cafres, and in Malabar they serve in the pagodes. With a sprinkler (*com isope*) they sprinkled water from a font (*pia*) on Vasco da Gama and the Catual and our people; next they gave them ground sandal to put on their head, as we here put ashes, and to put it so on the brawn of their arms; ours did not put it there, as they were dressed, but they put it on their head. And, as they went through that church, they saw many images on the walls, and some of them had teeth so big that they came an inch out

¹ João de Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. 1, L. 4, c. 8 (Lisboa edn., 1777, pp. 332-333).

of their mouth, and others had four arms, and they were so ugly of countenance as to look like devils. This made ours doubt somewhat whether it was a church of Christians; and when they had come before the chapel, which was in the middle of the body of the church, they saw it had a summit (*corucheo*) like a cathedral (*sé*), also of hewn stone. And on one side of this summit there was a brass door, admitting one man, and they went up to it by a stone staircase, and within this chapel, which was a little dark, there was, placed in the wall, an image, which ours descried from outside, because they would not let them go inside, signifying to them that only the Cafres could enter there; and these, pointing to the image, called it *Sancta Maria*, giving them to understand that that was their image. And, as it appeared so to Vasco da Gama, he knelt down, and ours with him, and they prayed. And João da Saa, who doubted whether that was a church of Christians, because of the ugliness of the images they had seen painted on the walls, said, while kneeling down: If this is the devil, I worship the true God. And Vasco da Gama, who heard him, looked towards him, smiling. And the Catual and his people, who stood before the chapel, prostrated themselves on the ground with their hands in front, and this three times, and then they rose and prayed standing.”¹

The attendants of this temple, whom some Muhammadan may have called Kāfirs, were no doubt Brahmans, and all the probabilities are that the statue or image was a Hindu one. A former Christian church turned into a pagode might have had a painting of the Madonna and Child, an icon, as in the Greek churches. Such a painting, generally in the style of the Madonna by St. Luke, is a common feature of the Syrian churches in Malabar, whether Romo-Syrian or Jacobite; all are probably post-Portuguese. A statue of our Lady cannot well be thought of. We are not sure there was a single pre-Portuguese statue of the Madonna in Malabar or anywhere else in India. There may be one in Ceylon. A Carmelite (?) Missionary writes, however, about 1676, that certain Hindu temples in South Malabar were spoken of by the Christians as having been former Christian Churches. Even the Hindus said that in one of the temples of the king of Upper Cranganore there was an image of our Lady. (Cf. British Museum, Sloane MS. 2748 A, fol. 10r.)

Antiquarians on the Calicut side should be able with the

¹ Cf. Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, *Hist. do descobrimento e conquista da Índia*, L. 1, c. 16, Lisboa, 1733, pp. 56-57. Of Vasco da Gama's *Roteiro* (Lisboa, 1861), p. 57, I can now quote only what I find in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. tank: "And many other saints were there painted on the walls of the Church, and these wore diadems, and their portraiture was in a divers kind, for their teeth were so great that they stood an inch beyond the mouth, and every saint had 4 or 5 arms, and below the church stood a great tanque wrought in cut stone like many others that we had seen by the way."

descriptions given here to identify the temple visited by Vasco da Gama and his men, on their way to Calicut, as also the image before which they knelt.

Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, S.J., speaks thus of an anonymous writer of A.D. 1686, whom he refutes.

“Besides this Bramane King, he found another at Calicuth : for, as Fr. Manoel dos Anjos relates in his *Historia Universal*, ch. 1, and Bishop Osorio at fol. 365 of the things of King D. Manoel, when Vasco da Gama (later Admiral of India and Conde da Vidigueyra, whose descendants are now Marquises of Niza) came to the City of Calicuth, he found a temple venerated by the Gentios of the country and dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin, whom in the Malavar tongue they called Marien ; only the Bramane priests entered the chapel of it, the rest remaining in the body of the Church, while they showed them the image of the Senhora ; and when they pronounced her name, they prostrated themselves on the ground ; and Vasco da Gama made out that the annals of that Kingdom showed Chery Perimale, Emperor of Malavar, and founder of that City and Temple, was a Bramane, of the wisest in India, and one of the Three Magi who at Bethlehem worshipped the Incarnate Son of God, and that on his return he built that temple, chapel and altar. He¹ says also that the Brama King who conquered Martavaõ and great part of the ancient Empire of Pegu was a Bramane King, and that Ptolemy placed in the lands below Mount Betigo up to the Beti, in 128 degrees of longitude and 19 of latitude, the Bragmãna City, which name it took from its Bramã King, and where lived the Magi Bragmanes, as is seen in Bk. 7, in the Table of Asia *citra Gangem*, f. 195 ; and, as Ptolemy wrote 800 years before the birth of Christ, that makes that the Bramanes have been known and spoken of these 2,486 years.”²

The refutation is typical of the period. de Queyroz, writing in the same year 1686, says : “The Church of which he³ speaks may have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas in the lifetime of our Lady, as was the case too for St. James and St. Peter. The pride of the Gentio Bramenes can be concluded herefrom : for, though they had shown so much respect to the Senhora, without being able to give an account of who she was, they heard later from the Portuguese of the birth of Christ and of the other mysteries of our holy Faith ; but, not to submit to a foreign doctrine, and not to give up their interests from which they drew their livelihood, they did not keep this memory and Temple, nor did they resolve to embrace it [our Faith] ; nor is there anything more difficult among these nations than to convert a Bramene, even with Miracles, such as God works

¹ The anonymous writer.

² de Queyroz, *Conquista*, Colombo, 1912, p.125.

³ The anonymous author.

daily among them; such was already the experience of St. Francis Xavier."¹

We may omit de Queyroz' long refutation of the other points quoted from the anonymous author. de Queyroz is very wrong when he argues that 'Perumal' (which he takes for a proper name) could not have been one of the Magi, because he reigned 6120 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498.² His distinction between the 'Bramenes' of his time and the 'extinct' Bragmânes of Megasthenes and St. Jerome does not hold either.³

We might be inclined to treat lightly these early discoveries of the Portuguese. The cases mentioned by Fr. de Souza are not the only early ones.

"At Anjediva (an island 2 miles from the coast of North Kanara, and about 51 miles south-east from Goa), he [Don Francisco de Almeida] erected a fort, and it is said that, in digging the foundations, the Portuguese came across stones bearing a cross. This was held as an indication that the place had once been the abode of Christians."

F. C. Danvers, from whose *The Portuguese in India*, (London, W. H. Allen, 1894, l. 120; year 1505 A.D.)⁴ we quote the above, might well have spared us the superior knowledge of his comment: "but it was probably not then recognised that the cross was originally a heathen emblem."

Pedro Alvares Cabral's fleet of A.D. 1500 brought eight Franciscans; before landing at Calicut on September 22, 1500. they stopped a while at Anjediva, where the Franciscans baptised 22 persons.⁵ A Jewish 'Xabandar' was baptised there in 1498.⁶

Hieronymus Osorius says of Francisco de Almeida and his discovery in the island of Anjediva: "He made at once the foundations of a fort at a place not very distant from the sea, where he found ruins marked in many places with crosses in black and red colour, which created the suspicion that the island had been frequented formerly by Christians."⁷

¹ de Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴ Francisco de Almeida left Lisbon with 20 ships on March 25, 1505. First Viceroy, he was succeeded in 1509 by Affonso de Albuquerque. (M. Xavier, pp. 6, 64).

⁵ Müllbauer, *Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, München, 1851, p. 43. Pedro Alvares Cabral writes of Anjediva: "In the middle of it is a large lake of fresh water, but the island is deserted; it may be two miles from the mainland; it was in former times inhabited by the Gentoos, but the Moors of Mecca used to take this route to Calicut, and used to stop here to take in wood and water, and on that account it has ever since been deserted." (*Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1812, p. 118). Quoted through Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, IV. 24 n. 1.

⁶ *Mitras Lusit.*, 111 (Bombay, 1888), 193.

⁷ *De rebus Emmanuelis gestis*, Coloniae, 1586, L. 4, p. 119; quoted in Latin by W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 1.

Might there be any connection between the discovery mentioned above and a 'church' at Anjediva in A.D. 1498? Or was the church a Hindu temple? *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Anchediva, Anjediva, and Tank, quotes the following from Vasco da Gama's *Roteiro*, p. 95, under the year 1498: "So the Captain-Major ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in an armed boat, and see where the water was, and he found in the said island a building, a church of great ashlar-work, which had been destroyed by the Moors, as the country people said; only the chapel had been covered with straw, and they used to make their prayers there to three black stones in the midst of the body of the chapel. Moreover, they found, just beyond the church, a *tanque* of wrought ashlar in which we took as much water as we wanted; and at the top of the whole island stood a great *tanque* of the depth of 4 fathoms, and moreover we found in front of the church a beach where we careened the ship Berrio."

Ibn Batuta (c. 1345) already speaks of a temple with a grove and a reservoir of water, also of a *jogī* leaning against the wall of a *butkhāna* or house of idols.¹

The three black stones venerated in the 'church' may have been Hindu objects of worship. Had they been altar-stones with crosses carved on them, as are found in Syrian churches in Malabar,² no doubt they would have aroused much surprise and would have been described more clearly as Christian. It is by no means clear, however, that the three stones spoken of by da Gama are the crosses in black and white colour discovered by de Almeida in many places of certain ruins.

We are not blind to the fact that on some occasions our Missionaries may have been too easily convinced by stories which to us now appear as pure invention. Such is the case of the appearance of two Dominicans at Goa, before the advent of the Portuguese. The mere appearance of two Dominicans at such a late period would in itself be sufficiently surprising; the prophecy which they are credited to have made strikes us as a hoax.

In 1548, the Dominicans began their Convent of Nossa Senhora do Monte at Goa. "There still exists a tradition of what happened at the choice of the site, which it is not proper our successors should forget. For the mystery to be seen in it greatly obliges us to live with all perfection. The Vicar General³ was carrying, drawn on paper, the plan of the Convent, with directions as to the number of fathoms that it

¹ *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Anjediva; cf. also Yule, *Cathay*, II (1886), 416 n. 1.

² For a picture see W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877; facing p. 415.

³ His name would be Diogo Bermudez. (Cf. Müllbauer, p. 332. where we have the names of 11 Friars of the new foundation).

had to extend all round. On marking the limits, which was done with the assistance of the Comptroller of the Exchequer (*Veador da fazenda*) (P. 254, col. 1) and other officers of the King's and of the Estado, they were annoyed at being obliged to dislodge some Gentios, who resented exceedingly having to quit the houses of their fathers and forefathers, which were within the limits marked by the ropes. It is said that at the shouts and complaints of these men, who, as happens among the people, little concealed their vexation, an old Gentio, whom all looked up to as to their father, came out into the street, and, looking at our Friars, who were accompanying the officers, he started wrying his face, and shaking his head like one who in his heart felt something that made him wonder. And presently he beckoned to the complainants to come to him and listen. And in a few words he told them to rest assured that what they saw happening was ordained by God. For he remembered that, being a boy, and going out early one morning to tend his father's palm-groves, he had found in the same place two Cacizes, whose dress and the colour of it did not differ at all from that of those present there; and he had seen that they were measuring it and surrounding it with long ropes, as was being done then. Their strange garb, their work, and the novelty of the thing had astonished him, and the surprise had stamped indelibly the whole scene on his memory, in spite of the many years, since there were no Portuguese yet in India. And now at last he saw the truth of what was then like a shadow or dream. Hence they should be judicious enough to submit to what Heaven had settled so many years before and change their abode without demur. The Friars (col. 2) praised our Lord, their eyes bathed with devout tears of joy, and they gathered from the event how much we were beholden to Him for having fixed and pointed out the place we were to inhabit in that City, thus prognosticating in some way some great service which He ordained to receive at our hands.

"This event was confirmed by another much alike. Within the enclosure marked out, there was a garden with houses in it, which belonged to a good old soldier, named Pero Godinho. The interests of his property obliged him to oppose the Friars' work, and he opposed them with all his might. But, after some days, he went to the Governor and told him that he desisted altogether from his claims, and wished to give up the garden and house, though the property was worth more. The Governor expressing his surprise, Pero Godinho went on to relate that some of his gardeners, Gentios, seeing him annoyed at having to surrender his property to the Friars, had told him that, a little before the arrival of the ships of the voyage (*das naos da viagem*), they had found in the centre of the land that was being marked out two men, tonsured and shaven, dressed in ample white habits and wrapped in black mantles (*capas*), who had addressed them and told them that, when other Cacizes

in similar garb would come, they should be glad to welcome them.¹ The Governor related this with much pleasure to the Vicar General, and with no less pleasure did he hear him relate *à propos* of this story another somewhat different, which, (P. 255, col. 1) as is written in our Chronicles, happened at Bologna in connection with the site where our Convent was erected later.² Before it belonged to our Order, it was planted with vines, and it happened that the diggers, rising early to work in them, remarked many times that it was illumined with great lights and clarities from Heaven, while all around dark night prevailed.

"The site having been marked out, and the inmates dismissed after compensation, our Religious³ erected a mud-church with its house of retirement and enclosure along it."⁴

¹ Did not these gardeners relate as having happened to themselves what they had heard from the old Gentoio or from those who had heard him? Would "the ships of the voyage" mean the ships of the first voyage of discovery, *i.e.* of 1498? There had been Dominicans at Goa in 1510–27, which diminishes not a little for us the surprise of the old Gentoio, while it increases our surprise at the simple faith of the newcomers of 1548. Cf. Manoel Xavier, S.J., *Compendio Universal de todos os Viso-reys...*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917, p. 23.

The first five Dominicans came to India in the fleets of Affonso and Francisco de Albuquerque, who sailed from Lisbon on April 6, and April 14, 1503, respectively. Cf. Müllbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 45, and M. Xavier, p. 5. Dominicans were present at the capture of Goa on November 25, 1510 (Müllbauer, p. 48); others still appear at Goa in 1522–27 (*ibid.* p. 57).

² "Huberto, L. 1, c. 4, Ex. 3 & 4; Leonardo Alberto, 1.5; Castilho, P. 3, l. 1, c. 38."

³ Of Goa.

⁴ Cf. *Terceira parte da Historia de S. Domingos, op. cit.*, Liv. 4. cap. 5, pp. 253 col. 2—255 col. 1.

4. Christians on the West Coast of India.

There appears to have existed in pre-Portuguese India an almost unbroken line of Christian settlements from Sind down to Cape Comorin and Mylapore.

Let us proceed from North to South.

Cosmas Indicopleustes writes (c.A.D. 535): "Among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians and the rest of the Indians, and among the Persarmenians and Greeks¹ and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia, there is an infinite number of churches with bishops, and a vast multitude of Christian people, and they have many martyrs and recluses leading a monastic life."²

He notices the Christians of Taprobane (Ceylon), of Male, "where the pepper grows" (Malabar), and a multitude of Christians in the Isle of Dioscoris (Sokotra), all ministered to by clergy from Persia.³ "And in the place called Kalliana there is a bishop appointed from Persia."⁴

This Kalliana might be identified with Kalyān, on the mainland, near Bombay, rather than with Kalyānpur,⁵ on the bank of a river, two miles north from Mangalore. Still less are we inclined to identify it with Kalyani, the capital of the Chalukyas in the Deccan.

We should think there were Christians in each of the places of trade mentioned by Cosmas between Sind and the Fishery Coast: Sindu, Orrhotha, Kalliana, Sibor, and the five marts of Male or the pepper country: Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pudopatana; also, away from Sielediba (Ceylon), at Marallo and Kabir (Kaveripatanam).⁶

In Friar Jordanus' time (A.D. 1321-1327), there were still considerable numbers of Christians on the West Coast, near Bombay and in Gujrat. Between Thana and Supera he

¹ Who are these Greeks mentioned among Asiatic nations? The Yavanas of India? The Greeks of Europe are mentioned by Cosmas further, when he states that there were Christians "in Cilicia, Asia, Cappadocia, Lazice, and Pontus, and in the Northern Regions of the Scythians, Hyrcanians, Heruli, Bulgarians, *Greeks*, and Illyrians, Dalmatians, Goths, Spaniards, Romans, Franks, and other nations till you get to Ocean Gades."

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), clxxii.

³ *Ibid.*, I, clxxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 6. A port of Kanara between Mangalore and Kundapur, in Lat. N. 13°28' or thereabouts, on the same river as Baccanore. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Baccanore.

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), clxxviii.

In *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Sūrath or Sōrath, Yule identifies Sindu with Sind; Orrhotha with Sorath in Kathiawar; Kalliana with Kalyān, on the Ulas River, 37 miles N.E. of Bombay (*ibid.*, *s.v.* Calyan); Sibor with Chaul doubtfully, and Mangaruth with Mangalore (*ibid.*, *s.v.* Mangalore). On Pudopatana see Yule's *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 453, where it is doubtfully

had baptised by Oct. 12, 1321, 35 persons; at Parocco (Broach) about 90, and another 20 probably at the same place.¹ He intended stationing two friars at Supera, two or three at Parocco, some at Columbum (Quilon), and some in other places "that I am not acquainted with."² On January 20, 1323 (1324?), he writes from Thana that he has baptised 130 persons of either sex, and "there would be a glorious harvest, if the holy friars would come."³ At Supera it was said that St. Thomas himself had preached and had built a church. This church, destroyed by the pagans, had been rebuilt by the Christians,⁴ and it was here, in the church, that Friar Jordanus buried the bodies of the Franciscan martyrs of Thana,⁵ whose death is supposed by some to have occurred on April 9, 1321.⁶

Memorable are the words of Jordanus about the expropriation of many churches by the Muhammadans and the existence of unbaptised Christians. "In this India [India the Less] the greater part of the people worship idols, although a great share of the sovereignty is in the hands of the Turkish Saracens, who came forth from Multan, and conquered and usurped dominion to themselves not long since and destroyed an infinity of idol temples, and likewise many churches, of which they made mosques for Mahomet, taking possession of their endowments and property. 'Tis grief to hear and woe to see! In this India [India the Less] there is a scattered people, one here, another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith. Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ."⁷

Friar Jordanus states (c. 1330) of the schismatics and

the Pedirpattam of Barbosa (Puthupattanam, now Puthuppanam; cf. Dumes, II.85). To Wilford Salopatana is Cranganore, and Nalopatana is Nali-suram (*Asiat. Res.*, X (1808), 77.85). M'Crindle's *Ancient India* (1901), p. 161, does not help us further. Might Parthi be Kundapur or Coondapoor, North of Mangalore? M. S. Ramasami Ayyar whom I met at his house at Mylapore in 1923, when he was Deputy Superintendent of Police, Vellore, wanted to connect Kundapur with Goudophares the Parthian.

If Marallo could be Maiallo, we might think of Mayila(pur), Peacock-Town. Marallo exported conch-shells in Cosmas' time. Walckenaer says it is Morilloum; opposite Ceylon. Yule asks whether there is such a place (*Cathay*, I (1866), p. clxxviii n. 5). M'Crindle is silent.

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 226-227.

² *Ibid.*, II (1866), 227: Letter from Caga (Goga in Gujarat), Oct. 12, 1321.

³ *Ibid.*, II (1866), 229.

⁴ W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, p. 187.

⁵ Yule, *The Wonders of the East*, p. VII.

⁶ G. Golubovich, O.F.M., *Il B. Fr. Odorico da Pordenone*, in *Arch. Francisc.-Hist.*, Vol. X, 1917, p. 41. *Scriptores Ord. Min.* (Appendix, *Martyres Ordinis Minorum*) has 13 April 1321. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 540-541 n. 3. Jordanus has: Thursday before Palm-Sunday.

⁷ Yule, *The Wonders of the East*, p. 23.

unbelievers of India that, while he was among them, "I believe that more than X thousand, or thereabouts were converted to our faith, and because we, being few in number, could not occupy, or even visit, many parts of the land, many souls (wo is me!) have perished, and exceeding many do yet perish for lack of preachers of the word of God."¹ When he was about to return to the East in A.D. 1330, as first Latin Bishop of Quilon, he was the bearer of a letter from the Pope, "to the Catholics living in the parts of the North and also of the East, and especially in Cuncatana² and Gozarat and in Lesser India."

Friar Odoric de Pordenone, who seems to have passed through Thana in 1323,³ says there were "at Thana 15 houses of Christians, i.e. of Nestorini, who are schismatics and heretics."⁴

Where shall we place Jordanus' Supera? His movements show that it was to the north of Thana and at no great distance from it. Jordanus had come from Diu to Thana with the four Franciscans.⁵ They had been a week at Thana, when the Nestorians there, 15 families, invited them to visit Paroth (Broach), where lived many Christians, who were deprived of teachers, and even of the Sacrament of Baptism. Knowing Persian, Jordanus went to them, taking with him two Nestorians, one of whom was his interpreter. Thence he went to Supera. Here he catechised, baptised, and gave Holy Communion to 90 souls during a stay of a fortnight. When about

Friar John of Plano Carpini says of the Kitai of Central Asia (after 1245): "Now the Kitai are pagans... They have the Old and the New Testament, the Lives of the Fathers and Hermits; they worship one God, honour the Lord Jesus Christ and believe in eternal life, but are not baptised at all. They honour and revere our Scripture, and love the Christians. No better artificers are found in the whole world for all the kinds of work which men are wont to practise." Cf. L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2e éd., p. 142 n. 1, referring to d' Avezac's *Relation des Mongols*, Paris, 1838, c.5, § 1, No. 6. p. 258

¹ Yule, *The Wonders of the East*, pp. 55-56.

² Cuncatana is Konkan. It is called Kūkan-Tāna by Ibn Batuta (c. 1335), and appears as Cocintana in the *Portulano Mediceo* (c. 1350), and as Cocintaya in the Catalan Map of c. 1375. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Concan. Yule-Cordier (*Marco Polo*, II.396) says Ibn Batuta calls it Kūkin Tāna, on which Dames (*Duarte Barbosa*, I. 153n.) observes that the text in Defrémery (II. 177) has: "Min Kinbāyat wa Tāna wa Kawlam."

³ G. Golubovich, *op. cit.*, p. 41, for the discussion of the date.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), App. I, p. VI; cp. *ibid.*, II.60. The same sentence occurs almost identically in Odoric's account for Mylapore.

⁵ The party of Missionaries, Franciscans and Dominicans, came from Ormuz; all wanted to go to Columbum (Quilon). At Diu, "the brethren of the order of Minors separated from the rest of the party, both Preachers and secular Christians, and set out by land to a place called Thana, that they might there take ship for Columbum." To the Melich of Thana they said they were "anxious to visit St. Thomas." Cf. Yule, *The Wonders of the East*, p. X.

to return to Broach, he wrote to his companions at Thana, and, filled with strange forebodings, retired to the church to pray for them. The next night, news was brought that his companions had been put in prison. Instead of running away, as he was advised to do, he hastened to Thana, hoping that his knowledge of Persian would stand him in good stead to defend his comrades; but on reaching an inn at Thana, he found his messengers with his letters and some Christians who informed him that the four Franciscans had been killed. With the help of a Genoese youth, he collected the yet unburied remains¹ and went to bury them in the church at Supera.²

Yule's final identification of Supera with Supara near Wasai (Bassein)³ would explain how Jordanus could carry to Supera the yet unburied bodies. Bassein is within a comparatively small distance from Thana, whereas Broach was, according to Jordanus' estimate ten days from Thana,⁴ and such places as Surat⁵ and Suali,⁶ with which Supera was thought to be identical, are not far from Broach.

Sir John de Maundeville writes: "Fro then [the island of Chana, i.e. Thana] men go by See toward Ynde the more to a Cytee, that men clepen Sarche,⁷ that is a fair Cytee and a gode: and there dwellen many Christene men of gode Feythe: and there ben manye religious men and namely of Mendynantes"⁸ (mendicants).⁹

¹ Odoric (Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 70) says they were fresh and undecayed after lying for fourteen days in the sun. On the other hand, why should Jordanus have been advised to run away, if Supera was far away from Thana?

² Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188, relying on information not quoted. His authority is probably Kunstmann, who wrote a special article on the martyrs of Thana. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 36.

³ *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Supāra. Dames (*Duarte Barbosa*, I, 152n.) states that Mas'ūdī (A.D. 946) mentions Subāra, and that it is no doubt Supāra, on the creek separating Bassein Island from the mainland.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 226.

⁵ Lassen equated Sūrpāraka and Surat. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. 226-227 n. 1.

⁶ Yule's supposition (*ibid.*). Suali is four leagues from Surat, and two to the north of the Tapti.

⁷ Other forms: Sarthyē, Sarchys, Sachē, Zarchē, Barchon, Zarke. 'Barchen' is no other, I think, than Odoric de Pordonone's Panche, which Yule takes to be corrupt for Parcho, i.e. Broach. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 60.

⁸ From O. F.: *mendinant* (*mendiant*). Modernised versions give: "Monks, especially mendicants," the reference being possibly to the Missionaries ministering to the Christians.

⁹ Cf. W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 197 n. 2 quoting: *The voyage and travail of Sir John Maundeville*, by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1839. de Maundeville's travels fall between 1322 and 1356.

Germann refers the text to Saimur, also called Saighar (17°14' Lat. N.). As "Ynde the more" must mean *India Major*, my identification with Broach will not hold, unless *India Major* be used here as in Marco Polo.

To Yule Saimur is Chaul, the Sibor of Cosmas, the Sémulla of the Periplus, the Simulla of Ptolemy, the Jaimur, Saimur, Chaimur of the Arabs,

Kazwini is quoted by Gildemeister as saying in 1274 : "Çaimúr, a town of India near Sindia [Sind], whose inhabitants are noted for perfect beauty, being descended from Indians and Turks.¹ There are Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Magi.² In the town there are Muhammedic temples, Churches, Synagogues ; there is also a temple of fire-worshippers."³

Yule equates Saimur with Chaul,⁴ and doubtfully with Cosmas' Sibor.⁵ To Germann it is Sibor, but identified with the ancient harbour of Zigerus (Pliny), the Meli-Zeigara of the Periplus, the Meli-Zegyris or Mili-Zigeris of Ptolemy, the modern Zyghaur, or more correctly Gaighar (17°14' Lat. N., which others, he says, place in 17°33' Lat. N., and write Saighar or Saimur).⁶ This cannot be Chaul. It should be Jaigarh, on the West Coast, between Ratnagiri and Anjanwel.⁷ Its exact position is 17°17' Lat. N. and 73°13' Long. E., at the southern entrance to the Shāstri or Sangameshwar river, 99 miles South of Bombay.⁸

Whatever be the exact position of Saimur, we may conclude that the name gives us one more proof of the survival of Christianity up to a late period in the neighbourhood of Thana, Supara and Kalliana, *i.e.* on the Konkan Coast.

The Rev. Th. Whitehouse wrote in 1873 : "A Christian officer engaged in the Government Survey of the Western Coast told the writer, when resident at Cochin, that he had met one or two isolated colonies of Nestorian Christians on the coast, to the north-west of Bombay. From his account they seemed to be feeble as to numbers, poor and ignorant. Let us hope they will be looked up and visited by some of our Missionaries or Chaplains in Western India. At any rate, they should be well supplied with copies of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular language."⁹

Mangalore is mentioned by Thomé Lopez as the home of certain Christians who sent a deputation to Vasco da Gama on his second voyage, towards the end of 1502.¹⁰

the Chenwal, (pronounced Tsenhwal) of the Konkanis. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Sūrath and Choul.

¹ Ibn Muḥallal (c. A.D. 941) writes : "Saimur, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. cxvii with n. 2, and p. exi.

² Pārsis.

³ Gildemeister, *Scriptores Arabum de rebus indicis*, Bonnae, 1838, p. 208 ; quoted through W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁴ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Choul.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Sūrath. ⁶ Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 139. 197. Vincent identified Sigerus with Jaygadh or Side Jaygadh Cf. M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 111.

⁷ *Imper. Gazetteer of India*, vol. 26 (Atlas), Pl. 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 370.

⁹ T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of light in a dark land*, London, 1873, p. 56 n. 1.

¹⁰ Darnes, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I.195 n. 2, quoting Lopez' *Navegação às Índias Orientaes*, ch. 19.



Two monolithic pillars (A 48a, A 48b) at the entrance to the garden of Bishop's House, San Thomé High Rd. Cf. p. 16, No. 15.



S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Two stone lions (B1, B2) from the Luz Church grounds (Mylapore). Cf. p. 17, No. 16.

Traces of Christian story are found in the narrative of Madhva's career. The similarities will appear intelligible, if we consider that he lived close to Mangalore, a Christian centre, and that Kalliānpur, the place of his birth, is by some identified with Cosmas' Kalliana.

J. Estlin Carpenter¹ writes: "Born shortly before 1200 in a Brahman family at Kalliānpur, in the Udipi district of South Kanara, on the south-west coast, about forty miles west of Çāṅkara's great foundation at Sringēri, he received the usual education at the village school. Tradition told of his ability to run and wrestle, jump and swim, and presented him as no less precocious in learning, though irregular in attendance and inattentive in lessons. . . . (P. 408) One day, as he sat preaching, he disappeared and was seen no more.² The Devas in heaven rejoiced at his birth, and proclaimed success to the righteous and confusion to the wicked. The spirit of Vāyu was seen to descend from the sky and enter the infant's form.³ In his fifth year the child was missed, and after three days' anxious search his parents found him in the temple at Udipi, 'teaching gods and men how to worship Vishnu according to the Scriptures.'⁴ After his initiation, as the young monk adored the deity, the spirit (P. 409) fell on one of the crowd, who turned to Madhva's teacher and cried, 'My son, behold my beloved, for whom thou hast been longing all the while. He is thy guide and the means of thy salvation!'⁵ Thus attested, it is not surprising that he should have multiplied loaves for his disciples in the wilderness, walked dryshod like the Buddha's followers across rivers, or when he went to bathe in a rough sea stilled its violence with a look.⁶ In such embellishments it is impossible not to see traces of the Christian influence which suggested the description of the zealous converts as actively engaged in 'fishing for men.'⁷ The effects of this contact are probably to be found again in his admission of the doctrine

¹ J. E. Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, London, 1921, p. 406.

The notes to this paragraph are reproduced from J. Estlin Carpenter.

² Cp. *Imp. Gazette*, Vol. XIV, p. 314; Sir G. A. Grierson, *ERE*, VIII, p. 233. The most probable date is 1197; Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 58.

³ Tradition extended his headship over the monastery to 79 years, 6 months and 20 days, implying a life of at least 96 years; Subba Rau, *Comm. on the Bhagavad Gītā*, p. XV. A more moderate estimate interprets the number 79 as that of his age, and places his death in 1276; Bhandarkar, p. 59, and Grierson, *ERE*, VIII, p. 233.

Vāyu was the ancient Vedic wind-god, who in the well-known Puruṣa hymn sprang from Puruṣa's breath. He was thus theologically equivalent to "spirit."

⁴ Cp. the reading *εἰς αὐτόν*, Mark, 1.10. [Remarkable is this manifestation in the fifth year, when compared with Wilford's theories on Christ-Thomas and Śālivāhana in *As. Res.*, X (1808), pp. 27-126.—H. H.]

⁵ Krishnaswami Aiyar, [*Śrī Madhva and Madhwaism*, Madras, 1907], p. 16f.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 21.

⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 28, 36, 51.

of eternal punishment....(P 411) The doctrine of everlasting alienation from God bears a suspicious resemblance to Catholic dogma, and the triple division of souls has a curious analogy with the Pneumatics, Psychics, and Hylics of the Valentinian Gnosis. (Cp. the author's *Phases of early Christianity*, 1916, p. 315.)"¹

Copying of Christian things in the 13th century is not more surprising than what we see going on in India in our own day, e.g. the sacrilegious parody of Christianity in the person of Krishnamurti, shamelessly enacted by the hierophants of Theosophy under their arch-druidess Mrs. Annie Besant. Christianity would have led the way for social and religious reform in India in the first five centuries of our era, as it has done ever increasingly these last 400 years. And if pilferings were the order of the day for Hinduism, why not for Buddhism too?

South of Mangalore, a little above 12° Lat. N., there is Mount Delly, which in the Catalan Map of A.D. 1375 is marked as a Christian city.² Fra Mauro's map (of A.D. 1447, according to Yule)³ speaks of it as Cavo de Eli.⁴ As this should mean Elias' Cave, it helps in fixing the dominions of the Queen of Saba visited by Marignolli (A.D. 1347). Indeed, the Hebrews and Sabaeans, or the people of the Queen of Saba, said that Elias abode on Mount Gybeit, the Blessed Mountain. At the foot of it was a spring, where Elias, they said, used to drink, and from which Marignolli, the Papal Legate, also drank.⁵ Now, though the height of the mountain seen by Marignolli appears to be exaggerated, if it was Mount Delly,⁶ we find that de Maundeville too asserts that he drank three or four times of the Fountain or Well of Youth, at a great mountain, called Polombe, near the city of Polombe (Quilon),⁷ and that in the Muhammadan traditions Ilyās is said to have drunk of the Fountain of Life, "by virtue of which he still lives, and will live to the day of Judgment."⁸ Moreover, Prester John of India claimed to have, within his dominions, the pepper country, the Fountain of Youth, and the tomb of St. Thomas.⁹ As the Prester Johns connected themselves with the Magi,¹⁰ and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47. Cp. Mark, I.17; Matt. IV. 19.

² Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 451.

³ *Ibid.*, I (1866), p. cccxviii n. 1. J. Harward gives A.D. 1459 as the date of Fra Mauro's map. Cf. *J. Ceylon Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIV (1915-16), Pt. 1, pp. 12-23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II (1866), p. 452.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II (1866), pp. 391-392.

⁶ Barbosa calls it a mountain of great height; yet the highest peak is only 851 feet high. Cf. Dames, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1 n. 3; p. 79. For an illustration of the hill see Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 377.

⁷ Cf. *The Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Maundeville*, Westminster, Constable, 1895, ch. 15, pp. 206-207.

⁸ Sir W. Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd edn., vol. I, pt. I, pp. 913-914.

⁹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 205.

¹⁰ Thus, according to Friar Hayton, a relative of the King of Armenia.

the Magi are connected with Saba or Sawa in Persia,¹ it would follow that the Sabayo of the Portuguese, who ruled Goa on their arrival, descended from Marignolli's Queen of Saba,² and that she was herself descended from a Prester John of India. The Sabayo did connect himself with Saba or Sawa in Persia. Ibn Khurdādbah³ mentions as kings of India in the 9th century: the Balhara, the kings of *Jābah* or *Jāba*, Tāfan, Jusr, Ghānah or 'Anah, Rahma or Rahmī, and Kāmrun. *Jāba* is apparently the later Saba.⁴

The legends of Elias' Cave and of a Fountain of Immortality at Mount Delly belong apparently to the cycle of legends concerning Al-Khidr, which have been collected by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.⁵ This Al-Khidr is an elusive being, confounded by the Muhammadans and, may be, by the Syrians too, with St. George and Elias. Sir R. C. Temple finds that, at Chittagong, Akyab and Mergui, Al-Khidr is worshipped by Muhammadans, Buddhists, Hindus and Chinese alike, in shrines managed by Muhammadan. These shrines generally stand over a natural or artificial cave in which Al-Khidr is supposed to have lived, and close by there is a tank to which miraculous virtues are attributed. I note that on the top of Mount Delly there is a mosque, which is visited on certain holy days by large numbers of Māpillas.⁶ I do not know, however, whether it has a cave or a fountain of immortality. Barbosa speaks of the mountain as round, in the midst of low land, "whither all the ships of both Moors and Heathens steer, and from it they take their reckoning when they are about to sail. From this mountain flow

Cf. P. Bergeron, *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, La Haye, 1725, vol. 2, p. 7.

George, King of the Onguts, was "of the illustrious family of that great king who was Proster John of India." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 199. George was killed in Mongolia in 1298. Pognon saw in Syria a Syriac Gospel written in 1298 for Sarah (alias Arā'öl), "sister of the King of the Christians, George, King of the Ongüyê." His funeral inscription, with the names of his brothers and sisters, among them Arā'öl, has been discovered. Cf. P. Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1914, p. 15.

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, I (1875), p. 79.

² Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, I. 172 n. 1.

"The Sabayo was a Persian, and one of his descendants was Lord of Goa, which the Portuguese took from him in the year 1509." Cf. P. Bergeron P[arisien], *Abregé de l'histoire des Sarrazins et Mahometans*, Paris, 1634, p. 113.

³ Born c. A.D. 820-830; in Khalif Mutammid's service in A.D. 869-885.

⁴ Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), clxxxvi n. 2; clx; cp. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, I, 13. Ibn Khurdādba (*l.c.* in Elliot) has both *Jāba* (twice) and *Zābaj*. *Zābaj* would be Java. Cp. *ibid.*, I. 22, where Al-Masūdi's Maharāj of *Zābaj* points to Java. Al Idrīsī, copying Ibn Khurdādba, says: "Among the kings of India there are the Balhārā, *Jāba*, Tāfir, Hazr (Juzr), 'A'bat, Dumi [Rahmī] and Kāmrun" (*ibid.*, I. 86).

⁵ Cf. *Journ. of the Burma Research Society*, April 1925, in an article entitled: Buddermokan.

⁶ *Imper. Gazetteer of India*, XI (1908), 241.

many springs where the ships take in their water.”¹ It is strange that only Fra Mauro should speak of a Cave of Elias at Mount Delly. Be that as it may, I think he gives us the means to identify the place visited by Sir John de Maundeville and Friar John de’ Marignolli,² and of getting at the derivation of that much debated name, Mount Delly.

Mount Gybeit,³ where Elias resided, was also sacred to the three Wise Kings. Marignolli says: “In this mountain also, they say that the Magi were praying on the night of Christ’s nativity.”⁴ Such a legend is less remarkable, if we can place Mount Gybeit in the territory of a queen connecting herself with Sawa or Saba in Persia, the traditional home of the Three Wise Kings. We have to account too for a tradition or legend in Malabar that either the Perumal of Ceylon or the Perumal of Malabar, or the King of Calicut, or the king of Chosha or Coromandel, was one of the Magi. The story, no doubt, embodies the Armenian legend that one of the Magi, Gaspar, whose name resolves into Gondophares, was king of the Indians, and that other legend, that St. Thomas baptised the Magi. The Indian Queen of Saba may have claimed descent from King Gondophares himself.

The name of Mount Gybeit may be compared with the Mountain of Victory, on the limits of the East, near the Ocean, of which the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum* (Migne. P. G., t. 56, cols. 637–638) says that it had a cave and a fountain and that twelve Magi resorted to it yearly to look for the star of the Messiah.

The Queen of Saba was said to be descended from a daughter of Semiramis, wife of Ninus, whom she gave birth to clandestinely in India and “made, when grown up. Queen of the finest island in the world, Saba by name.”⁵ Now, though it is a far cry from India to the town of Metz, the legend of the Metz people is that, when Attila and his Huns took their town, the invaders were led by a son of Ninus.⁶

Could we identify with the King of Calicut or the King of Cannanore the Balhara of Sulaimān the Arab traveller (A.D. 851), whose dominions began at the country of ‘Komkam’ on the

¹ Dames, *op. cit.*, II. 79.

² If they followed the coast from Calicut northwards, or from Goa to Calicut, they would, according to ancient custom, have called at Mount Delly.

³ Is this by metathesis Mt. Betigo of Ptolemy and the City of the Magi Brahmans, of which we heard at p. 397? Yule can offer no explanation of the name, which Marignolli explains as *Beatus* (Blessed).

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 391.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II (1866), p. 389.—I imagine that de’ Marignolli met the Queen of Saba at Goa. In her dominions, de’ Marignolli reaped “some harvest of souls—for there are a few Christians there.” (Yule, *ibid.*, II. 346.) And that may explain the copper crucifix found at Goa in 1510.

⁶ Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., in *Dict. d’archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. VI, 2^e partie, col. 2816.

sea-coast ?¹ He might be Ma'sūdī's Manekir,² and do Couto's Manuchem of Baluri.³ Every Zamorin, whatever be his personal name, drops it when he becomes Zamorin and takes the name of Mānavikraman.⁴ The Balhara was often at war with the King of Ruhmi⁵ and with the King of the Jurz.⁶ Abu-Said says of the latter that he also ruled Kanauj, Masudi calling the King of Kanauj the Bawurah or Baurawa. The Jurz or Juzr, whom I identify with the Georgians, would have been living in Gujarat (Al-Jurz or Juzr). Their king might be the king Jor of Al-biruni, whom that writer places on the east coast of the Peninsula, either in the Tanjore country or Telinga, or both; he might be also Hiuen Tsang's king of Juri or Jurya, which lay some 300 miles north of Dravida, the capital of which was Kānchivaram. He might be again the Malik al-Jizr of Edrisi, who puts him on the island of Madai. Yule thought this island was on the way to China;⁷ but there is on our West Coast a Jurfattan, by Yule identified doubtfully with Cannanore,⁸ also a Madayi (also called Mārāwi and Pazhayangadi),⁹ north of

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. clxxxiii. There is, north of Cannanore, a Balaherpatam or Balnerpatam, where the King of Cannanore resided in Duarte Barbosa's time. Cf. Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 80.

² Yule, *ibid.*, I (1866), p. clxxxiv n. 1. The city of Mankir, the great centre of India, had submitted to the Balharā, and the bay of Sindābūr (Goa?) was in the kingdom of Bāghora (the Balhara?). Cf. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, I. 19-20; 21-23, among extracts from Al-Mas'ūdī (d. A.D. 956). Al Istakhrī states that the land of the Balharā lay from Kambāya to Saimūr (*ibid.*, I. 27), and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 943-968) repeats this (*ibid.*, I. 34).

³ do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, liv. 10, c. 10, pp. 523-524 (t. 4, Pt. 2, of the Lisbon. edn., 1783).

⁴ Cf. Dames, *op. cit.*, II. 262. This title may perhaps be compared with the title or name Managula, occurring on the Indo-Parthian coins, of the Satrap Jihunia or Zeiōnises of Taxila (c. A.D. 10). Cf. V. A. Smith's *Catal. of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, I (Oxford, 1906), p. 59.

⁵ Reinaud identifies Ruhmi with Bijapur; Lassen, with the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Kalyānī. Sulaimān (A.D. 861) says that the king of Ruhmi had from 10,000 to 15,000 washermen in his army. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. clxxxv; Elliot, *Hist. of India, as told by its own historians*, I. 5. Al Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.) repeats this (Elliot, *op. cit.*, I. 25). I had some idea that I had seen the same thing said of the army of Vijayanagar, or in other authors about Bijapur. A search in de' Conti and Barbosa failed to produce the required passage; however, Fernão Nuniz speaks of numberless washermen accompanying the king of Vijayanagar's army. His chronicle is of A.D. 1535-37. Cf. R. Sewell's *A forgotten Empire*, London, 1900, p. 328. The name Ruhmi must be compared with the Romogyris to which Antioch still sent a Katholikos c. A.D. 1143. What does Rashīdu-d-dīn (A.D. 1310) quoting Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1039), mean when he writes of Malibār (Malabar), from Karoha to Kūlam: "They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabālik, in the direction of Rūm, whom they resemble in many respects"? (Elliot, *op. cit.*, I. 68.)

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. clxxxiv-v.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I (1866), p. clxxxiv and notes.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II (1866), p. 453, s.v. Cannanore, Tarmapatam, Pudripatam.

⁹ Dames, *op. cit.*, II. 79 n. 4, identifies it with Barbosa's Maranel or Marvel (Spanish: Marave).

Balaerpatnam, which itself is north of Cannanore, and may embody still the name of the Balhara. Balaerpatnam was the seat of the Kōlattiri Raja of Cannanore,¹ one of those among whom Cheraman Perumai would have divided the kingdom, the others being the Zamorin of Calicut and the King of 'Coulam.'²

In a moment of great boldness, for which I expect to receive rude castigation at the hands of Orientalists, I have suggested elsewhere that the Yueh-chi, who invaded Western Tibet in the first centuries of our era, are to be identified with the Getae, by the Romans identified with the Goths, and presumably identifiable with our Jāts. I wrote: "Allied with the Jāts are the Gujrs or Guzrs of Gujarāt and the Panjāb. In these I recognise the Georgians (Gurz or Guzr in Persian, or Gurg), i.e. the Hyrcani, possibly the Chur-che of China, nay the Gurkhas of Nepal. Kennedy, ere this, had attributed to the wandering Gujars the spread of the Kṛishṇa stories which are traceable to the Gospel stories, genuine or apocryphal. I go a step further by identifying the Gujars with the Hyrcani, who, before Christ, may have been largely permeated with Jewish beliefs, and through them and the allied tribe of the Alani in China I link up India with China, Manchuria and Corea for all such traces of Christianity as are found in India and the farther East."³

V. A. Smith writes: "The Gurjaras are believed to have entered India either along or some time after the White Huns, and to have settled in large numbers in Rājputāna; but there is nothing to show what part of India they came from, or to what race they belonged."⁴ He opines that, as the Parihār clan of the Rājputs are of Gūjar stock, the presumption is that the other three Rājput clans, the Pawār (Pramāra), Chauhān (Chāhumāna) and Solanki or Chaulukya, are also descended from Gurjaras or similar foreign immigrants. Kanauj was ruled by Gurjara kings from A.D. 800 to 1018.⁵ "There is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch, and it seems to be probable that they emigrated from Rājputāna to the Deccan."⁶ Is it accidental that the Churché and Solāngka, are mentioned

¹ Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II. 80.

² *Ibid.*, II. 4n. 1. Near Madai there is a village called Cherakun, meaning (I suppose) 'King of the Cheras'; near Baliapatanam there is also a Cherakal with a palace. Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), map facing p. 362.

³ Cf. *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. XXI, 1925, p. 73 n. The Georgians are called Churchii in a letter (Italian) from Fr. Gaspar Barzaeus of Ormuz, which reached Goa on 19-10-1549. Cf. *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae*, Florentiae, 1887, p. 77, and cp. p. 121. They are said to be as tall as the Germans.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1908, p. 378.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

conjointly by Rashīdu-d din (c. A.D. 1318), though the Churché may have been settled in Manchuria and the Solāngka in northern Corea ?¹

South and at the foot of Mount Delly, at Maranel, now known as Madayi or Pazhayangadi, Barbosa notices Jews.² Maranel is on the canal which connects the Taliparamba River with the creeks of Mount Delly. We may suppose that at one time it held Christians, the Jews of Malabar being generally found in the same places as the Christians, and both having been great traders in olden times. It may have been the Christian city of Mount Delly of the Catalan map (1375). In Friar Paulinus' time (*Viaggio*, Roma, 1796, p. 109) there were 20 churches between 'Porrocāda' and Mount Delly.

Hieronymo di Santo Stefano says that there were (before 1496) "as many as a thousand houses inhabited by Christians at Calicut."³

That many of the St. Thomas Christians of Calicut and further north had, before the Portuguese era, withdrawn lower south, to their co-religionists of Malabar, because of the attitude of the Muhammadans in the Calicut kingdom, can be proved, I think, from the Portuguese historians. Pantalayini is between Cannanore and Calicut. Now, Odoric of Pordenone says (1323) that in the city of Flandrina (Pantalayini), "some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians." Between the two cities of Flandrina and Cingilin (Cranganore), both in the pepper forest, "there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews."⁴ Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, writes (*Viaggio*, Roma, 1796, p. 119): "The Christians of St. Thomas, seeing the greater power of the Arabs, their natural enemies, had abandoned Canara and a great part of the States of the Samuri [of Calicut]. They retired to the lands of the king of Coccino, and, many years before the arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut, they chose among themselves a Christian King, called Beliarthe, whose duty it was to defend them against the Muhammadans and the vexations of the Gentiles. He resided at Udiampera, a town situated in the states of the King of Coccino."⁵

In a Syriac paper communicated by the Jacobite Bishop Gabriel to the Dutch preacher J. C. Visscher, and by him to his friends in Holland in or about 1723, we read: "And many of the principal Christians, giving heed to him [Manikka Vās'akar

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 267; Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, III, 125.

² Dames, *op. cit.*, II, 80-81.

³ Cf. R. H. Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, London, 1857, p. 5.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 75-77.

⁵ He refers to de Barros, bk. 5, ch. 8; bk. 6, ch. 6. When at Palayur in 1924, I was told how difficult it was for the priests there to maintain missions beyond the Ponnani river, owing to the stubborn and tyrannical ways of the Muhammadans.

at Mylapore], forsook Christianity and followed this false teacher Mamukawasser.¹ In those days certain persons came from Hindowy or Hindostan, who were not disposed to abandon the people of Malabar, and who allied themselves with the believers, that is, the Christians, who had remained constant, in number about 160 families or tribes. These men taught for many years in Malabar, but there were few among them who had knowledge, because they were destitute of pastors; and therefore most of them ended by becoming heathens, and had all things in common with the other heathens. This caused a second apostacy; so that out of the 160 families, 96 adopted the heathen superstitions, 64 only adhering to the true faith."² After this the document notices the arrival in A.D. 745 of Thomas Cana, the date generally given for this event being A.D. 345. A MS. Malayalam history of c. 1800 puts Manikka Vās'akar down at Quilon in A.D. 315.³

Who were these Christians who from other parts of India came to the help of their brethren in Malabar? In what century did this happen? The materials on which Bishop Gabriel based his statement may still be traceable.

¹ *Sic*, for Manikka Vās'akar.

² Cf. Major Heber Drury, *Letters from Malabar by Jacob Canter Visscher*, Madras, 1862, p. 106.

³ Information from T. K. Joseph, Esq., Trivandrum, 1927.

5. *A Madonna from the sea at Bandra, Bombay.*¹

There is still in one of the Churches at Bandra, apparently at St. Andrew's, a statue of our Lady said to have been fished up from the sea in front of Bandra.

The earliest intimation of this wonderful fishing, known to me, is in a Jesuit Annual Letter of 1669, where we have a description of the Church of St. Andrew in the *aldeia* (village) of 'Bandora of St. Anne.'

"In the Island of Salsette of the North is situated the Church bearing the title of St. Anne. It is on the side (which is) more on the south (*esta a parte mais do sul*), and is over against the Island of Mahy. It is a very old Church, and one of the finest, and it is supplied with whatever ornaments there are in these parts, very ample for the parishioners, who became so numerous that it was necessary for the Fathers of the Company, in whose *aldeia* it is, to make another Church with the title of St. Andrew and nearer to the sea. Notwithstanding, this parish of St. Anne has three thousand (souls).

"....This Church of St. Anne is big; it has good ornaments, pieces of silver, such as crosses, candlesticks, chalices, monstrances (*Custodias*), lamps, lantern[s] (*Alanterna*), a ciborium (*Copo de Comunhão*), bouquets (*Ramalhete*)....Every day the Father Superior and Vicar says Mass; on Wednesday, the Vicar goes to say Mass at the Mount; on Thursday, there is Confraternity of the Most Blessed Sacrament: on Friday, there is the Mass of Jesus; on Saturday, the Litany, *Salve*, and Mass of our Lady...."

"(Bandora). Relation on the parish of St. Andrew situated in the same *Aldeia* of Bandora.

"At the extremity of this *aldeia* of Bandora (the site of which I did not state, as it is well known, since it belongs to the Father Vicar of St. Anne),² near to the sea-beach, is situated the Church which is called St. Andrew of the Colles, all of whom are fishermen: one [of their settlements is that ?] which they call the Great Colouria;³ another, the one of the garden (?); another, the new one; another, the middle one; and another, that of

¹ Though this may have nothing to do with pre-Portuguese Christianity, we place it here in illustration of Pt. VI, section 3, where we are told that a cross was fished up in the Mangalore sea.

² "No fim desta aldeia Bandora (cuio sitio e notiss^a por pertencer ao Pe. Vigario de S. Anna, nam dou)...." Something has gone wrong with this sentence. We do not expect *e*, and we should have *notisso*.

³ On the meaning of Colouria, see Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1919, p. 298, *s.v.* Coloaria.

St. Andrew, which is near the Church¹. . . . This Church was founded at the expense of the College of St. Paul, which owned this *aldeia*, and at that time possessed all its properties more peacefully than it now owns, after the coming of the English to the Island of Bombay, those which were left to it. . . . The chief altar is a majestic one, *gespiado com seus prefilos de ouro* (?); the twelve Apostles are its columns, and St. Andrew holds the first place.² It has two side altars; on one of them is a very devout crucifix; on the other is our Lady, called of the Navigators (*dos Navegantes*). And the origin of this name is mysterious; for, the Colles, going once a-fishing in this sea of Bandora, got a much better catch than that of St. Peter in the sea of Thiberiades. There, St. Peter caught a fish; here, the Colles fished, not a fish, but an image of the true Mother-of-Pearl, wherein was found the pearl Jesus."³

The tradition about the origin of the Madonna of St. Andrew's Church in 1669 can hardly be impugned. The Jesuits had come to Bandra, it is said, in 1565.⁴ The erection of a shrine at Mount Mary, Bandra, took place in 1566, according to *Sanctuario Mariano* by Friar Agostinho de S. Maria, Lisboa, 1720, Vol. VIII. 258.⁵ It existed in 1669, and probably it continued uninterruptedly from 1566 to 1738. It is also said, but without sufficient authority, that the Jesuits started the parish of St. Andrew's in 1570.⁶ A Jesuit letter of November 15.

¹ "Junta a praya do mar esta situada a Igra q' chamão S. Andre dos Colles q' sao todos pescadores, hũa q' chamão Colouria grande, outra da orte, outra a nova, outra a do meio, e outra do S. Andre q' esta Junta a Igrejã." We expect: *orta, de S. Andre, junta*.

The *Coloaria grande, do meio*, and *da Igreja* are still known at Bandra. Neupara or Naupada may be the *Coloaria nova* of our text; the *Coloaria da orte* may have been within the *orta* or Jesuit properties of Bandra. In 1761-63 the following Christian wards of Bandra helped to defray the expenses of the feast of Nossa Senhora do Monte on September 8, 1761: *Coloaria grande, Rauna, Neupara, Coloaria do meio, and Coloaria da Igreja*. Cf. the Rev. P. A. Fernandez, *A historical sketch of the miraculous shrine of Our Lady of the Mount or N. S. do Monte, Bandora Hill, Bombay, 1911*, p. 12. The *Coloaria da orte* would thus correspond, it seems, to *Rauna*.

² The main altar of St. Andrew's was replaced by a new one in 1890. Some of its twisted wooden pillars and some of its statues are still in existence, in a lumber-room. The old statue of St. Andrew appears to be now on the top of the façade. A statue of St. Anne is said to have come from St. Anne's Church, destroyed by the English in 1738. A beautiful stone cross, bearing the date 1678, and covered on one side with emblems of the Passion, and on the other with emblems of Our Lady, stands on the south side, within the enclosure of St. Andrew's Church.

³ Cf. Appendix to *Catal. Soc. et Offic. Miss. Bombayensis et Poonensis, Prov. Germ. Soc. Jesu, Mense Augusto 1909*. Bombay, Examiner Press, 1909, p. 33.

⁴ Braz. A Fernandez, *Angelus*, Bombay, 1925 (?), pp. 601-603.

⁵ Referred to by Padre C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, II (1924), p. 473, n. 5. Not in 1566, as others state.

⁶ *Ibid.*, referring to *Oriente Conq.*, II. c. 1, d. 2, § 10. In *Oriente Conq.*, we have only this: "This year was founded our Church of

1575, states that the Jesuits had come to Bandra "not so long before."¹ They were at Bandra without interruption till 1740, i.e. some time after the Maratha occupation of 1739. A Jesuit reappears for a brief while at St. Andrew's in March 1749. On his death in July 1749, the secular clergy took charge of the church.² If St. Andrew's, mentioned in 1595, was the first parish-church at Bandra, St. Anne's followed either in 1599, when a church was built, or in 1616, when the only existing parish was subdivided, or some time before 1621, when we hear for the first time of a Vicar at St. Anne's.³ In 1669, the Jesuits would not have given expression to a belief that their statue of Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes had been fished out of the sea, unless there was a well-grounded tradition to that effect from the beginning.

It is not impossible, it is true, that by 1669 a legend had been woven popularly round a statue originally entitled N. S. dos Navegantes. On the other hand, if legend-making could be so busy and successful between 1570 and 1669, the Catholic fishermen reclaimed from Hinduism all over the Salsette Island might have invested several other Madonnas of their churches with a similar semi-miraculous origin. We do not know that they did so. The simple story as told in 1669 is plausible.

The strange thing about the Bandra tradition is that, judging from the now current literature and the common talk, it centres at present round the statue of Mount Mary Church, Bandra, and that the statue of Our Lady on the side-altar at St. Andrew's is now called N. S. do Monte. The tradition has, moreover, deteriorated in that the fishing-up is now said to have taken place at or after the Maratha occupation of Bandra in 1739. The Marathas, it is stated, destroyed or burned the shrine of Mount Mary and threw the statue into the sea; it was however fished up and carried to Mahim. We know that a statue of the Madonna was brought from Mahim to Mount Mary on September 8, 1761, when a new church on the Mount, dedicated to Our Lady's Nativity, was opened for worship.⁴ In the accounts of the expenses for that feast there is a special entry: "Rs. 1-3-95," paid "to the driver of the ornamental car on

Bandora, in the same island of Salsette, which is jointly Parish and fixed Residence of the Company." The year meant is 1576, as shown in the previous paragraphs 5 and 8. Is it right? The Jesuits were well established at Bandra in 1575. In § 10 there is question of Mahim Quelve, on the way from Bassein to Daman, which the Jesuits relinquished in 1570 together with the Church of N.S. da Graça of Bassein. This year 1570 was understood by mistake to refer to Bandra also. *Oriente Conquistado* does not touch the question which church at Bandra came first into existence: St. Andrew's or St. Anne's. A Jesuit in 1569 writes that St. Andrew's came after St. Anne's, a puzzling statement.

¹ Appendix to *Catal. . . Miss Bombayensis*, . . . 1909, p. 29.

² Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-574.

³ Appendix to *Catal. . . Miss Bombayensis*, . . . 1909, pp. 30-32.

⁴ Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-603.

which the image was brought from Mahy.”¹ Was it the statue of N. S. dos Navegantes, which in 1669 stood at St. Andrew’s? We think not.

If it were clear that the entries in the Registers of St. Andrew’s were interrupted in 1740 and continued in the same volumes in March 1749, it would follow that, during the Maratha occupation, the priests were away between some date in 1740 and March 1749. The Registers may be found to contain a reference to the fact. After March 1749, the entries run on without interruption till the present day. For argument’s sake, we shall suppose that the church was left untenanted in 1740–49. It was not destroyed during that time. Mount Mary Chapel, commanding the Mahim Creek and the British positions on the Island of Bombay, was probably blown up in 1738 by the English as a precaution against the Marathas: for the English destroyed a small fort or block-house on the Mount in 1738.² St. Andrew’s, situated north of the Mount, on level ground, and useless from a strategic point of view, was spared. Its two side-altars are those of 1669. The main altar of 1669 was replaced by a new one in 1890. We cannot suppose that these altars were dismantled in 1740, stowed away for 9 years and set up again in 1749. The same for the old carved pulpit and the heavy carved wooden retablos adorning the walls, which must be considerably earlier than 1740. In 1749, when a priest returned to take charge of the church, he must have found the statues intact. Had they been secreted in 1740–49, they must have been brought back in 1749 or some time before 1761. Was not then N. S. dos Navegantes standing on the side-altar of St. Andrew’s long before September 8, 1761, when a statue was brought from Mahim to Mount Mary Church?

How long were the Marathas at Bandra? Till 1749, or till January 7, 1761, when they were defeated at Panipat? In the latter case, the immediate erection of a new chapel on Mount Mary shows that the former chapel had been destroyed. If the Marathas left in 1749 or some time in or before 1761, the fact that a statue was not brought from Mahim to Mount Mary between 1749 and September 8, 1761, shows that there was no shrine on the Mount, or at any rate, that it was not accessible.

The statue brought to the Mount in 1761 could not have been N. S. dos Navegantes, at St. Andrew’s in 1669, unless it was taken to Mahim in 1738–39. In that case, the original statue on the Mount was lost, or not brought back, or set up in the Mother Church of St. Andrew’s, in or after 1749, with the

¹ *Ibid.*, and the Rev. P. A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² The Agoada at the foot of the hill, part of the steps leading to the block-house and the terrace of the block-house remain intact. The middle building was blown up by the English in 1738, and has been replaced by Byramji’s bungalow. (*Note by Fr. E. H. Hull, S.J.*)

present title of N. S. do Monte, or again a new statue with the same title was placed at St. Andrew's in or after 1749. How many complications! More likely, as we have said, the statue of St. Andrew's was not moved; if it was, it came back in 1749. More likely too, the statue of Mount Mary was taken for safety to Mahim, to the English side, across the Mahim Creek, in 1738-39, and brought back in 1761.

Someone may suppose that the statue of St. Andrew's was placed on the Mount before 1738, while that of the Mount took its place at St. Andrew's, thus justifying the title of N. S. do Monte borne now by the statue at St. Andrew's. In that case, why is the statue on the Mount not called N. S. dos Navegantes? Would an interchange of statues ever have been made, and why? We think it was not made and could not have been made. A chapel, on the Mount facing the sea, was much frequented by non-Christians in 1679-87, says a Jesuit letter.¹ This must be Mount Mary Chapel, where Mass was said on Wednesdays in 1669. Shall we say that Christians and non-Christians did not visit it a few years before, in 1669, when the statue of N. S. dos Navegantes was surely at St. Andrew's? The statue of the Mount owed its fame before 1679-87—let us add, before 1669—not to a story that it was fished up out of the sea (else the story of two such discoveries must have appeared incredible even to the 'Gentoos'), but to some other fact or tradition, or merely to the idea of sacredness naturally attaching to a shrine on a mount. There is, moreover, some tradition that a Hindu shrine standing on the Mount in 1565 was replaced by a Christian shrine in 1565.² If that were so, the Hindu fishermen, accustomed to a pilgrimage to the hill, simply changed the object of their cult on becoming Christians. Likewise, the non-Christians, who are still drawn to the place on the occasion of the annual feast at the shrine. The shrine on the Mount being regarded as sacred, from its position alone, in 1679-87, no interchange of statues between Mount Mary Chapel and St. Andrew's was possible after that date, or, for the matter of that, after 1669. The fishermen of St. Andrew's parish would not have parted with a statue, the tradition of which, still vivid among them, was that their forefathers had 'miraculously' found it in the sea. The pilgrims to the Mount would have been shocked to find another Madonna installed on the Mount. When the pilgrimage was revived in 1761, after a break of 22 years, the statue on the Mount, if still existing, had to be brought back to its original position, wherever it was. The tradition says that the original statue of 1738 returned to the

¹ From MS. notes by Fr. E. H. Hull, S.J., Bombay, who used notes now destroyed, taken in Europe by Fr. Jürgens, S.J., from MSS. belonging to the Society of Jesus.

² Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 601, who speaks of Durga Devi's shrine and of her feast on the Hill in October.

Mount in 1761. Let that be so. The so-called 'tradition' that it was fished up is wrong. That story belongs to N. S. dos Navegantes, which must be still at St. Andrew's. At St. Andrew's they have forgotten the original story and have let it pass over to N. S. on the Mount. They even call now their own N. S. dos Navegantes by the title of N. S. do Monte. It matters not. We cannot admit an interchange of statues, or, without better proofs, a second fishing-up.

We do not know the size of the niche in Mount Mary Chapel before 1761, but this we know: the original niche at St. Andrew's fits the big statue of the Madonna existing there at present, and that same niche would be too big for the statue on the Mount. That means that the statue of St. Andrew's, fitting the original niche of 1669, is the original N. S. dos Navegantes of 1669. The discovery of this point belongs to Father H. Heras, S.J., who visited with me Mount Mary Chapel and St. Andrew's on February 22, 1927.

Neither statue is the figure-head of a ship. The pedestal of both is cut out of the same block as the statue. The statue of St. Andrew's might have been fixed on a mast, or have stood on a bracket against a mast. Not so the statue of the Mount. Not only is the figure of the Child detachable, which is not the case at St. Andrew's, but the carver made no provision for the hair of the Madonna; the hair is artificial and must be fixed with a veil or crown. Such a statue was made for a church. If then statues of Our Lady were placed on Portuguese ships and bore the title of N. S. dos Navegantes, that title, in 1669, was justified only for the Madonna of St. Andrew's.

The title of Mount Mary Church is Our Lady's Nativity, since 1761. The feast of September 8, 1761, and the annual feast of September 8, the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, also shows this. The title of the Chapel on the Mount must have been Our Lady's Nativity from the start. How then could it have on the main altar a statue of N. S. dos Navegantes, and why should its feast be celebrated precisely on September 8, and on no other feast of Our Lady?

The transference of the tradition from St. Andrew's to Mount Mary Church as regards the fishing-up of a statue can be detected still in the tradition as it exists now.

1. What is the meaning of this? It is said by one author that the statue thrown into the sea by the Marathas in 1738-39 was washed up at Bandra, yet fished out of the sea by fishermen of St. Michael's parish, Mahim.¹ Why does the story not say: "Washed up at Mahim"? Because the story of 1669 was that Bandra fishermen found it. Why does the story now say: "Fished up by Mahim fishermen"? Because in or about 1738-39 a statue was taken to Mahim, across the water. In the

¹ Padre P. A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

excitement of those troublous days the fishermen of Bandra could easily imagine that the Marathas had thrown it into the sea and that it had been recovered on the Mahim side of the creek. Their own discovery of a statue in the sea disposed them to such a theory. The same author has also that the statue of the Mount was found among rocks in the sea, on the west side of the Mount.¹ That would not be the Mahim Creek, but the open sea in front of Bandra. The Bandra fishermen of St. Andrew's must have found their statue there before 1669.

2. Another version in Dr. da Cunha's *Notes on the History of Chaul and Bassein*, says of the statue on the Mount: "It was picked up by a Koli fisherman, and concealed in the fissure of a rock for the period of six months, after which it was carried in solemn procession to St. Andrew's."² Braz A. Fernandez records another rumour: "it was hid in a fissure of a rock at Bandra Point, taken to St. Andrew's, when the Marathas were gone, and in 1761 installed on the Mount."³ The concealment belongs to the period 1739-61, when it was at St. Michael's Church, Mahim; the procession is that of Mahim-Bandra in 1761; the fishing-up by a Koli fisherman, a procession to St. Andrew's (?), and the stay at St. Andrew's are part of the story of N.S. dos Navegantes, at St. Andrew's in 1669.

3. If it were concluded that the solemn procession from Mahim took the statue first to St. Andrew's and then to Mount Mary Church, that would make no difference. The procession would not have stopped for an exchange of statues; it reached the Mount the same day, September 8, 1761, with the statue from Mahim.

4. The Child on the right arm of the Madonna on the Mount does not now, it is said, look at the flower in its Mother's left hand.⁴ It did so for some time after 1761. Since the Child is detachable, could it be made to look at the flower? If it can, the story is refuted. If it cannot, what does it mean? That the flower is an Indian device, intended to amuse the Child, and proving the Indian workmanship of the statue and the Indian provenance of the wood? It proves, perhaps, that the ball or orb in Our Lady's hand was formerly surmounted by a cross, and that the hole left in the ball at the top is now used at times to put a flower in, or also, that the Child of the original statue of the fishing-up did not look at a flower. Such is the case at St. Andrew's, where Our Lady holds no flower.

5. Other popular idiosyncrasy. The Child of N. S. do Monte would run away at times to play on the sea-shore. A Goan took it, carried it to Goa and gave it to another Madonna, whose Child came to the statue of the Mount.⁵ Under this new

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

² Quoted by P. A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

⁴ Padre P. A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

conceit, explaining perhaps why the Child does not now look at the flower, we may discover that the Child of the Madonna of the Mount is not the Child of the Madonna of N. S. dos Navegantes. It follows that the Madonna of the Mount is not N. S. dos Navegantes, though to the former there now clings the story of the latter.

6. It is said that the Madonna of the Mount has grown one foot bigger since 1761.¹ Why again this odd fancy? Because, if it were the statue of the original tradition, it *ought to be* one foot bigger. That of St. Andrew's *is* about one foot bigger. Probably, the tellers of this new incongruity felt it would be irreverent to say that the statue of the Madonna of the Mount had grown one foot smaller than it should be if it were that of N. S. dos Navegantes. Accordingly, they said it had grown one foot bigger.

It will be objected that the statue at St. Andrew's is now called N. S. do Monte. I was not a little surprised to hear that, on my visit of February 22, 1927. From what time is it called so? What have the Registers of St. Andrew's and of its Confraternity to say? The explanation may be this. On November 16, 1762, Archbishop Neiva Brum of Goa established a Confraternity of N. S. do Monte at Mount Mary Church, Bandra.² This Confraternity is now mentioned in connection with St. Andrew's, the Mother Church.³ It would seem then that by 1762 the fame of N. S. do Monte had become so great that the Church of St. Andrew's, on which Mount Mary Church had always depended, asked for a Confraternity of N. S. do Monte. If, in the beginning after 1761, that Confraternity had its seat at St. Andrew's, as seems to be the case even now, it wanted a statue and an altar. The only available altar and statue was that of N. S. dos Navegantes. A change of title must have followed for that statue, which done, the story of N. S. dos Navegantes passed over to N. S. do Monte even at St. Andrew's.

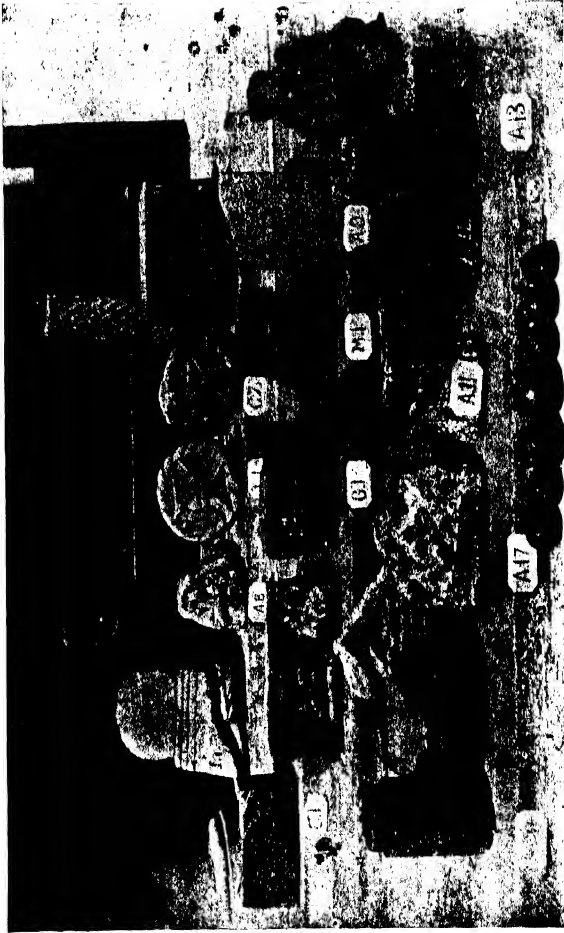
I may be wrong in several points of this inquiry, which long appeared to me, and may still appear to others, a hopeless tangle. That the tradition should within 150 years have been completely transferred from one church to another in the same place without an exchange of statues, I had to regard as incredible. Yet, on closer inquiry and after a personal visit to Bandra, such seems to be the case. The priority of the shrine on the Mount, its supplanting a Hindu shrine, the great veneration in which it was held already in 1679-87 and earlier, its being an annexe of St. Andrew's, the confusion of the Maratha wars, the disappearance of the statue of the Mount, its translation across the water, its long continuance at Mahim, its triumphal return, the inflammable imagination of the Koli

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

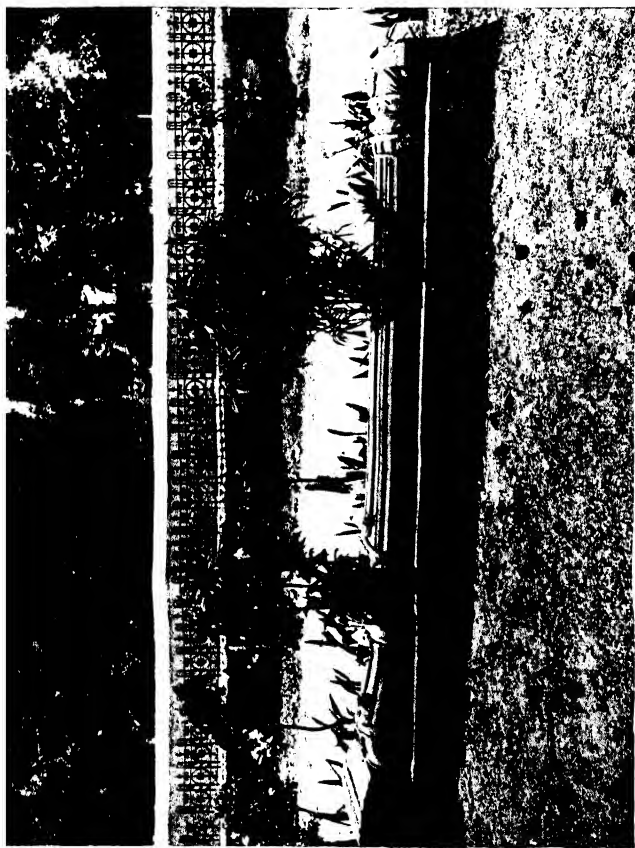
² *Mitras Lusitanas*, II (1924), p. 486.

³ *Catholic Directory*, Madras, 1924, p. 27.

2nd row from top : C 1 D 12 G 1 M 1 A 9
 3rd row from top : E 2 H 1 H 1



4th row from top : A 29 C 4 A 17 A 11 A 12 A 13
 Bottom row : Q 2 Q 5 R 1 S 2 Q 1 C 3 Q 4
 S. Thomé. Bishop's Museum.—Exhibits from different parts of S. Thomé and Mylapore.
 Cf. p. 18, No. 21.



S. Thomé. Cathedral grounds (south).--Fluted monolithic pilaster with winged angel-head on capital, and another at the origin of the shaft. Cf. p. 20, No. 23.

fishermen of Bandra, the absence of the Jesuits from St. Andrew's, the short incumbency of one of them in 1749, his being succeeded by others who did not inherit the tradition of the Jesuits, and, most of all, the Confraternity of N.S. do Monte established in St. Andrew's Church in 1762: these are some of the many elements which combined to make the transference possible. The Hindus too may have contributed to the transformation of the local tradition. They say that N.S. do Monte is of Hindu parentage; before her feast she takes a boat to go and invite her six sisters to her feast.¹

Strange things will happen, in India as elsewhere. Things, perfectly simple and natural when they happened, can in the long run become mysterious and insoluble. The first Portuguese at Mylapore were told, in or shortly after 1523, that a *jogī*, not wishing to see St. Thomas erect his Mylapore church on the site of his own shrine, killed his son and accused the Saint of the deed before the king. To prove his innocence, St. Thomas revived the boy, who accused his father. The legend was well-known in Malabar in the 16th century. Now, at the Kottar Church, Cape Comorin, I was told in 1924 by some of the laity an exactly similar story in connection with St. Francis Xavier, to whom their church is dedicated, and I doubt not that the clergy believed the story of their people. When St. Francis Xavier came to Kottar and wanted to build a church opposite a *jogī*'s shrine, the latter killed his son, hid the body under the Saint's bed, and accused him the next day before the judge. The Saint revived the boy, who accused his father. The good people of Kottar came to be so perfectly convinced of their tradition that I was shown, on a side-altar of St. Francis Xavier, two small wooden statues, of local make, one representing the *jogī*, the other the Brahman judge with his cord on the wrong shoulder. Had I not known the earlier Mylapore tradition, I might have been tempted to look up the Acts of the Saint. The mistake of the Kottar people does not prove that the story told of St. Thomas and Mylapore is genuine. That too may have been borrowed from elsewhere, or simply invented. It is a well-known theme in hagiology.

We have other instances of the kind in India. St. Thomas' marvellous log from Ceylon, which all the elephants and men of the King of Mylapore could not drag ashore, but which followed the Saint to the site of his future church the moment he had attached to it his girdle, is a typical example. In 1533 a Mesopotamian bishop who had been many years in Malabar related the same story in connection with Quilon and two Mesopotamian bishops of c. A.D. 825. "And of the Church of Coulão he said that, seven hundred years ago, a little more or less, two brothers, holy men, came (to it), and went over to

¹ *Ind. Antiquary*, 1890, pp. 285-286.

Cranganor, and from there went to Seilão (Ceylon). They were natives of Armenia. One was called Xaor (Sapor?), and the other Aporto (Prodh?). Both went to a pagode of Gentios in the same Island and took from it two big logs which it contained. And the Idol which was in the said pagode asked them why they took from him his logs. And the holy men ordered him in the name of God to go with the logs and take them to the place where now is the church of Coulão. And he did so, and the holy men went to the king of that country and asked him for that field where the house (church) is now built."¹ The same story is related with changes by Duarte Barbosa before 1516-17 in connection with St. Thomas and Quilon.² It has found its way to Bandel, Hugli (Bengal), in connection with a statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, which is said to have come floating up the river against the current. Many such stories, more or less similar, could be quoted for Europe. I shall refer to only one instance to which my attention was drawn only a few days ago: that of the statue of Our Lady of Youghal, now in the Dominican Church of Saint Mary, Pope's Quay, Cork.³

There is, I said, a Hinduized tradition about the Madonna on the Mount. That tradition carries with it the lesson that, if the Christian worshippers were to disappear from Bandra, they would be replaced at the Mount by non-Christian worshippers. The Madonna would become a *devī* of the Hindu Pantheon. In fact, she has already been included in it. What has happened already and would doubtless happen in given circumstances may have happened in the past in other parts of India. In or after 1676, a Missionary writing from Malabar said that in a certain temple of Malabar, belonging to the king of Upper Cranganore, there was, according to common report, a statue of Our Lady. Not many years ago, two beautiful ancient Crosses, one with a Syriac inscription, were found to be honoured in a Buddhist pagoda north of Pekin, called Che-tze-seu or Pagoda of the Cross.

"On a hill near Bândrâ, known as Mount Mary,⁴ there may be seen a beautiful chapel dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, after which the hill is called. It is believed that the image contained in it was caught in the net of a Christian

¹ From rotographs of a MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus, *Goana Hist.*, 1539-99, fol. 25r (19r).

² Dames, *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 94-100.

³ *Lays and Legends of Our Blessed Lady*, by a Member of the Presentation Community, Lixnow, County Kerry, London, Washbourne, 1911, pp. 39-47.

⁴ "Hindus, Pársis, and the like call it Mõnth Mâulichâ Dõngar; Salsette Christians call it Mõnthchâ Dõngar." (*G. F. D'Penha.*) Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 641, says the Bandra Hill is called Motmavli, from *Mot* (Port.): *monte* (mount), and *Mavli* (Marathî): mother; mother of the hill.

fisherman, who was told in a dream, the same night, to erect the chapel on the spot where it now stands.¹ This image is very popular for its miraculous cures, and thousands of all castes and creeds flock there throughout the year, particularly in the month of September, when a great feast, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is celebrated with novenas. (P. 286.)

"A curious story is told by some old persons of the neighbourhood in connection with the image:² that the Blessed Virgin was born of Hindu parents, and had six sisters: Sītḷādēvi, Sānthāi, Parbādēvi, Mahālakshmi, Mōmbādēvi, and another whose name they do not remember;³ and it is believed that, when the novenas commence, the Blessed Virgin is in the habit of taking a boat and visiting her sisters, inviting them to the feast.

"There are places called after the names of the Virgin's 'sisters':—Sītḷādēvi is at Andhēri, in Salsette; Sānthāi, at Kantēvārī, in Bāndrā; Parbādēvi, at Mahim, where a fair is held annually, and where there is also a temple to her; and Mahālakshmi, at Bombay, where there too is a temple. These are all on the sea-side; so also is the chapel of the Virgin Mary. Mōmbādēvi is in Bombay, not very far from the sea-side. The sixth I cannot trace exactly.

"No one in Salsette can give me the origin of the story. Can any of your readers enlighten me on the subject? All that has been told me is that Mary joined the Christian faith, but my informants cannot give me her heathen name. Till very recently the fishermen and other Christians of Salsette were deeply immersed in Hindu superstitions; and to this, perhaps, may simply be attributed the notion of the legend of Mary and her sisters."⁴

A Hindu schoolmaster of Agashi said: "A great fair is held annually on the hill of Motmavli near Bandra in the Thana District. The devotees of the deity are Hindus, Parsis and Christians. It is said this goddess was once worshipped by Hindus only."⁵

¹ "On the East, i.e. the back of the chapel, is a long flight of steps; and a Roman Catholic procession, on the evening of Palm Sunday, leaves St. Andrew's Church and, winding through the fields, ascends these steps, presenting a veritable semblance of the way to Mount Calvary. It then enters the chapel of the Virgin Mary to listen to a sermon." (*G. F. D'P.*)

² "I am open to correction as to the actual connection of the story with the image; but I believe I am stating a fact." (*G. F. D'P.*)

³ In the Museum of Bombay there are several groups of the 'Seven Mothers' carved in stone.

⁴ Geo. F. D'Penha, of Bandra, in *Ind. Antiq.*, Bombay, 1890, pp. 285-286. This note was pointed out to me in Bombay by Fr. H. Heras, S.J.

The legend above is more likely due to non-Christians than to Christians.

⁵ A. M. T. Jackson, *Folklore Notes*, Vol. 2. *Concan*: by R. E. Enthoven, Bombay, 1906, p. 16, quoted by Braz A. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 641.

We can only guess how the statue of N. S. dos Navegantes happened to be in the sea. Did it fall from some ship passing that way? Was it thrown overboard to still a tempest? Was it part of a wreck? We should not conclude too soon that it fell into the sea in Portuguese times. The sea sometimes restores its treasures after centuries.

This article, which first appeared in *The Examiner*, Bombay, August 20, 27, and September 3, 1927, was criticised *ibid.* on July 16, 23, 30, 1927, by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes. I have now sent (7-11-1927) to *The Examiner* a rejoinder to the criticisms.

From Mr. Braz A. Fernandes' paper we gather a few points which may ease the discussion. The Marathas, he says, were at Bandra till 1775. The entries in the registers at St. Andrew's show that priests remained in charge of St. Andrew's from 1740 to 1749 and later. The statue of Our Lady at St. Andrew's does not adhere to the wooden pedestal, but terminates below the feet, where it is neatly sawn; it must be, he agrees, the same statue as in 1669. That statue is not called Our Lady of the Mount, contrary to the statement made to me by the Vicar of St. Andrew's during my visit there. Bishop Dom Antonio Pedro da Costa, in his *Relatório da nova diocese de Damão*, Bombay, 1892, p. 23, mentions the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Mount in connection with the parish of St. Andrew's, when he describes the parish as a whole; but, when he happens to speak of the Church on the Mount, he mentions it in connection with that Church (p. 25).

Mr. Braz A. Fernandes also relates in substance a Hindu legend about the shrine on the Mount. "On the site of the present chapel of Mount Mary, lived an old Hindu couple who had no children. One day, while the man was out fishing, he found a statue of a *devi* (goddess) floating in the sea. He brought the statue home and showed it to his wife, who advised him to keep quiet over the matter, else it might be taken away from them. So the statue remained in the hut, unknown to their friends, and the old couple worshipped it in the usual Hindu style. As time went on, it was noticed that the couple were getting rich. The old man was catching more and better fish than his neighbours. But the greatest surprise was that the couple, who had given up all hopes of getting a child, now had an heir to perform their funeral rites. Neighbours and friends were astonished, and on making enquiries it was found that the old couple's happiness was due to the presence of the *devi* in their hut, and thus the story of its finding became known. The statue became famous and worshippers from far and near flocked to the new shrine. When the old couple died, they were buried there, and a temple was erected for the *devi*

on their graves. The shrine then became a place of pilgrimage and a *jātrā* was held annually in October. The present statue of Mount Mary is claimed to be the same that was found by the fisherman." (*The Examiner*, September 3, 1927, p. 418.)

I see no reason yet to change the main lines of my argument. The smaller statue of the Mount, if placed on the pedestal of the statue at St. Andrew's, would be too small for the niche, whence we may conclude that the niche at St. Andrew's was made for its present statue or that the statue now there was made to fit a pre-existing niche by means of an appropriate pedestal. There would follow that the statue of St. Andrew's is the original one of 1669, and that the story of the fishing up belongs to it primarily, if not exclusively.

Many of the non-Christians, no doubt, repair to the Church on the Mount to pray that their union may be fruitful. The Hindu legend just quoted brings this out by introducing a childless couple, whose worship of the *devī* is rewarded by the birth of a child. The present statue on the Mount is plainly a Madonna of Christian make. Hence, one cannot feel sure that the Hindu legend proves the former existence of a Hindu shrine on the Mount.

On March 19, 1928, Mr. Braz A. Fernandes sent me the Portuguese text of Fr. Agostinho de S. Maria's *Santuário Mariano*, Lisboa, 1720, VIII. 258-259. It was communicated to him by the Secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon. The author confesses that his information about the statue of Our Lady on the Mount was incomplete. He did not know where the statue had come from when it had first been placed in the shrine, or on what day the feast was celebrated. What he knew was based on a relation sent to him by an Augustinian confrère, Father Master Friar Faustino da Graça. The date for the beginning of the shrine is given as 1566, and the Jesuits are said to have erected it. Not a word about a fishing-up. Instead, we have a story of bees which attacked a party of Arabs who, disappointed in their expectation of treasure, intended burning down the shrine. Mr. Braz A. Fernandes writes that he had heard the story of the bees, but could not get a connected account of it. Arabs invaded Bandra in 1694, he states from Hamilton, but there were minor raids of Arabs, Turks and Abyssinians, with their headquarters at Muskat. Danvers (*The Portuguese in India*, II. 489) mentions Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camara Coutinho as Viceroy from 1698 to 1701.

I cannot say in what year Fr. Faustino da Graça could have written. The approbatus and imprimatus of *Santuário Mariano* should have been examined for the date of the completion of that work. Very likely too, Faustino da Graça's Rela-

tion is mentioned in several other sections or in the prefatory matter.

To complicate matters, we are told that the statue of Our Lady on the Mount is life-size and holds the Infant Jesus on the left arm. This part of the description would suit better on both points the statue of Our Lady at St. Andrew's, chiefly if the Vicar of the Mount, Fr. Walter D'Souza, is right in saying that the child of the Madonna on the Mount cannot be placed on the left arm. We cannot argue from the description of the carving and painting, as both statues may have been repainted many times.

I add a translation of the passage from *Santuario Mariano*, VIII. 258-259.

TITLE LXXIX.

Of the miraculous Image of Our Lady of the Mount, Bandorá.

464. In the lands of the North, or in the Island of Salsete of the North, which has a circumference of twenty leagues, as we already said, the Portuguese have an *Aldea* (village) called Bandurá by the natives of the country, in the Parish of which [is the church of Our Lady of the Mount] which belongs to the Fathers of the Sacred Company of Jesus, and they are those who as Parish-Priests administer the Sacraments to those Christians. This Church is dedicated to the sovereign Queen of Glory, Most Holy Mary, with the invocation of Our Lady of the Mount, and it was founded by the same Fathers in the year 1566. This Lady is the consolation and comfort of all those Indians and Portuguese: for her Sanctuary is a more excellent pond than the Probatica,¹ because it is the universal remedy of all the evils, illnesses, and infirmities. It is not only one sick person who there obtains the health he desires, but all those who have recourse to that Most Clement Lady, who is the universal medicine of all our infirmities, as the Geometer calls her: *Medicina ægritudinum nostrarum* [the medicine of our illnesses]. To visit the Lady of the Mount is the same as to come away from her presence, every one of the sick, free from the evils and complaints he suffers from.

462. At the time when the Viceroy of India was the Chief Almotacel Antonio Luiz Gonçalves Coutinho, the Arabs entered the Aldea of Bandurá, and the place to which they went first was the Sanctuary of the Lady of the Mount, being persuaded that in it they would find many riches amassed. That Sanctuary was adorned with rich paintings (*pinturas*), garnished and adorned with rich frames (*molduras*) of gilt carving: the result of the great devotion, and also of the many great alms which were offered to the Lady in thanksgiving for the great benefits and favours which she bestowed on her devotees. The Arabs,

¹ John, V. 2.

persuaded that all they saw was plates (*chapas*) and lamins (*laminas*) of gold, started cutting the frames (*molduras*): but, seeing their mistake, and that all they saw was gilt wood, they intended setting fire to the church, to reduce the whole to ashes and whatever was in the Church. For this they went to fetch much wood. But the Lady did not allow it. She chastised the disrespect and their wicked resolution, by sending a remarkable army of well-armed soldiers, which made them decamp in a great hurry. There came an army of bees which fell upon the Arabs and made them flee in all haste; for the wounds they inflicted on them with their darts were more painful than if they had been inflicted by their enemies, and so they fled in despair; and, as these bees were the ministers of the Divine Justice, or soldiers sent by the Mother of God, their blows had to be more cruel, and the wounds deeper. Thus did the Sovereign Lady defend her house, not permitting that the Arabs should execute their evil resolution. So cruel were the stings, and so violent the pain that they abandoned everything, even the arms they carried, without doing any harm.

463. The Lady was placed in her place, which was in the middle of the *retabolo* of the High Altar, and in the same place she remained, because, when those Archers of hers, armed with such sharp darts, rushed up to defend her, the enemies, afraid of their weapons, had no opportunity to come where the Lady was. This Most Holy Image of the Lady is of the natural size of a woman; it is carved out of wood painted thinly over gold (*de madeyra estofada*),¹ the carving being executed with great perfection. On the left arm she holds the Infant God. I heard nothing of its origin, nor at what time it was placed in that sanctuary, nor on what day her feast is kept; doubtless, it must be on the day of her Assumption. Father Master Fr(ei) Faustino da Graça wrote of the Lady of the Mount in his Relation, which he sent to us."

¹ *Estofar*: to draw with thin colour over gold, so that the gold appear through it.

6. Christians in Mysore and Vijayanagar.

Father A. Launay says about Anekal or Anekallu, in the Bangalore District: "There has been found, in the territory of this parish, in an aqueduct, a tombstone on which are engraved a cross and the date 1400, which places this Christianity in the front rank of antiquity in Mysore. Three other stones were also found in a garden in the same village: on the first is engraved a Greek cross and the Canarese inscription *Jesu nateru* (Lord Jesus); the two others have only a cross."¹

I consulted on this matter the President of the Mythic Society, the late Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, St. Patrick's Cathedral, Bangalore. His answer (June 2, 1921) did not set my curiosity at rest. "I am sorry to say," he wrote, "that Father Launay's information is quite incorrect. The stone, which is lying in my compound, is simply a boundary stone with a cross engraved. There are a few letters, which are altogether illegible."

A considerable amount of information on the Anekal crosses has lately come into my hands. Its conflicting nature obliges me to set it down as I find it. Further research may lead to more satisfactory results.

Dr. R. Shama Sastry, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, wrote to me on October 31, 1925 (D.O. No. 26):—

"Mr. Rice, who was formerly the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, states as follows, *re* the stone in question, in the *Mysore Archæological Report for 1906*, p. 4:—

'Among the archæological discoveries of the year under report may be mentioned an interesting stone at Anekal, brought to notice by Father Pessein of the Kolar Gold Fields. It has at the top a large figure of a cross, below which are three lines of inscription in somewhat old Kannada letters. These show that it was set up to mark the 'Kumbara anc' or potter's dam, of which there are still remains in existence. As the Dominican Friars are said to have built a Church at Anekal in 1400, it would seem that this dam may have been made for the benefit of their converts. This stone had escaped notice, as it had been removed from its original site in the town and deposited for safety in the Roman Catholic Cemetery.'

"From the files in this Office, it appears that this stone was removed to the premises of Father Tabard, to the West of St. Patrick's Cathedral, at the instance of a Roman Catholic

¹ A. Launay, *Hist. des Missions de l'Inde*, tome I (1898), introd., p. xlix n.

Priest in Malabar, whose name appears to be C. Anzunt.¹ An inked estampage of the inscription in the new premises was taken by this Department in 1915, and a correct reading of the inscription was recorded in this Office. No photo of the Cross seems to have been taken; but, in the Office record containing the reading of the inscription written in modern characters, the writer has also sketched the figure of the Cross at the top of his copy. According to this reading, the inscription records the construction of a dam by potters and the making of some grant to one Ranalara Bamma. Neither the date 1400 A.D., nor the name of Christ or Mary is to be found in this inscription.

"I am enclosing herewith a copy of the transliteration of the inscription in Roman characters for your information, together with a drawing of the figure of the Cross as sketched in our record."²

"Transliteration of a Kannada inscription at Anekal, now found in the Compound of Father Tabard, to the West of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in the Bangalore Cantonment.

"Size of the stone: 6'-6" × 1'-6"; Kannada characters.

1. Kumbāra ane
2. Ranalara Bammage
3. Kasahaka....."

Dr. Shama Sastry favoured me with a further note on the inscription:

"The following is the translation of the Anekal inscription, word for word:—

Line 1. Kumbāra ane. Kumbārara=potters'; *ane*=dam; *Kumbāra ane*=potters' dam, or dam constructed by potters.

Line 2. Ranalara Bammage=to Ranalara Bamma. Bamma is the name of a person. Ranalara seems to be his surname, or family name, or title.

Line 3. Kasahaka.... This word has no meaning. As some letters in combination of this word are effaced, it is not possible to make out the exact import of this line.

"The passage on the whole seems to mean that some grant was made to Ranalara Bamma in connection with a dam constructed by potters."³

Questioned again about the age of the script, Dr. Shama Sastry answered: "The characters *ra*, *na*, *la*, *ka*, *sa*, *ha*, which are quite legible in the inked estampages of the inscription in this Office, in no way differ from modern characters. Therefore,

¹ The Rev. C. Auzuech, a Missionary at Vayitri (Wynaad) in 1918, 1922, 1924.

² I omit the drawing, as it is only approximate.

³ Office of the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, the 10th of Nov., 1925, D.O. No. 29.

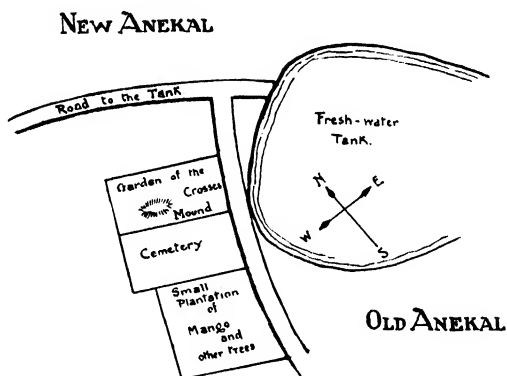
I am led to think that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 15th century at the most."¹

The Rt. Rev. Mgr. E. Studer, Vicar General of the Mysore Diocese, who during Fr. Tabard's absence in Europe was in charge of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Bangalore, wrote: "The Secretary to the Government suggests putting the stone in a better place, like the Mysore Archaeological Museum" (6-11-1925). "I have no doubt that the cross in my compound is a Christian cross. The sketch sent to you does not give a true idea of it. I shall send you a photo of the same" (10-11-1925).

An important statement came from Father Y. Gouarin (10-11-1925), who was at Anekal when the crosses were discovered.

"Concerning the (Maltese) crosses found at Anekallur within a mound in 1893 or 1894.

"It is said that the Christian settlement at Anekal is very old, that there were formerly many Catholics at that place, and that many apostasies took place at a certain period. There are families² in which there are men with Indian Christian names.



"On the South-East of Anekal there is a tank, called *si-kairai* (fresh water tank), because the water of it, used for the requirements of the locality, is fresh compared to the brackish water of the wells.

"Below the embankment, there is a plot of ground which has for long been used as a Catholic cemetery. Quite near, contiguous, there is, on the north, a rather big plot of land, which is worked as a garden. In 1894, three brothers, Christians,

¹ Mysore, January 7, 1926, D.O. No. 46. Dr. Rice was prepared, it seems from his report of 1906, to admit that the inscription might be of A.D. 1400.

² Families now pagan.

were working that garden, the property of a Brahman. In the middle of his property, there rose a mound, between 10 and 12 feet high, on which grew wild shrubs. The Christians asked the proprietor for permission to bring down that mound little by little and cultivate the whole of the garden. The permission was granted; and hardly had they removed some feet of the ground when they found, just beneath the surface, a masonry conduit (*caniveau*) made of bricks and mortar, and, when they continued to remove the earth, they were surprised to find several Maltese crosses lying flat on that conduit. Some were more or less broken, but two or three were entire. At most, certain inscriptions cut with a chisel could be seen on them. One of these crosses had several characters and words in old Kanara, among others "*Ranahatta*—1570 years."¹ The meaning of *Ranahatta* would be "blood shed," according to the old Brahmans who were consulted on the subject.

"When Father Launay visited Mysore, he came to Matigiri,² and on his return he went as far as Anekal. Accompanied by the old catechist of Madagondhally,³ he went to see the above-mentioned crosses on the spot. He made the people tell him what had happened, and he speaks of it in his history of India. Father Auzuech also saw these crosses, and had one of them carried to Bangalore. He got some information from the Christians who discovered them, and three or four of these Christians are still alive, among them Dodda Joji, Chieka Joji,⁴ Rajapah and brothers: even older people can certify the facts. Anekal was formerly on the southern side of the *si-kurrai*; the present town occupies the western side, as compared with the old town.

"About two miles further, there are still two pariah villages, Christian from time immemorial, called Singasandu and Kalnakahally."

On November 27, 1925, the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Studer, forwarding a letter from Father C. Auzuech, says:—

"On Monday I went to Anekal. I saw the tank, *si-kere* in Canarese, or fresh-water tank, the garden where was the small mound covering what Fr. Gouarin calls a *caniveau*, or masonry conduit, and, quite near, the Christian cemetery. When I asked to be shown the other three stones, I was horrified to find that they had been used again, a new cross having been carved on them of a shape new to me: a copy of the French war-cross, though similar to the crosses of many other tombs. Rajappa,

¹ Repeated by Fr. Gouarin in Kanarese numerals.

² Anekal and Madagondhally were visited from Matigiri in 1924. Cf. *Catholic Directory*, Madras, 1924, p. 206.

³ Eight miles from Matigiri. (Mgr. Studer's note.)

⁴ I am told that Joji means Joseph. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. (*Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal*, in *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, p. 8 of reprint) equates Melique Cufer-gugi, the name of the Sabayo's Governor at Goa in 1510, with Malik Yusuf-gurgij, 'gurgij' representing in my opinion a Georgian.

mentioned by Fr. Gouarin, accompanied me and asserted that no lettering was ever found on these crosses now newly utilised at Anekal. He could not give me any information on the meaning of the inscription on the stone which was brought to Bangalore.

"Siluvepura¹ is a mission-station, 15 miles to the west of Bangalore. The railway-station and the post-office are at Chik Banavar."

"Fr. Auzuech has answered. He is very intelligent and worships study."

Father C. Auzuech wrote to Mgr. E. Studer from Magghe (Ballupeta P.O., Hassan District) on Nov. 11, 1925 :—

"I have perused Father H. Hosten's letter, and, while approving and admiring his zeal, I cannot but acknowledge that, in the matter of the Anekal stones, he is altogether on a wrong scent. Here is my reply to his queries.

"1. Some time before the end of the year 1897, when I was to relieve Father Gouarin at Mattigiri, a Brahman vakil, who must be dead and gone now, while repairing a small channel or trench, dug for irrigation, in his garden, at Anekal, and paved or enclosed with large flat stones, noticed, on overturning them, that two or three bore a cross engraved, and one had an old inscription below the cross. His garden being close to the Catholic cemetery, the conclusion was that those stones had once belonged to the cemetery, and, in consequence, he made a gift of them to Father Gouarin, who at once had them removed to the cemetery close by. *Only one* of the stones had an inscription. Father Gouarin, with the help of the vakil, tried to decipher it, but, as neither was an epigraphist, they did not succeed, beyond discovering, as they thought, the number 1400, which they took to mean the year 1400, also a word which meant *shed blood*, and possibly also the words *Jesu nateru*, if the latter is not a mere surmise on the part of Father Launay. All that was a mere guess, as appeared later, when the inscription was inspected by a Government expert.

"Soon after, Father Launay came to India, saw Father Gouarin at Mattigiri, who did not fail to mention and describe to him the stone with the inscription found at Anekal. Did he take Father Launay to Anekal, that he might see the stone for himself? I cannot say, but I do not think he did. Anyhow, Father Launay made a mess of it all, and I can but corroborate Father Tabard's statement that what he says about the Anekal stone is quite incorrect. Soon after again, I was appointed to relieve Father Gouarin at Mattigiri. We went to Anekal together and saw the stones in the cemetery there. Nothing that I am aware of was published about them in any Review, save the incorrect reference in Father Launay's book.

¹ The place where Fr. Y. Gouarin was stationed in 1925-26.

"2. In my opinion, only the stone with an inscription was of any importance, the others, one or two, being merely tombstones without any clue as to their date or to anything else. I recommended it to the care of the local Christians, and several times spoke of it to the Bishop, Dr. Kleiner, to the Vicar-General Father Basle, to the Procurator Father Meissier, but failed to arouse any interest. Several years later, after my transfer to Wynaad, learning that Father Pessein knew the Epigraphist Mr. Rice, I wrote to him, hoping through him Mr. Rice might be induced to have the stone and the inscription examined, and in this I succeeded. But the inscription, on being deciphered, was found to have nothing Christian about it. Not being satisfied with the result, I caused the stone to be carried, at my expense, to the Procure at Bangalore; and, after the foundation of the Mythic Society, I drew Father Tabard's attention to it. Father Tabard had it carried to the Cathedral compound, where it now lies, and wrote to the Director of Archaeology, who had the inscription examined again, with the same result as before. At this point, I gave the whole thing up as hopeless. Granting that the reading of the inscription was correct, the inscription itself may, in my opinion, be much older than the cross over it.¹ At an unknown date, some illiterate Christian, being in quest of a tombstone for a relative's grave, came across the stone with the inscription, and, heedless of the latter, had a cross engraved on it.² Later, some portion of the cemetery, where that grave happened to be, may have been encroached upon by the Hindu owner of the adjacent garden, who, having to dig an irrigation trench, lined it with flat tombstones lying about, amongst which the stone with the inscription. The above explains why we are now puzzled over a stone bearing, engraved on it, a cross and an inscription that has nothing Christian about it, and also how that stone happened to be found in a garden adjoining the cemetery.

"3. What Mr. Rice says about a church existing at Anekal in or about 1400, is a surmise originating from the attempt of Father Gouarin and the Brahman at deciphering the inscription, when they thought they could read in it the number 1400, which they took to be a date.³

"That the Mysore country, and quite possibly Anekal, were evangelized by the Dominicans, beginning with Brother Jourdain, from about the year 1325 downwards, is stated in Father Launay's work, Vol. I, introduction, p. XLVIII, and his statement is based on what is said by Archbishop Laouénan in his work *Du Brahmanisme*, Vol. II, p. 103. I quote from the latter. "Frère Jourdain, resté seul [dans l'Inde], continue

¹ This is not evident; it might be the contrary, or cross and inscription may be equally old.

² Would he not have tried to rub out the inscription or chip it off?

³ This does not appear to be correct.

avec courage ses travaux apostoliques et convertit un certain nombre d'infidèles. Bientôt de nouveaux missionnaires Dominicains viennent se joindre à lui : ils se répandent dans toute la presqu'île méridionale, à Mangalore, dans le Maïssour, la côte Malabare, le Travancore, à Coulam, à Méliapur, et baptisent plus de dix mille infidèles."¹ Unfortunately, Archbishop Laouënan does not give any reference.

"4 and 5. Launay's 1400 does not rest on Rice, as Rice's mention of it is posterior to Launay's book. It rests on the guess reading of Father Gouarin and the Brahman vakil. There are no Christian potters at Anekal....²

"9. The crosses on the three stones (not four) are similar, and they are Christian crosses engraved on tombstones found near a Christian cemetery. Similar crosses on similar stones are to be found in many Christian cemeteries in these parts.³

"10. All the stones were found together, and those bearing no inscription must still lie in the cemetery, where they were rolled from the neighbouring garden, under Father Gouarin's directions.....

"13. I cannot remember now whether there was any lettering on the two stones without inscription.⁴ Possibly, there may have been a short word or the semblance of a short word engraved below one of the crosses. I wonder whether old Father Gouarin could remember it.

"I conclude, as I have begun, by saying that Father Hosten, in my opinion, is on a barren track. If, instead of furrowing it on, he were to apply to the Dominican Order for information as to the missionary labours of Brother Jourdain and his Dominican successors in South India, he would not lose his time. The Dominicans may, nay must, have interesting records on the matter, which, so far as I know, have never been published.

"Brother Jourdain, who, if he really hailed from Séverac, was a fellow-countryman of mine, wrote a book in Latin about what he had seen in India, which he entitled *Mirabilia*.⁵ Does Father Hosten know that? That book was edited in 1878 by an English scholar, Colonel....(I forget his name).⁶ I regret very much that I could never come across a copy of that book, but

¹ These 10,000 are mentioned by Friar Jordanus in his *Mirabilia*. (Yule, 1863, p. 55.) His book and his two letters of 1321 and 1324 do not enable us to fix the places where the Dominicans and others may have been at work. Mangalore and Quilon are pretty sure; Mysore, at least the interior, and Mylapore, seem to be guesses of Mgr. Laouënan.

² Fr. Gouarin gives twice 1570 (letter of 10-11-25, and sketch of the cross, 11-11-25); his letters of 11-11-25 and 22-1-26 speak doubtfully.

³ Pre-Portuguese crosses in those parts might have influenced the shape of post-Portuguese crosses.

⁴ Launay distinguishes a stone with a Greek cross and the date 1400; another, with a Greek cross and the words *Jesu nateru*; two others with a cross and no inscription.

⁵ Hakluyt Society, London, 1863.

⁶ Col. Henry Yule.

I know that there is one in the library of the Jesuit Mission at Calcutta.”¹

After seeing Fr. Auzuech's letter of Nov. 11, 1925, which I communicated to him, Fr. Gouarin wrote from Siluvaipura, Jan. 7, 1920 :—

“I have read attentively Fr. Auzuech's somewhat long letter....It is an interesting account, written by one who knew some facts and particulars (and they are many), according as his memory recalls them. What I know or remember, as a witness and actor, is this.

“From 1891 till July 1897 I was in charge of Anekal. The Christians there in my time were only 100 or 120, all of respectable caste: merchants, cultivators, gardeners or traders. The cultivators and gardeners would often invite me to come and see their work: in this way, I noticed that the catechist and his brothers cultivated near the cemetery a plot of ground belonging to a Brahman, whom I used to meet easily. One day, I advised the catechist Joseph to remove from that garden a mound, 10 or 12 feet high, and about 15 feet long, covered with trees and situated in the middle of that plot of ground. That would give them mould, and the place could be cultivated. I myself asked the Brahman's permission, which was granted. Scarcely had they begun to remove the earth, when they discovered a masonry conduit (*caniveau*), of mortar and bricks, about 6 inches broad, and, a little further, lying flat on the conduit, a granite slab with a Maltese cross, next a second, a third, and a fourth: all lying flat on the conduit and under the mound. Two crosses were broken (an arm had disappeared,² or the foot); two were in good condition. The discovery made the Brahman laugh on the wrong side of his mouth, as we say; he showed himself vexed, but offered no opposition.

“He did not object, when I wished to have these crosses carried to our cemetery, which was situated near his field. I spoke of it to our Bishop, Dr. L. Kleiner, and the matter rested there till the arrival at Bangalore of Father Launay, our historian, to whom people spoke of it, and who came to Matigiri, the head-quarters of the district, where he gave me rendezvous. Together we went to Anekal, a distance of eight miles: he in *jaluka*, I on horseback. There the best preserved cross-stone was washed, and an inscription cut into the stone was found. Charcoal was rubbed on it, and by means of a piece of transparent white paper the inscription was counterdrawn: it bore *rana hatta*³ in old Canara, and the Brahman owner, who was present, said it meant “blood shed.” There was a date in

¹ The one I am using. On certain conditions, not at all onerous, a copy can be had on loan from the Imperial Library, 6 Esplanade, Calcutta.

² This suggests, erroneously (?), a cruciform stone.

³ Repeated in Kanarese characters.

Canara figures, which I gave as 1570,¹ but which may be other, if my memory fails. There was still a word or two which I have forgotten. That is all. Father Launay took note of it, and records the fact in his history. . . . The cross is not engraved on the stone; it is a stone cross (*une pierre-croix*), a granite slab about four feet high, about four inches thick, and about two feet broad. They tell me it is at the Cathedral, after having passed through the Procure. . . .

"Launay and I and the Christians then present commented thus: From the time that the Saviour shed his blood, so many years (we have not seen Jesus or God)². . . . Are we mistaken? Let it be proved. We may have been mistaken; but I do not want to deceive anybody. If it is there, it is there, and no one will take it away. . . . That's all I can communicate to you, all I know on the question. Excuse me if I cannot make the matter clearer. What is sure is that Anekal is an old village, where there were formerly many Christians. How and when did they disappear? Perhaps, *they* know it, but the pagans will not tell; they will deny it, and the discovery of four crosses under a mound 12 feet high proves that there must have been trouble there, that the devil has played tricks. The village has not a good name."

Further letter of Fr. C. Auzuech (Bangalore Camp, 9-1-1926) to myself:—

"When I wrote, I had no idea that Father Gouarin had written to you. There may be discrepancies between our two accounts; all this happened so long ago. Still, I think I remember clearly the particulars as stated in my letter, because at the time I took a great interest in the stone. I do not think that Father Gouarin knows what became of the stone after I had relieved him at Matigiri, as I never had an opportunity to tell him, so far as I can remember.

"On the stone, such as it was when I first saw it, I remember there were traces of chipping, or of some attempt at it, on the right side of the inscription, and a few letters seemed to have been chipped off. What seemed an attempt at chipping might, however, have been the result of an accidental knock. The stone was of an old gray colour, which covered the whole surface, and the inscription was not easily distinguishable at first sight. One had to feel for it with the tip of one's fingers, while the cross was clearly visible. An illiterate fellow might therefore have engraved the cross on the stone, simply without taking notice of the inscription, if it looked then as it looked when I saw it."

On receiving from Mgr. Studer (letter of Bangalore, 22-1

¹ Repeated in Kanarese figures.

² From this we should gather that this stone bore both the inscription and the date, which goes against Launay.

26) a photograph of the cross in the Cathedral grounds, Bangalore, I found that, if that was the stone in question, Father Gouarin's reminiscences of a cruciform stone and his memory sketch of the same were at fault. The Bangalore stone itself is not cruciform. A cross, somewhat of the Maltese type at the top, is carved on an oblong rectangular piece of stone. The photograph shows that the stone has now been fixed within a masonry pedestal. Mgr. Studer notes (22-1-26) that for the sake of the photograph the cross was whitewashed over, and that the inscription is "within the first third of the base seen in the photograph. I distinguish, because the stone is embedded in the pedestal." One of our pupils who has seen the stone tells me that the cross is cut in relief and bulges out about half an inch.

Letter of Fr. Y. Gouarin (Siluvaipura, 22-1-26) to myself:—

"....As I left Anekal in 1897 and did not go back, many particulars may escape me; but I remember well that they are cruciform stones or stones cut in cross-shape, as shown here.¹ The date and the inscription are engraved in the place marked by *o* and +² I remember that the other stones were cruciform, but that one or other arm³ was broken. The head of the cross of one stone was broken off, and the pieces could not be found.

"The Christians of high caste are in the habit of erecting such crosses on the tombs of their dead, but nowadays these crosses are Latin crosses, not Maltese crosses like those at Anekal, which are very ancient. I have seen crosses like those at Anekal in a cemetery of Reddies and Banajigar, but less high. Caste people place on their tombs crosses of trefoil shape.⁴ I found accidentally some ten of these crosses in an uncultivated spot (*terrain désert*), 3 miles from Anekal, and the old catechist to whom I spoke of my discovery said that formerly there lived there a numerous Christian community of caste people who emigrated and disappeared; but the crosses were level with the ground (*à fleur de terre*), the tombs not even appearing. I do not remember whether there were such crosses in the actual Anekal cemetery; but I suppose there were some, more or less high; for the Christians are of high caste, Chettiars, Reddies, etc.....

¹ Fr. Gouarin's sketch shows a cruciform stone, which the stone in the Bangalore Cathedral grounds is not.

² Fr. Gouarin places *o* in the centre of the junction of the two arms of the cross, and + where Mgr. Studer places the inscription. This confirms our surmise that Launay's date 1400 was supposed to be on the stone now at Bangalore.

³ *Sic.*

⁴ A sketch shows a single trefoil, the top of the vertical bar of the cross and the two ends of the horizontal bar making each one of the leaves of the trefoil. This shape strikes me as very peculiar. Where did this form of cross come from? Where else does it occur?

"I said that Fr. Launay went to Anekal in *jaluka* (vulgarly *yekka* or *jetka*),¹ a two-wheeled carriage covered with matting and drawn by a horse. A palanquin is here called *palacki*.² Our comment or explanation of the words *rana hatta* and of the date is: 'So many years (1400 or 1500) have elapsed from the time when the Saviour dying on a cross shed his blood.' Fr. Launay took notes on the spot. Did he discover or interpret something else than myself, I cannot say, but I do not remember the words *Jesu nateru*. They would have surprised me and I should not have forgotten them. However, I do not want to find fault with him.

"When I wrote: If it is there, it is there, I meant: That's what it is, *i.e.*, that's my explanation of the words *rana hatta*.

"My idea is that these crosses belonged to the old Christian settlement of Anekal, and not to others, not to pagans. The Brahman was angry when these crosses had been discovered in his field, which he had inherited from his fathers, who, doubtless, had been mixed up with the removal of these emblems and their having been placed in that *cachette*, under a mound. There was in my time at Anekal a Christian, 80 years old, who had no knowledge of the disappearance of the crosses.

"The word 'aqueduct' used by Fr. Launay is incorrect. I use the word conduit (*caniveau*) or trench (*rigole*), which is more correct: for the channel (*canal*) on which the cruciform stones had been laid flat was not more than 6 inches broad and as many deep.

"The letters *ra-na-ha*, etc., are the same as formerly, but the words have changed in old Canara, the joint letters meaning something else than nowadays, when these words are no longer used in the current language. The one who deciphered the words in our presence said to us that the words *rana hatta* are not now used.³ It is a pity that I have forgotten the other words discovered, which, as I wrote to you, we copied...."

From a letter by Fr. C. Auzuech (Magghe, Ballupeta P.O., Hassan Dt., 27-1-26) to myself:—

".....The stone is not cruciform; the cross is engraved on one of the faces of the stone, above the inscription, and Fr. Gouarin's memory is at fault on this point and perhaps on others.

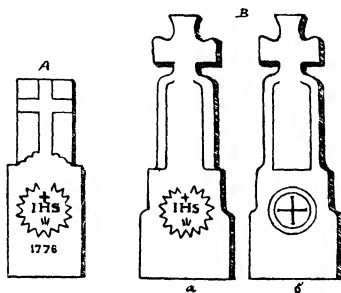
"Stones with an engraved cross, Maltese or other, or cruciform stones are commonly found in our cemeteries. There are some in my cemetery here. One is only half cut and lies,

¹ Yule derives *ekka* from *ek-ka* (Hind.): 'of one.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *eeka*. He also derives *jetka* from *jhaṭkū* (Hind.): quick. Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *jutka*.

² Skt. *paryāṅka*, *palyāṅka*; Hind.: *pālki*. Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *palankeen*. Neo-Aryan: *pālaki*. Cf. Dalgado, *Gloss. Luso-Asiático*, II. 142.

³ How then did he know the meaning? He seems to have inspired Fr. Gouarin's reflections in the previous sentence.

without being put to use, at about 20 steps from my church. I shall have to ask the one who had it cut why he does not finish the work....”



A.—Fr. Rajendra's tombstone at Gadanhally (1776).
B.—Open-air (?) cross at Gadanhally : (a) recto ; (b) verso.

Fr. A. Launay gives an illustration of the recto and verso of a cross at Gadanhally in the Mysore Mission.¹ He calls this cross a Christian boundary-stone. From the description² we should perhaps regard it as an open-air cross, as in Malabar. Speaking of the tombstone, at the same place, of Fr. Regis or Rajanader, which bears the date 1776, he says that it was carried to the entrance of the street leading to the Church and was erected opposite another already erected there. “The latter doubtless served to limit the property belonging to the church ; it stands $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground ; it seems that it was the practice of the ancient missionaries to erect such stones in the Christian villages.” This stone has some resemblance with the Bangalore stone, but it is clearly of the time of the Jesuit Missions in those parts, *i.e.* from after the middle of the 17th century. On the recto it has, within rays, the monogram of the Society of Jesus, IHS, surmounted by a cross, and with three nails below, exactly as on the tombstone of Fr. Regis ; on the verso it has a cross within two concentric circles.

To my remarks on Launay's reflections about the Gadanhally ‘boundary cross’ Fr. Y. Gouarin answers (Siluvaipura, 29-1-26) :—

“....The Anekal cross has no resemblance with the Gadanhally cross, which you call a boundary-stone, I do not know why.³ The Gadanhally cross, seen by me, is a Latin cross with the emblem of the Society of Jesus, IHS, as far as I remember. It is a cross 4 or 5 feet high, and at least about 6 inches thick, formerly placed before the church door or at the

¹ Launay, *Hist. des Missions de l'Inde*, Vol. V, p. XLIX.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. LVI n. 2.

³ Fr. Launay calls it so. I take it for an open-air cross.

entrance to the church grounds.¹ I have seen such at Ganjam, in the island of Srirangapatnam, where there is an old Christianity.² Fr. Kroot's book speaks of tombstones at Devanhally, where the Jesuit Missionaries had a Mission. Do they lie flat or are they erect, I do not know.³

"The Anekal cross is not a Latin cross, but a Maltese cross, or a Greek cross, if you like.⁴ This cruciform stone⁵ was placed at the head of a tomb, according to custom, and is only 3 or 4 inches thick at the most, but about 2 feet broad,⁶ whereas the Gadanhally stone is only one foot and a half broad, or even less.

"The Anekal stone cross does not resemble the Gadanhally cross for the form of the cross⁷ or for the thickness of the stone; certainly it did not serve the same object.⁸ Not having any more Fr. Launay's book, . . . I cannot examine and compare, which is a pity.

"The Anekal cross and its three companions are interesting in that they were found flat under a mound from 10 to 13 feet high. When and why were they placed there and hidden? That would be worth knowing. Remark that in the vicinity of Anekal, in several (30 or 35) villages, there are many old Christians, chiefly caste people, and I know 2 or 3 localities formerly inhabited by people of respectable caste,⁹ and if there are pariah Christians (*des Chrétiens pariahs*), the caste people are much more numerous; four-fifths are of respectable caste (*de caste*

¹ Srirangapatnam.

² There too, we may suppose, they are open-air crosses, as before the Luz Church, Mylapore, and before Jacobite and Romo-Syrian Churches in Malabar.

³ Fr. Kroot's *History of the Telugu Christians*, Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1910, says nothing of crosses at Devanhally; it speaks of three recent epitaphs erected by the Government of Madras on the tomb of three French Jesuits at Krishnapuram (pp. 300-306).

⁴ Photographs of the stone at Bangalore show a cross, Maltese only for the two ends of the horizontal bar; the lower part of the vertical, somewhat longer than the upper, and broadening at its base, ends in calvary form.

⁵ The stone now at Bangalore is not cruciform.

⁶ 1'6" broad, according to the measurements of the Government Archaeologists for the Bangalore stone.

⁷ The top of both looks to me very much similar.

⁸ Fr. Gouarin does not therefore take the Gadanhally cross for a tombstone, or for a boundary pillar. It might then be an open-air cross, a *cruzeiro*, as it is called in the Tamil country.

⁹ Fr. Gouarin is not clear as regards his suspicions. A non-Christian, not necessarily an apostate, may have encroached on the cemetery and hidden the crosses. We understand less why he should have removed them from an adjoining cemetery and hidden them. In neither case do we see what very useful purpose they were put to. An apostate would not secrete Christian tombstones of members of his family, chiefly if they bear no inscription or the inscription is meaningless, unless they stood in his own grounds. If the stones were Christian boundary pillars, there could be advantages in removing and hiding them.

considérée), Choutras, or Chetties, Reddies. Who converted them? Who ministered to them, and when? They go back many years."

We might conclude from Fr. Gouarin's statements that what he read as *rana hatta* is the word *Ranalara* on the Bangalore stone, and that Fr. Launay's *Jesu nateru* is represented in *ane Ranalara*, after dropping the *a* of *ane*. Since the words *Jesu nateru* or *rana hatta* led to Launay's and Gouarin's comments on the number of years which had elapsed since the death of Christ on the cross, we might also conclude that a date was supposed to exist on the Bangalore stone. That date, remembered doubtfully at first by Gouarin as 1570, might be the date 1400 which Launay has transferred somehow to another cross without inscription. The Anekal interpreters may have turned *Bammage* or some other word in the inscription into 1570 or 1400. Fr. Gouarin now places the date at the junction of the two arms of the cross, where the Government Epigraphists have seen or suspected nothing on the Bangalore stone. My enquiries show there is no trace of lettering or design at this junction, where in Malabar a lotus-cross of eight petals is often found.

Father Gouarin will not easily admit our conclusions. He writes again (Siluvaipura, P.O. Chik Banavar, September 2, 1926):—

"... I have always protested about this stone, which is now fixed in a masonry pedestal at the Bangalore Cathedral, not where it might be seen, but behind the presbytery, near the kitchens and out-houses. A better place might be found. I have myself seen the stone, five or six feet high, in or on which is carved a cross, whitewashed to bring it out better. I have not seen on it any inscription or date, which confirms what I had always been told, and also my assertion, which is that it is not the stone discovered under the mound at Anekal, not the stone seen by Father Launay during his journey to Anekal.¹ ... The one seen by Father Launay had an inscription and a date which he noted. The inscription and the date were copied by means of paper placed on the stone rubbed with charcoal. Consequently, it was possible to read on it *rana hatta*, another

¹ We must insist that the stone in the Cathedral grounds is the stone in question. The Archaeological Department tells us (*supra*) that their inscription was taken the second time, in 1915, from the stone in the St. Patrick's Cathedral compound; this inscription was commented on in the same way as now by Mr. Rice in 1906, when the stone was still at Anekal; Fr. Tabard wrote to me (June 2, 1921): "There are a few letters, which are altogether illegible"; Fr. Auzuech states that the inscription on the stone which he brought to Anekal must be felt for with the fingers; finally, Fr. Launay speaks of only one inscription, and of a date on another stone. Fr. Launay does not say either that any of the four stones was cruciform, but that it *had* a cross, or that a cross was engraved on it.

word, and the date. *Rana hatta* means 'blood shed' (old Canara). That's how Father Launay spoke of it in his book on the Mysore Mission.

"There were three other crosses, lying flat, with their face on the ground, across a masonry drain, which I saw with my own eyes¹. . . Seeing that inscription, Launay and I concluded—and the Christians present concluded too—that the words "blood shed" might mean, "1926 years from the time when Our Lord Jesus shed his blood."² It may be a mistake, but on a cross of that shape such an inscription may have such a meaning. Accordingly, Launay concluded and had it printed.

"Who has brought the Dominicans to Anekal! I could not say. I do not know Mr. Rice. I never saw him.³ . . . Where did the epigraphists take the inscription from, which you mention? I do not know, and I cannot well accept it. . . I do not deny that the potters may have had something to do with the inscription you speak of; but where does it come from? I saw nothing on the stone at the Cathedral; therefore! And it is not the cross seen by Father Launay.

"There are three tanks at Anekal: a big one, called "New Tank," one mile and a half above Anekal; the second, quite near the village, where people take their drinking-water; below it, is the Christian cemetery, etc.; the third is to the west, one mile away. Anekal was formerly on the south bank of the second tank. Near this tank there is a heap of potsherds. The potters must have been living there, as they required earth and water. Were there Christians among them? Possibly. We have hundreds of Christian potters in the Mission, but they live in the 'Collegal,' south of Bangalore, and far away. The present Christians are of Veissiar origin, merchants, etc., Telugus by race or language; they are called Telugu Banajigar (Kavarai, in Tamil) Several are also dealers in cotton-goods and speak Telugu preferably to Canara.

"There is a place in Mysore, 30 miles from Bangalore, called Ramagiri,⁴ where there are a good many Christians. Where

¹ Here Fr. Gouarin places a sketch, showing two cruciform stones lying lengthwise over a drain. One of the two stones (there were four in all, says Launay) is shown injured, with the right horizontal limb broken off. On the other he writes a date, "1926," not remembering the exact figures of the date.

² Fr. Launay does not refer to *rana hatta* (blood shed), but to *Jesu nateru* (Lord Jesus). Could the reflections now made by Fr. Gouarin have been made as stated, since the date 1400 (supposed or real) in Launay belonged to another stone? Time can play bad tricks with our reminiscences. As we have said, Fr. Gouarin's *rana hatta* appears to be the *Ranalara* of the epigraphist; Fr. Launay's *Jesu nateru* seems to be in the *ane Ranalara* of the epigraphists, after dropping the *a* of *ane*.

³ Mr. Rice may have seen Launay's reflections about the date 1400: otherwise how did Rice in 1906 happen to speak of the Dominicans at Anekal in 1400? Launay's book appeared in 1898.

⁴ We remember the Katholikos of Rōmogryis in India (A.D. 1145).

do they come from ? I do not know. The country south-east of Bangalore has many old Christians, and there are also in the south-west. Gadanhally is one of the places. I saw the crosses mentioned.¹

"Ganjam is in an island of the Kaveri River called Sri Rangapatnam,² the place where the famous Tipu was killed. He had brought to it from the West Coast numbers of Christians.

"The crosses of trefoil shape are not very numerous. I saw some in only two or three places. Are there any in the Anekal cemetery ? Perhaps. Those which I saw three miles from Anekal are of that kind, but buried, flush with the ground, doubtless on account of age. It is said that Anekal had many Christians, formerly. What were they ? How they had become Christians, we are not told. But I have known old men who bore Christian names, corrupt (it is true), yet recognisable. I cannot say that the Brahmans were of the number ; for aught I know, no Christian signs are found among them."

Last letter from Fr. Gouarin (Siluvaipura, Oct. 2, 1926):—

".... The trefoil crosses mentioned by me are in the Siluvaipura cemetery, and were erected not many years ago by the Christians of the place, who are all neophytes. There are others in the abandoned cemetery between Anekal and Moottokondapally : crosses made by people skilled in the art of cutting stone. I do not know any others.

"Ramagiri is a place situated on the Bangalore-Mysore road, and is commonly called Closepet. It has a railway-station. The natives alone speak of Ramagiri ; the name Ramagiri is given chiefly to the mountains, at the foot of which are the village and the railway-station. There were formerly many Christians, it is said, in that region ; there is a chapel there, built on the site of an ancient chapel. Not far from there, at Jalamangalam, there are also Christians. Their chapel has disappeared for want of care ; and the Christians count only three or four houses.

"The Kollegāl is a taluk of the Coimbatore District. It is a mountainous tract, almost surrounded by the Kaveri, which rises in Coorg. The missionary who takes care of Ramagiri or Closepet (as the official name is) resides at French Rocks (formerly Erodere) ; he also takes care of Ganjam, where Tipu parked off the Christians from Mangalore and South Kanara.

"To come to the stone near the Bangalore Cathedral... I wonder why Father Auzuech had this rough stone (*pierre brute*) brought from Anekal. I saw no inscription or date on it,

Every Rāmagiri should be searched for traces of Christianity ; if there are Christians, their caste, occupations, customs, traditions, etc., should be noted.

¹ The crosses at Gadanhally.

² Seringapatam.

but only a cross, about half an inch in relief *sur un fond piqué et travaillé*. It is not the stone taken from under the mount; I am sure of it; chiefly, it is not the stone seen by me,¹ of which Fr. Launay took an impression with charcoal. The stone seen by me and Fr. Launay was what the English call slab-stone; there were three or four of them, of which at least two were broken. These slabs remained at Anekal.... I have therefore always protested about that cross, or big rough stone, bearing a cross engraved about the middle, but without date or inscription. Neither do I admit Fr. Launay's comments. I saw on the stone *rāna halla* and another word (which I have forgotten); also a date: all that on one slab.

"Three months ago I went to Anekal for some hours and could not go to the cemetery. The Christians pretended not to know, when I spoke to them of the crosses discovered under the mound. What have they done with them? I could not make out;² but when I have a chance, I shall find out."

Mr. F. E. Shembry, Engineer (14 B. Wheeler Road, Cleveland Town, Bangalore), sent me on August 31, 1926, a sketch of the stone, and wrote: "... Well, I find no inscription of any sort on the slab or on the cross. The stone, an ordinary slab of grey granite, does not appear to me of any great age; the edges are sharp, and the surface quite rough. I am told that it was found lying in the compound, and, as it was in the way, the Rev. Father Tabard had it fixed up against the out-house wall behind the Priests' House in the Cathedral compound. Father Vanpeene tells me that Father Tabard had the Archaeological Department to examine the stone, and they worked and cleaned it, and, as experts, found no inscription or date on it.³ I am enclosing a carefully prepared dimensioned sketch, which will give you a very clear idea of the stone. If you still want a photograph, I will take one and send it to you." Mr. Shembry's sketch shows that the cross is in relief $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

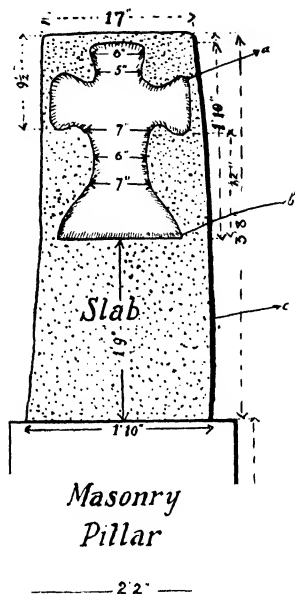
In a letter of January 12, 1927, Mr. Shembry writes: "There is absolutely no date or inscription of any sort in the centre of the cross, nor can I find any characters or figures on the other portions of the slab. The cross is raised, with edges rounded; and it is evident that it was cut out of the stone and the remainder of the slab lowered. The portion about one foot below the cross is rather hollow: that is, the sides of the slab are rather higher than the centre. I also think from its appearance that the stone was a boundary pillar. The surface of the raised cross is perfectly smooth."

To add to the confusion of our discussion, the Rev. F.

¹ Again a picture showing a cruciform stone.

² They were scolded by Mgr. Studer in 1925 for using them again and changing the form of the crosses!

³ This contradicts Fr. Tabard's letter to me of June 2, 1921, and Dr. R. Shama Sastry's of October 31, 1925.



CROSS ON SLAB IN THE COMPOUND OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL,
BANGALORE.

Front elevation. Scale 1"=1 foot.

(a) Round edge. The surface of the cross is smoother than that of the remainder of the slab, which is rough and uneven. (b) Cross raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to $5\frac{7}{8}$ ". (c) Slab 6" to $6\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, fixed on masonry pillar in upright position against outhouse wall near the Chaplain's bungalow, in the compound of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Bangalore. The slab is about 2" from the wall.

Sketch made by F. E. Shembry, Esq., 31-8-1926.

Pessein, St. Theodore's Sanatorium, Wellington, Nilgiris, writes on 24-4-1927, at the time when this ought to go to the printers, that Mr. Rice did not find the stone mentioned to him by Fr. Pessein, that Mr. Rice did not see the stone now at Bangalore after it was brought to Bangalore, and that the Bangalore stone is not the one referred to by Launay and Gouarin. Neither did Fr. Pessein tell Rice, or know, anything about the Dominicans at Anekal.

Can we conclude at all, after so much and such long running to and fro? Supposing still that the stone at Bangalore is the stone referred to by Launay, and that it has the inscription of three lines spoken of by Rice in 1906, I would say that, if the remaining field of the stone was cut to a lesser thickness, the inscription under the cross is not earlier

than the cross, but contemporaneous with it or later. The nature and age of the characters must then determine the age of the cross. Now, though Dr. Shama Sastry says the characters *ra*, *na*, *la*, *ka*, *sa*, *ha*, are quite clear and not different from modern characters, he judged that the inscription could not be earlier than the 15th century at the most. Mr. Rice was disposed to carry the cross and the inscription "in somewhat old Kannada letters" back to A.D. 1400. Unless our epigraphists revise their verdict, the *profanum vulgus*, to which I belong, must insist that the cross *may be* pre-Portuguese. We are thus brought back somehow to Father Launay's date 1400. We may suppose that Christians from the West Coast or born in Mysore were settled at Anekal between A.D. 1400 and 1500, though we cannot say whether they had missionaries or were visited.

Since the inscription may also be of a date later than 1400-1500, the Anekal crosses could belong to the period of the Jesuit Missions in Mysore, notably at Anekal, *i.e.*, roughly, to the period 1650-1790.

In either case, the cross with the inscription being as old as, or older than, the inscription, the reference to a potter's dam would show that the inscribed stone was used as a boundary pillar, in which case the three other stones found under the mound in a Brahman's garden may have been used as boundary pillars too. The reason for secreting them becomes then intelligible.

Four stones laid lengthwise across an old drain 6 inches broad previous to the erection of an artificial mound 10 or 12 feet high and about 15 feet long could hardly have been thought useful for the purposes of an underground drain: for it could be foreseen that the drain must soon get blocked. No good reason yet appears for the big artificial mound itself.

One of Mr. Rice's friends among the Fathers of the Mysore Mission, though not Fr. Gouarin, may be responsible for Mr. Rice's statement in 1906: "As the Dominican Friars are said to have built a church at Anekal in 1400, it would seem that this dam may have been made for the benefit of their converts." This has even found honourable place in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V (1908), *s.v.* Anekal, in the form: "The Dominicans are said to have built a chapel here in 1400." Rice's statement may be a conflation. One who had read Laouënan about the Dominicans, and who had heard or read of Launay's date 1400 might easily have passed to the conclusion expressed by Rice.

Though it is difficult to bring the Dominicans so far inland as Anekal in 1400 or earlier, there may have been Christians at Anekal in 1400.

Mysore was evangelised by the Dominicans in 1325, says Mgr. Laouënan.¹ There is no evidence for this, if the hinterland

¹ Laouënan, *Du Brahmanisme*, II. 402-403.

of Mysore is meant. Mgr. Laouënan could mean only parts of the West Coast, as his date refers to Jordanus' activity on the Konkan Coast, and from Thana to Broach. The proof involves us in a survey of the Catholic Missions in the 13th and 14th centuries.

In 1253 Pope Innocent IV. wrote to the Friars Preachers ; " To our dear sons the Friars Preachers, who preach in the lands of the Saracens, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Comans, the Ethiopians, the Syrians, the Goths, the Jacobites, the Armenians, the Indians, the Tartars, the Hungarians, and other infidel nations of the East, greeting and the apostolic benediction."¹

This may explain how in 1291-92 we find at Mylapore with Friar John de Montecorvino, a Franciscan, Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the Order of Preachers, " who died there and was buried in the church " of St. Thomas the Apostle. Friar John de Montecorvino, who soon after went to China, records 100 persons baptised by him in 13 months in different places of that region of India.²

This was the time when Marco Polo also passed through Coromandel and visited Mylapore. The Christians of Mylapore and Malabar were not then without their pastors from Mesopotamia. Syrian clerics and bishops were numerous in China and Tartary. There was a bishop ruling the Isle of Males and the Isle of Females, in the Arabian Sea, subject to the Archbishop of Sokotra, who himself was subject to the Archbishop of Bagdad. Some of the Syrian priests in China came no doubt from Malabar *viâ* Mylapore.³ Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, II. 1267-81) speaks of a Nestorian Missionary, an Indian, *ex regno Pagodum in India*, who about A.D. 780 received a dress of honour and a title of rank from the Emperor of China.⁴

The Dominican, Francis of Perugia, established a mission in the town of Sultania, newly built in 1303, and sent William Adam to report on the success of his work. Pope John XXII., a great missionary Pope, erected Sultania into an Archbishopric with six suffragans, and sent William Adam to consecrate Francis of Perugia. The apostolic letter ran thus :—

" John Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our very dear son Friar Francis of Perugia, of the Order of Friars Preach-

¹ Fr. André-Marie, *Missions Dominicaines de l'Extrême Orient*, Lyon-Paris, 1865, I. p. 9.—Pope Innocent IV. reigned from June 25, 1243, to December 7, 1254. The arrival of a foreigner at Kollam (Quilon) is noted in the 425th year of the Kollam era (A.D. 1249) in section I of a Malayalam MS. (No. 3, Countermark 896) of the Mackenzie MSS. collection. Cf. *Madras Journ. of Literat. and Science*, vii (1838), p. 340 sqq. Who was this foreigner, earlier by 40 years than John de Montecorvino and Marco Polo? A pilgrim to St. Thomas' tomb? A medieval Latin missionary? A Latin merchant? I published a note about this in *The Catholic Leader*, Madras, Nov. 4, 1926, but have not received yet (7.11.27) the text of the MS.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 147.

³ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 396.

⁴ Quoted through J. Kennedy in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 957 n. 3.

ers, archbishop-elect of Sultania, greeting and the apostolic benediction.....

"We, therefore, entrust to you the care, administration and solicitude of all the souls existing in the countries subject to the said Emperor [of the Tartars], as also to the kings and princes of Ethiopia and the Indies. We have chosen six brethren of the Order of Friars Preachers, instructed in the law of the Lord, distinguished by their life and religious spirit, and commendable by a great number of virtues; they are: Gerard of Calvi, William Adam, Bartholomew of Podio, Bernardine of Piacenza, Bernard Moreti, and Bartholomew Abatiati. . .

"Given at Avignon, the 1st of May 1318, the second of our pontificate....¹

Another Bull authorised Francis of Perugia to choose and consecrate other bishops, if necessary. In all extraordinary cases, and when recourse could not be had to the Metropolitan, the Friars Preachers were entrusted with the churches left without pastors²

In his Bull *Redemptor noster* of April 1, 1318, Pope John XXII. defines the limits of the countries subject to the Dominicans and Franciscans. To the Dominican Archbishop of Sultania he assigns all the kingdoms: "to wit, from Montebarrario [*read*: Monteharrario=Mount Ararat] and beyond towards the east in the whole empire called Carpente, formerly of the great prince of the Tartars of Persia, and of those who for the time being will be his successors; also the lands or kingdoms of Doha or of the Chaydo kings, and the lands to them subject; moreover, let the lands of the Ethiopians and Indians be of the province of the aforesaid Archbishop [of Sultania], the Metropolitan See of the said Archbishop being for ever in the city of Soltania as the worthiest and most distinguished place."³

Shortly after, in 1321, we see the Dominican Friar Jordanus with a party of Franciscans and Dominicans leaving Ormuz for Quilon. At Diu the party split up, the Minorites going by land to Thana, there to take ship for Quilon and "St. Thomas," while the Preachers "and secular Christians" continued on their way by sea.⁴ The four Franciscans were killed soon after

¹ Fr. André-Marie, *op. cit.*, I. 34-36; quoting Rainaldi, *Annal.*, year 1318, No. iv.

² *Ibid.*, I. 36-37; quoting Rainaldi, *loc. cit.* Pope John XXII. reigned from September 5, 1316, to December 4, 1334.

³ Cf. P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Onomasticon geografico*.... (extracted from: *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, t. II), Firenze, 1913, p. 572. Doa, Duha or Dua: Chagatai or Turkestan. Dua was the inheritor of the Khanate of Chagatai. Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, III, 43. Caydo, from Kaidu, the rival of Kúblái Khán for the supreme Khanate. Cf. *ibid.* Carpente is possibly Capak, the fourth Khán from Dua, who died in 1321. Cf. *ibid.*

⁴ Yule, *Mirabilia*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. x. Odoric, who

at Thana, in April 1321. "Their comrades, the Preachers and the rest, when they heard this, wrote to the West, lamenting woefully that they had been parted from the company of the holy martyrs, and saying they were devoutly engaged in recovering the relics of the martyrs."¹ This is the kind of information which should have come in the first place from Jordanus, who somehow had gone with the four Franciscans to Thana, and from a possible companion, Francis of Pisa.² What happened to the other missionaries of Jordanus' party we cannot say.

Jordanus was left alone at Thana and the neighbourhood in 1321-1324. On October 12, 1321, he wrote from Caga (Gogha, Ahmadabad District), to the Friars Preachers and Minorite Friars of Tauris, Diagorgan and Maroga, places in Persia, of his work in Thana, Parocco (Broach) and Supera and the baptism of about 145 persons.³ "Now I will get ready a church for the friars who may be coming, and I will leave my things and those of the martyrs, and our books."⁴ He was eager to go to Europe for the canonisation of the martyrs and "on account of religious and other business of a sufficiently perplexed and difficult kind. . . . Let the friars be getting ready to come, for there are three places that I know of where they might reap a great harvest and where they could live in common." One was Supera, where two friars would be stationed; another, Parocco with work for two or three; another, Columbus (Quilon), "besides many others that I am not acquainted with."⁵ We might argue from this that Jordanus had by then visited Quilon and that there were no missionaries there. Anyhow, he had been at Quilon before returning to Europe.⁶ He was anxious too to go to Ethiopia, where St. Matthew had preached the Gospel. "Our Latin merchants" in India had told him the way was open.⁷

Two years and a half after the death of the Franciscans, therefore in 1324, on January 20, rather than on January 20, 1323, as the date of his second letter is, we find him at Thana, still alone, reporting on the baptism of more than 130 persons, of either sex, Indians and schismatics, and wishing for a Friar to go from Thana to Ethiopia.⁸ Not a word is said of other

was not however present, says of the Friars that at Ormuz "they made a bargain for a certain ship to take them to Polumbum [Quilon], but being once on board they were taken against their will to Tana." (Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 60.)

¹ Yule, *Mirabilia*, p. xii.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 61 n. 1, 65 n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, I (1886), 225-228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Yule, *Mirabilia*, p. 29.

⁷ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 227. On receipt of this letter, Nicolaus Romanus, Vice-Custos of the Dominicans in Persia, is said to have started for India. (Yule, *Mirabilia*, pp. xxv-vi.)

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 228-230.

missionaries and other mission-stations. Rather, he calls for companions. "There would be a glorious harvest if the holy friars would come, but they must be ready to bear all things with patience, and martyrdom with gladness. Let the holy friars come then; let them come with souls established in patience, that the harvest of baptised souls may be kept from the evil one, and, after it has been threshed, in the Lord's own time may be treasured in His garner!"¹

The Franciscan Friar Odoric, with a companion, whose name is unknown, passed through Thana between 1323 and 1325 and carried away the relics of three of his martyred brethren to one of the convents of his Order at Zaytun in China. He does not refer to any missionaries in India, not even to Jordanus, nor does he tell us that the place where he recovered the remains of his brethren "from their tombs"² was in a church of St. Thomas at Supera. He landed at Polumbum (Quilon),³ but only to take ship for China, passing most probably through Mylapore on his way.⁴ His silence would show, if silence were an argument, that there were no Latin missionaries in Southern India or anywhere in India. The skipper who took him from Thana to Quilon was an Armenian.⁵

Great then is our surprise, when we read in Jordanus' *Mirabilia*, compiled in Europe, possibly at Toulouse, in 1328-1330: "As God is my witness, ten times better (Christians), and more charitable withal, be those who be converted by the Preaching and Minor Friars to our faith, than our own folk here, as experience hath taught me.

"And of the conversion of those nations of India, I say this: that if there were two hundred or three hundred good friars, who would faithfully and fervently preach the Catholic faith, there is not a year which would not see more than ten thousand persons converted to the Christian faith.

"For, whilst I was among these schismatics and unbelievers, I believe that more than ten thousand, or thereabouts, were converted to our faith, and because we, being few in numbers, could not occupy, or even visit, many parts of the land, (P. 56) many souls (wo is me!) have perished, and exceeding many do yet perish for lack of preachers of the Word of God. And 'tis grief and pain to hear how, through the preachers of the perfidious and accursed Saracens, those sects of the heathen be day by day perverted. For their preachers run about, just as we do, here, there, and everywhere over the whole Orient, in order to turn all to their own miscreance. These be they who accuse us, who smite us, who cause us to be cast into durance, and who stone us; as I indeed have experienced, having been four times cast into prison by them. I mean the Saracens. But how

¹ *Ibid.*, I. 229.

² *Ibid.*, I. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 80-81; and cp. II, App., p. xlvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 72.

many times I have had my hair plucked out, and been scourged, and been stoned, God himself knoweth and I, who had to bear all this for my sins and yet have not attained to end my life as a martyr for the faith, as did four of my brethren. For what remaineth God's will be done! Nay, five Preaching Friars and four Minors were there in my time cruelly slain for the Catholic faith. Wo is me that I was not with them there!"¹

In Lesser India, that is from Konkan to Sind, Turkish Saracens who had come from Multan had destroyed an infinity of idol temples and many churches, of which they made mosques, taking their endowments and property.² In this Lesser India, Jordanus says of himself: "I baptised and brought into the faith about three hundred souls of whom many were idolaters and Saracens (P. 24). And let me tell you that among the idolaters a man may safely expound the Word of the Lord; nor is anyone from among the idolaters hindered from being baptized throughout all the East, whether they be Tartars, or Indians, or what not."³

If Jordanus himself, a hero among that band of heroic medieval Gospellers, could claim only 300 baptisms for the period he had been in Lesser India, it must be evident that the 10,000 converted in various parts of India in his time supposes a large number of helpers. The situation may have improved in 1324-27, but that period is a complete blank. Be that as it may, the silence of Jordanus and the rest is no argument to the contrary. Rather should we feel spurred on to unravel that glorious past by means of the many unpublished accounts still hiding in the Franciscan and Dominican Convents and in the libraries in Europe. Would our Missionaries have gone to the ends of the world, China, and left to their fate India and other countries lying nearer, which most would pass through on their way to and fro? It is scarcely thinkable. What we have to blame then is our ignorance, our distance from the sources of information, the supineness of our scholars in Europe.

At the General Dominican Chapter of Toulouse in 1328, one hundred Friars were selected to go to the East for the

¹ Yule, *Mirabilia*, pp. 55-56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23. Perhaps, a destruction of churches is meant by Ulugh-khāni and others (*Zafar al Wāliḥ*, I. 155-156 etc., edit. Ross) who speak of *Kanisah* and *Kanā'is* of gold, in Rāchūrah and Sirah, plundered in A.D. 1308 and 1310 by 'Alā'ud-Dīn, the tyrant Khilji Sultan of India (A.D. 1296-1316), and by his powerful lieutenant, Prof. A. Mingana, from whose *The early spread of Christianity in India* (Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, p. 56) I quote this, adds: "In non-Arabic countries of the post-classical period of Arabic and Persian the word *Kanisah*, except otherwise stated, commonly refers to a pagan temple and not to a Christian Church or Jewish synagogue." We might doubt whether such is the meaning here, in view of Friar Jordanus' statement. Might Rāchūrah not be Raichūr, in the Hyderābād State? May Sirah be Sira in the Tumkūr District, Mysore?

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

remission of their sins.¹ Quilon was erected into an episcopal city,² and Jordanus was appointed its first Latin Bishop,³ and commended with the Friars Preachers and Minorites to its Christian inhabitants. Provided with letters for the Christians in India,⁴ and for the Lord of the Nascarini and the Nascarini Christians of Quilon,⁵ commending him and the Franciscans and the Friars Preachers, with letters to the king of Delhi,⁶ to the King of Quilon⁷ and the Emperor of Cathay,⁸ commending him and other newly created bishops of his Order, with letters to the Emperor of Ethiopia,⁹ commending him and the Friars Preachers and Minorites, with a letter to the Catholics of the parts of the North and also of the East, and chiefly in Cuncatana and Gozarat, and Lesser India,¹⁰ commending him and the Friars Preachers, finally with a letter to the Christian inhabitants of Molephatam (Mylapore),¹¹ praising them for their hospitality to the Friars Preachers and Minorites, Friar Jordanus, now Bishop, could set out confidently with his party of helpers to the immense field entrusted to his charge, while Friar Odoric, back from the East, was dictating his travels in Italy. But, oh! every one of the letters addressed to the Christians of India, with the exception of one for the Catholics, spoke of the need of returning from schism and heresy to the bosom of Mother Church. Jordanus and his party disappeared into Stygian darkness. Did any of them reach his destination, we know not. For aught we know, a martyr's crown awaited Jordanus on his reappearance at Thana.

Another Dominican, Friar Thomas of Maucasole, appointed bishop of Semiscant (Samarkand), set out eastwards about the same time as Friar Jordanus. On November 2, 1329, Pope John XXII. wrote to the Tartar Prince Elchigaday, thanking him for the kindness and protection he had accorded to the Christians and commending to him the Missionaries, chiefly Thomas of Maucasole, Bishop of Semiscant. The letter is addressed to the Emperor of the Tartars, of Khorassan, Turkestan and Hindustan. Pope John XXII. also wrote to the Christians of the kingdom of the Uzbeks, exhorting them to persevere in the faith, and avoid intercourse with the infidels, and commending to them Friar Thomas and his companions.¹²

“In the year 1330 Pope John XXII. sent Jacobin Reli-

¹ Fr. André-Marie, *op. cit.*, I. 42; quoting Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*, 1330, 1336.

² A. Mercati, *Monumenta Vaticana veterem diocesim Columbenssem [Quilon]... respicientia*, Romae, 1923, where the date of the first letter is 9-8-1329. The dates of the other letters are from the same work.

³ Date: 21-8-1329.

⁵ Date: 8-4-1330.

⁶ Date: 11-9-1329.

⁷ Date: 11-9-1329.

⁸ Date: 11-9-1329.

⁹ Date: 1-12-1329.

¹⁰ Date: 1-12-1329.

¹¹ Date: 31-3-1330.

¹² Fr. André-Marie, *op. cit.*, I. 38.



S. Thomé. Cathedral.—Fragment of Tamil inscription in 5 lines (date: Vikrama Chola, about A.D. 1118), in the pavement of the Cathedral. Cf. p. 56, No. 84.



Mylapore. Madre de Deos Church.—Cross with two peacocks on the lintel of the gate leading to the Vicar's garden. Cf. pp. 27-28, Nos. 42-43.

gious¹ to preach and convert all those divers sects of Asian Christians, among them one Paul Gastefer, who visited the greater part of Greece, Constantinople, Pera, Negrepont, the Scythians, or Precopite Tartars, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Palestine, where he made many conversions.²

In 1333, Pope John XXII., ever zealous for the spread of the faith, invited the Dominican Chapter convened at Dijon to make further efforts.³

Not until 1347 does another missionary figure appear in India, Friar John de' Marignolli of Florence, Franciscan and Papal Legate, then on his way back to the Pope from the Great Khan of Khanbalig (Pekin), whom he had reached by way of Central Asia with presents, among them a great war-horse from Europe and some strong liquor.⁴ At Quilon, he dwelt (who would have suspected its existence?) in the Church of St. George, of the Latin community.⁵ He adorned it with fine paintings, and during a year and a half taught there the holy law.⁶ The owners of the pepper and masters of the public steelyard at Quilon, the Christian Mudaliars,⁷ gave him every month 100 gold *fan* as a perquisite of his office as Pope's Legate, and 1,000 when he left.⁸ His interpreter had been sold by pirates to a Genoese merchant and had been baptised,⁹ which shows that Sir John de Maundeville did not invent when he says that Ormuz and Quilon were visited by Venetian merchants. The Genoese and the Pisans too were in all these commercial enterprises. The ports of China were visited by them. A merchant of Pisa even owned a ship on the Indian Seas.¹⁰

de' Marignolli writes: "And after I had been there [at Quilon] some time, I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column [in India]. For I erected

¹ The Dominicans of Toulouse were called Jacobins. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XII. 368a.

² Pierre Bergeron, *Traicté des Tartares*, Paris, 1634, p. 126.

³ Fr. André-Marie, *op. cit.*, I. 43; quoting Wadding, *Annal.*, 1333, No. 6.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, II. (1866), 337.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 344.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 344.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 381.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 343. Yule translates by *fan*; the Latin has *fanones*: fanams.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. cxxxiii. Yule states (*Mirabilia*, p. xv) that Maundeville says of Polumbrum or Polembum: "Thither go merchants from Venice to buy pepper and ginger." I cannot find this in the only edition now at my disposal, one edited by Prof. H. Morley for Cassell's National Library, where it should be in ch. xv, but will not be found. I find there (p. 106): "And there [at Hermes, Ormuz] come merchants of Venice and Genoa, and of other parts, to buy merchandise." There can, however, be no doubt that the Latin merchants, who were at other points of the West Coast of India, would visit Quilon. The Latin Church there in 1346-48 proves it. Hence, all through the 14th century, it would have been easy for the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar to send to the Pope presents of their pepper, as was the case.

a stone as my landmark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil. In sooth, it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's.

"So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren, and after accomplishing many glorious works I went to see the famous Queen of Saba. By her I was honourably treated, and after some harvest of souls (for there are a few Christians there) I proceeded by sea to Seyllan, a glorious mountain opposite to Paradise."¹

With certain juices of herbs and an abstinent diet, a female physician of the Queen of Saba cured the good man from a terrible disorder, a dysentery of the third species, which had lasted 11 months, and passing pieces of flesh from the intestines with a vast amount of blood, the result of poison administered at Quilon by miscreants who coveted his property.² He admired the Queen of Saba's monkey garden, similar to another at Zaytun in China,³ and rode upon her elephant. "That beast really did seem to have the use of reason, if it was not contrary to the Faith to think so."⁴

"I frequently saw the Queen, gave her my solemn blessing" and "was present at a magnificent banquet of hers. And whilst I was seated on a chair of state in presence of the whole city, she honoured me with splendid presents. For she bestowed on me a golden girdle, such as she was accustomed to confer upon those who were created princes or chiefs. This was afterwards stolen by those brigands in Seyllan. She also bestowed raiment upon me, that is to say one hundred and fifty whole pieces of very delicate and costly stuff. Of these I took nine for our Lord the Pope, five for myself, gave three apiece to each of the chief among my companions, with two apiece to the subordinates, and all the rest I distributed in the Queen's own presence among her servants who stood around. And this thing was highly commended, and spoken of as very generous."⁵

From the court of the Queen of Saba de' Marignoli returned to Quilon and took ship for the shrine of St. Thomas (Mylapore), whence he was to proceed to the Holy Land.⁶ A storm obliged him to put in at Pervilis, in Ceylon, where a Muhammadan eunuch, Coya Jaan, who had usurped power, detained him four months. "At first he put on a pretence of treating me honourably, but by and by, in the politest manner and

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 344-346.

² *Ibid.*, II. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 366.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 367.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 392.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 356; 346.

under the name of a loan, he took from me 60,000 marks, in gold, silver, silk, cloth of gold, precious stones, pearls, camphor, musk, myrrh, and aromatic spices, gifts from the Great Kaam and other princes to us, or presents sent from them to the Pope.”¹

During the four days that he was at Mylapore, de’ Marignolli noted the legends of St. Thomas: the two churches built by him, one of wood made by himself from the miraculous log, and one (of stone?) made by workmen,² also the vineyard which St. Thomas had planted with seed brought from Paradise.³ Here too or at Quilon, or in Mesopotamia (which he visited on the return journey) he met the Patriarch of St. Thomas.⁴

This brilliant gleam of light on the position of Christianity in India vanishes as suddenly as it came. Midnight darkness settles again on the history of its Missions.

Just as de’ Marignolli disappears, disaster overtook the work of the Friars Preachers and Minorites in Persia (1349), which had been the headquarters of their work in India.⁵ The Franciscan Missions in Persia suffered simultaneously, with evil results for their organisation in China. “In 1362 the fifth Bishop of Zaytun, James of Florence, was massacred. In 1370 William of Prato, professor of the University of Paris, was appointed to the See of Peking. The Apostolic legate, Francisco di Podio, with twelve companions, was sent out in 1371, but they were never heard from; all the Christian missions disappeared in the turmoil which followed the fall of the Mongols and the accession of the Ming dynasty.”⁶

In 1371 Gregory XI. still addressed eight letters of congratulation to the Friars Preachers in Armenia, Tartary, Georgia, India, etc. All these letters speak of their generous ardour in spreading the faith, and their heroic constancy in braving toils, persecution and death.⁷ The same Pontiff sent to the north and south of Asia a great number of missionaries led by Friar Elias Petit, a French Dominican, invested with the episcopal dignity.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 357. ² *Ibid.*, II. 374-376. ³ *Ibid.*, II. 363.

⁴ P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Le Prime Relazione della S. Sede con la Cina*, . . . , Firenze, 1923, p. 48. Golubovich calculates de’ Marignolli’s movements thus: departure for China, December 1338; departure from China, 26-12-1345; arrival at Quilon, 23-3-1346; journey to the Queen of Saba, after July 1347; journey to Ceylon and stay there, 22-4-1348; August 1548; journey to St. Thomas’ shrine, September, 1348; journey back to Europe by Ormuz, Basra, Persia, Mesopotamia (Babylon, Bagdad, Mosul, Edessa), Aleppo, Palestine, Egypt; back at Avignon, 1353 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 51-56).

⁵ *Catholic Encycl.*, N.Y., XII. 368 E. a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 670 b (art. by H. Cordier).

⁷ Fr. André-Marie, *op. cit.*, I. 50; quoting Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*, 1371; Rainaldi, 1374, No. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 50; quoting Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*, 1371; 1374.—Pope Gregory XI. reigned from Dec. 30, 1370, to March 27, 1378.

The Missions in the East seem to have succumbed entirely owing to a variety of causes, the Black Plague in the middle of the 14th century, the schism of the West (1378), and the ever increasing power of Muhammadanism, which barred the way to the East.¹

Summing up the work of the Dominicans in the East, Fr. André-Marie goes so far as to say that the Friars Preachers extended their labours not only to our India, but to India *ultra Gangem*, to Siam, Cambodia, CochinChina, Tonkin, China, and, incredible as it will appear, even Japan.² He also mentions Missions in Ethiopia and Abyssinia dating from 1316, and states that the Dominicans gave the habit of their Order to several natives there, including a prince of the blood royal.³

One feels inclined to tax this with exaggeration, as the records, scanty it is true, at our disposal do not show the Friars Preachers beyond the limits of India, and de' Marignolli has it that the only priests the Chinese knew were of the Minorite Order.⁴ Even so, we must take Fr. André-Marie for a sober historian, who would not have written without due knowledge. A ruined church in Pegu (Burma) in 1496 may have been built by the Friars Preachers.⁵

There may be some truth even in the following, which the Bollandists qualify as extravagant: "In East India, (the feast) of Blessed Clara, a Dominican Virgin, daughter of the King of Calamina, who by her eminent virtues prepared for herself the way to Heaven." And: "In the parts of India, St. Clara is held in such veneration that, among sixty kingdoms, there are found in one kingdom CCC monasteries of the Sisters of the Order of Preachers which are called by the name of St. Clara."⁶

As late as 1439 Pope Eugene IV. sent envoys (to the Christian King or chief of the Christians in Malabar?) with a letter commencing thus: "To my most beloved son in Christ, Thomas, the illustrious Emperor of the Indians, health and the apostolic benediction. There often has reached us a constant rumour that your Serenity and also all who are the subjects of your kingdom are true Christians."⁷ This Thomas is possibly the king or a descendant of the king who, as St. Antoninus declares, used to send annually to the Pope a present of pepper.

¹ *Ibid.*, I. 49-51.

² *Ibid.*, I. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 31 n.; quoting Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*, 1316.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 341.

⁵ R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 6 (of Travels of Hieron. di S. Stefano).

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, July 3. Cf. *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 141-143. The St. Clare invoked by John de' Marignolli during a storm must have been the Franciscan Saint. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 357.

⁷ *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX (1923), p. 194. The authority must be Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, p. 60 (?).—Pope Eugene IV. reigned from March 4, 1431, to February, 23, 1447.

Diogo do Couto, thinking of Thomas Cananeo, whom he places in A.D. 811, adds, "because at that time the tomb of the Holy Apostle was much frequented by the Christians, and Thomas Cananeo would have sent him that present through them."¹

In 1454 Pope Nicholas V. granted spiritual jurisdiction to the Order of Christ in Portugal over all the lands from Cape Bonfador "as far as the Indians who are said to worship the name of Christ."²

To return to Anekal and its crosses. No Dominicans come within sight in the interior of Mysore in the 14th and 15th centuries. Nevertheless, there may have been Christians in Mysore at that time. If there were, it will be agreed that at least the cross was one of their emblems. Clues as to their presence are not wanting, though they are neither many nor very striking.

A remarkable statement is made by Diogo do Couto about "Crisna Rao" of Narsinga (or Vijayanagar), who reigned "30 years," fought "Sultão Hamed of Delhi," son of "Togalaca," and in the 28th year of his reign fought "Temurlang."³ "And because this Crisna Rao had in his army (P. 381) a great number of Christians, of those whom St. Thomas made and who were his vassals, Ruy Gonçalves de Clavijo heard that that King was a Christian and this he affirms in his Itinerary."⁴

de Clavijo states, indeed, in A.D. 1403-1404, that Pir Mahomed, son of Jahangir and grandson of Timur Beg, a young man 22 years old, was styled Lord of India,⁵ but in this they do not speak the truth, for the present rightful lord of India is a Christian, named N., as the ambassadors were informed. The people and the lord are Christians, of the Greek faith; but among them, there are some who are distinguished by a brand in their faces,⁶ and who are (P. 154) despised by the

¹ *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX (1923), p. 193 n.1, where I quote do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 12, Liv. 3, c. 5.

² Müllbauer, p. 49.—Pope Nicholas V. reigned from March 6, 1447, to March 24-25, 1455.

³ Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 6, Liv. 5, c. 5. (Tom 3, Pte. 1, Lisboa, 1781, pp. 380-381).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo at Samarcand A.D. 1403-06*, by Clements R. Markham, London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, pp. 153-154.

The embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo left Seville on the 22nd of May 1403, and started homewards from Samarkand on the 21st of November 1404. The information contained in the above passage was obtained at Samarkand.

Did do Couto read Krishna Rao's name where Markham has only N.? Krishna Rao is about a century later than de Clavijo.

⁶ Can there be an allusion here to the difference between the North-ists and Southists, two divisions among the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar? It was a common practice in India among the "Armenian" Christians to brand a cross on their forehead. The custom is alluded to by Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor about A.D. 1600. Or did de Clavijo hear of such a practice among the people in Kafiristan, of whom Fr. A. Kircher, quot-

others; and Moors and Jews live amongst them, but they are subject to the Christians."¹

How could do Couto know that Kṛṣṇa Rao had Christian soldiers in his army except from a tradition among the St. Thomas Christians or the people of Vijayanagar? They could not be foreign mercenaries, if they were his vassals and of the Christians whom St. Thomas had made. They were either Christians from Malabar or Konkan, or possibly others who from time immemorial had lived in the interior. If, according to the Catalan map of 1375, there had been a Christian king at Deogil (Daulatabad, in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad or the Nizam's Dominions), what had become of his Christian subjects? Were not many of his soldiers Christian? And must we not identify with Deogil, or some place in the neighbourhood, the Romogyris in India of Nilos Doxopatrios (c. A.D. 1143) and of the Katholikos who used to be sent still then by the Patriarch of Antioch? The year A.D. 1143 is approximately the time when a letter emanating from Prester John, apparently of India, was sent to the Emperor of Constantinople. Peter, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch in communion with Rome, states (c. A.D. 1050) that his jurisdiction extends to the far East, including India.²

The St. Thomas Christians, at least in Malabar, were a fighting race. As late as 1698, Fr. Francisco de Souza says of them: "They form the best soldiers in all Malabar: for they are excellent in the use of the espingarde, and for this reason are very good hunters; they are the bravest in the army and hold their ground against an enemy. From the age of eight they go to the fencing-school and practise till they are twenty-five; and to make them acquire greater agility in the use of their arms, their masters dislocate their limbs with certain frictions and ligatures, while they are small."³

Our quotations from do Couto and de Claviño may be only echoes of an earlier date, and some of the accounts of earlier

ing apparently communications made by Fr. H. Roth S.J., of Agra (1662-64), says they painted with red sandal a cross on their forehead, and on each cheek? Cf. Kircher, *China illustrata*, Amstelodami, 1667, p. 91, col. 1.

¹ *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Claviño, op. cit.*, p. 153.

² Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., *A brief sketch of the history of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, p. 12, referring to Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II. 1086-88.

³ Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, Parte 2 (Bombay, 1886) Conq. 1, Div. 2, § 19, p. 71. de Souza only repeats Gouvea, *Jornada*, Coimbra, 1606, fol. 61v-62r, where an account of these schools is found.

Yule-Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*, s v. Nair) quote a MS. of Bocarro (A.D. 1644): "We have much Christian people throughout his territory, not only the Christians of St. Thomas, who are the best soldiers that he [the king of Cochin] has, but also many other vassals who are converts to our Holy Catholic Faith, through the preaching of the Gospel, but some of these are Nayres, who are his fighting men, and his nobles or gentlemen."

times, while mentioning a Prester John or Christian King of India, will appear no doubt extravagant.

"A letter given by Matthew Paris, which was written from the Holy Land, in 1237, by Philip, Prior of the Dominicans there, speaks of the heads of the various sects of Oriental Christians, and, among others, of one who was over all the Nestorians in the east and whose prelacy extended over India the Greater, and the kingdom *Sacerdotis Joannis*, and other realms still nearer the sun-rising."¹

Friar John of Plano Carpini, whose journey to the Tartars falls in 1246-47, says of Chingiz Khan: "He sent another of his sons with an army against the Indians, and he conquered Little India, where are the Black Saracens, called Ethiopians. This army also marched against the Christians of India Major. The King of that country, called Prester John, having been warned thereof, came to meet them with his forces, and, having caused to make bronze figures of men, he had them filled with fire and attached to the horses' saddles, (P. 348) a man sitting on the horses' crupper, with the figure behind and bellows. He had a great quantity of such made; then, joining battle with the Tartars, he made the horses thus arrayed go first, and the men who were behind threw I know not what into the fire that was in each figure, and, blowing it hard, they raised such a smoke that the Tartars were quite covered with it; and then the others attacked them with arrows, so that many were killed and the rest were put to flight, and I know not that they came back since."²

The Constable of Armenia wrote to the King of Cyprus, Henry de Lusignan. A.D. 1248: "But the Barons and Lords of the Tartars were so much and so far scattered that hardly during those five years could they assemble in a certain place to consecrate and crown this one: for some were in India, others in Cathay, others in Russia, and the others in the lands of Casrat and Canguth, which is the land whence came the Three Kings to adore Jesus Christ, and all the peoples of those lands are Christian. I have myself been in their Churches and have seen there paintings of Jesus Christ, and of the Three Kings offering Him gold, myrrh and frankincense. Through these Kings were those nations (P. 303) converted and through these (nations?) were the Cham and his own made Christian. So that, before their doors they have Churches and bells, which they ring and strike on pieces of wood,³ and when they go to the Cham their Lord, they must go first to the Church and salute Jesus Christ before sa-

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 176 n.

² This Tartar expedition is next made to go to the land of the Amazons (?) and Burutabeth (Great Tibet?). Cf. Bergeron, *Relation des Voyages en Tartarie*, Paris, 1634, pp. 347-349.

³ Wooden bells were in use in the Malabar Churches in olden times. Cf. Gouvea, *Jornada*, Coimbra, 1606, fol. 85r, col. 1.

luting the Emperor. We also found a great number of Christians scattered all over the Orient and many (*plusieurs*) ancient Churches, high and well-built, which the Tartars had destroyed, and when the Christians of those parts came to visit the Cham, he received them with honour, restored them to liberty, and forbade under severe penalties that any one should offend them in deed or words. And as for our sins there was no one there to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, He Himself was pleased to manifest Himself there and He manifests Himself daily there by many miracles; hence, all those peoples now believe in Him. But in the land of India, where the Blessed St. Thomas preached and made conversions, there is yet a certain Christian King, who was much oppressed by other Saracen Kings, his neighbours, (P. 304) who waged against him a rude and relentless war, until the Tartars came to those parts, and then he submitted to obey them, and joining arms with them, he so attacked his enemies the Saracens that he conquered a good part of the Indies, and nowadays that country is full of Mahometan slaves, for I there saw more than five hundred thousand of them whom that King had taken and caused to be sold by auction."¹

Nicolo de' Conti, who was in the East during 25 years (A.D. 1412 to 1437), says: "The inhabitants of Central India are only allowed to marry one wife; in the other parts of India polygamy prevails very generally, excepting among those Christians who have adopted the Nestorian heresy, who are spread over the whole of India, and confine themselves to one solitary mate."²

Abd-er Razak, who was at Vijayanagar from the end of

¹ P. Bergeron., *Relation des Voyages en Tartarie*, Paris, 1634, pp. 302-304.

I take the date 1248 from Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *World-Healers*, II. 483 Casrat and Tanguth appear to be Kashgar and Tangut. Odoric has Cassan and de Maundevillo Cassak for Saba, the place whence Marco Polo brings the Magi.

² R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1857, p.23. Yule (*Marco Polo*, II (1875, 426) is of opinion that Conti's *Interiores Indi*, "which Mr. Winter Jones translates by 'natives of Central India'" are the Chinese. The texts he quotes in connection with Frumentius and Cosmas Indicopleustes do not convince me, as others could be opposed which must refer to our India. Cosmas Indicopleustes places Ceylon in Inner India, though Yule translates by Further India (Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), clxxi; in note he has: Inner India). Mr Crindle has Hither India instead (*Ancient India*, 165). See also Yule, *ibid.*, I. clxvii, text and note 2. At that rate Mylapore would have been in Cosmas' Inner India. In *The Falling asleep of the Holy Mother of God*, St. Thomas is made to come from the Inner Indians to the death-bed of Mary, the Inner Indians being at Mylapore: for Thomas was about to baptise in the palace the king's sister's son Labdanês, who must be Vizan, the deacon-son of Mazdai. Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, pp. 153; 157. Vizan would have been the son of the sister of the king of India, if Mazdai's wife Tertia, Vizan's mother, was Gondophares' sister.

April 1443 to November 1443,¹ writes: "The King had admitted into his council, to supply the place of Daiang [a eunuch], a Christian, named Nimehpezir. This man thought himself equal to a vizier; he was a creature of small stature, malicious, ill-born, mean and stern..."²

Major J. S. King, quoting the *Burhāni-i Maʿāṣir*, for the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh (A.D. 1435-57), says: "He threw down ancient churches and idol-temples and in place of them founded masjids, public schools and charitable institutions." In a note King adds: "The word in the original is *kanā'is*, plural of *kanīṣah*, church. Does this mean Christian churches?"³

What other word could here be opposed to 'idol-temples'? Did not Jordanus, a century earlier, speak of the destruction of idol-temples and of many churches, and of the conversion of the latter into mosques? Where were these churches, destroyed by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh? In Malabar? Along the Malabar Coast and the Kanara and Konkan Coast? Or in the interior of the country too? In 1579-81 Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., suspected that a 'temple' (mosque?) at Mandu was an old Christian Church.⁴ Had 'Alā-ud-Dīn anything to do with the expulsion of the Christians from Mylapore and its destruction about this time?

Firishta says of this same Sultān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmanī of Gulbarga: "He held no conversation with the Nazarenes or Brahmans, nor would he permit them to hold public offices."⁵

* Christian women of Greek, Russian and Georgian extraction were to be found in the royal harems of Gulbarga (15th century) and of Bijāpur (16th century).⁶

¹ R. H. Major, *ibid.*, pp. 30; 44.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41. Prof. W. Ivanow points out to me (Calcutta, 20-9-1926) that Nime-pezir (*nī'ma(t)-pādhīr*) or Mine-pezir (*minnā(t)-pādhīr*) may both be contemptuous, the former meaning 'the receiver of wealth', and the latter 'the receiver or usurper of high position.'

³ King, *The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*, London, 1900, p. ?; also in *Ind. Antiq.*, XXVIII (1899), p. 241.—May the word not be *Kalīsā* or *kalīṣa* (Persian), with plural *Kalā'is*, or *Kalīṣā*, which derives from *ecclesia*, just as *igreja* (Port.), the latter having now led to *girjā* in many Indian languages? *Kalīsā* means a Christian Church. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886 s.v. *girja*, and Dalgado, *Influência do Vocabulário Português em línguas asiáticas*, Coimbra, 1913, p. 89. Mr. Johan van Manen, refers me (Calcutta, 2-9-26) to an article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. *Kanīṣa*, II, 717, where the word is explained as meaning synagogue or church, a Jewish or Christian place of worship.

⁴ *Memoirs A.S.B.*, III, 554.

⁵ Scott, *Firishta*, Shrewsbury, 1794, I, 122.

⁶ Fr. Umberto Colli, in *St. Mary's Parish Magazine*, Secunderabad, July 1922, p. 12. Some other indications of Christianity in Vijayanagar are reserved for Pt. VII. Fr. J. Tieffenthaler, S.J., has a short disquisition on vestiges of Christianity in India at the arrival of the Portuguese, but it contains nothing to my purpose. Cf. Bernouilli, *Description histor. et géograph. de l'Inde*, Berlin, 1786, I, 40-43.

7. *The Indian King Stephen of the Catalan Map of 1375.*

Yule has left in the obscurity in which he found it an entry in the Catalan Map: "Here reigns King Stephen, a Christian. In this land lies St. Thomas. Look for the city Butifilis."¹ Yule identifies Butifilis with the Mutfli of Polo, and the Muta-fili of the Arabs, now Mutapali in Telingana,² which would have been a port of the kingdom of Warangal. We can only guess why the Catalan Map should say: "Look for the city Butifilis." Yule thinks that by a misunderstanding the author of the map put St. Thomas' tomb at Butifilis.³ That does not follow. Mylapore may have been thought or known to be in King Stephen's dominions.

It is strange that between 1291-92, when Friar John de Montecorvino was at Mylapore, and 1375, a date considered to be fixed, on sufficient grounds, for the construction of the Catalan Map, we never hear the slightest allusion to the Christian King Stephen or any other Christian king established in that neighbourhood, nor do we get any Papal document addressed to him, for instance on the occasion when Friar Jordanus returned to India in 1330.

I was inclined to make of King Stephen a king of Warangal, because de Montecorvino seems to have gone from Mylapore to Samalkot, which, being close to Mutapali, would have been in the kingdom of the then Queen of Warangal. I was also inclined to connect the family of Warangal with a once Christian dynasty at Deogil (Deogir, Devagiri, now Daulatabad), a place identifiable perhaps with the Romogyris of c.A.D. 1143.⁴ The reference in the Catalan Map might, of course, have belonged to a much earlier time, even several centuries back.

Yule opines that the Catalan Map was almost certainly compiled by means of the Portulano Mediceo, now in the Laurentian Library, and that both may have copied from an earlier source.⁵ He does not assign anywhere a date to the Portulano Mediceo, but merely notes that it does not appear to have made much use of Polo's contributions.⁶ Had we the exact date, it might be of little use. The Portulano Mediceo is probably silent regarding King Stephen; else, Yule would have referred to it in

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. ccxxx; 221.

² *Ibid.*, p. ccxxx.

³ Cf. my p. 265 above.

⁴ Yule, *op. cit.*, I. p. ccxxiv.

⁵ Yule, *Marco Polo*, I (1875), p. 129.

⁶ "The original Catalan Map of 1375 from the Library of King Charles V of France is now kept in the Mazarine Gallery, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (No. 119 of Morel-Fatio's Catalogue of Spanish MSS.)." Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, I (1915), p. 299 n.1.

connection with the entry concerning King Stephen in the Catalan Map. He does not.

With regard to King Stephen, I can refer to only one author, discovered by me as late as February 1926: Clarence Augustus Manning, of the Columbia University, New York. His information comes from Russian sources, in which our King Stephen appears to be noticed under the name Dyuk Stepanovich. Manning does not seem to know of the King Stephen of the Catalan Map, and his knowledge of Dyuk Stepanovich does not go beyond the initial stages of research. However, his study in the *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. 42 (1922), pp. 286-294, is so curious that I shall reproduce as much of it here as is directly concerned with Dyuk Stepanovich.

"India had long been known to the Russians as a Christian country. The *byliny*,¹ handed down for centuries by oral tradition in the swamps of the north, and the Archangel and Perm provinces, told how Dyuk Stepanovich came from India the Rich to visit Fair Sun Vladimir. He appears as a beautiful *bogatyr* or hero of enormous wealth, and enters into competition with all the richest members of Vladimir's court (P. 291) as Churilo Plenkovich the Fop. The home of Dyuk is sometimes Volynia, and sometimes India the Rich.

"This special *bylina* is strongly influenced by the Tale of the Indian Kingdom, a prose letter written by the Tsar-Priest John to the Emperor Manuel of Constantinople (Porfirev, *Istoriya russkoy slovesnosti*, Vol. 1, p. 232). This letter was widely spread among the Western nations of Europe and in a Latin version is printed by Zarneke ("Der Priester Johannes," in *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, Vol. VII, p. 872 ff.).

"We may be able to date with some degree of accuracy the appearance of this legend in Russia. The Ipatyevsky Chronicle tells that in 1165² the Tsarevich Andronikos, a foe of Manuel Comnenos of Constantinople, sought refuge at the court of Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galich. Manuel was at that time much interested in placing Stefan on the throne of Hungary, and the combination of Andronikos and Yaroslav threatened the success of this scheme. It is very likely that the Tale of the Indian Kingdom was introduced at this period by Andronikos in order to persuade the Russians that Manuel was not

The notes to these quotations are mine, unless otherwise noted.—H. H.

¹ "The term 'bylina' is applied to certain songs or folk-tales which have been collected in northern Russia for the most part, and which tell of the exploits of Vlademir Fair Sun (St. Vladimir) and his heroes. We may almost call this a Russian Table Round, although it lacks the form and chivalry of the Arthurian cycle." (Prof. Clarence A. Manning, Columbia University, New York, Sept. 29, 1926, to myself.)

² It is about this time that the letter of Prester John to the Emperor Manuel of Constantinople began to be circulated. (Yule, in *Encycl. Britann.*, 9th edn., XIX (1885), 715 col. 1.

the principal ruler in the whole world, since the Priest-King of India far excelled him in wealth and power.¹ Manuel failed in his intrigues and ultimately became reconciled to Andronikos, who returned to Constantinople, but the legend once introduced remained alive. (Keltuyala, *Kurs istorii russkoy literatury*, Vol. 1, Part 1², p. 991.)

"There are several details which show the striking similarity between the *bylina* and the tale. Thus Vladimir in answer to the boast of Dyuk Stepanovich sends envoys to India the Rich to measure and list the wealth of the Asiatic ruler. As they enter the court, they greet several elaborately dressed women as the Queen, but are informed each time that they are mistaken, and that these are but servants dressed simply as compared with their mistress. After working for three years they decide that it will be necessary to sell Kiev in order to buy enough paper to finish their task. Similarly John writes to Manuel: "Tell your tsar Manuel: if you wish to know all my resources and the wonders of my realm of India, sell your entire Grecian realm and buy paper and come to my kingdom of India with your scribes and I (P. 292) will let you make an inventory of my land of India, and you will not be able to make an inventory of my kingdom before your death" (Porfirev, *op. cit.*, I. p. 89). Other similarities are in the golden stream of Dyuk which reminds us of the Tigris with its golden sands. Dyuk's palace has a golden and bejewelled roof, while the roof of the Indian palace is covered with self-lighting carbuncles. Wonderful columns adorned with figures of a tsar and tsarina in India² are decorated like the costly buttons on the mantles of Dyuk.

"This great wealth of India reappears in the riches of Oponia.³ We have seen the great virtue of the Orthodox of

¹ In that case why was Prester John's letter not signed by King Stephen?

² May we think here of the Mylapore stone with a medallion of a Persian King and of a Persian Prince, who might easily be taken for a young woman?

³ An Eastern Paradise, supposed to be Japan, whither, after the disorders of the 17th century, the Old Believers of Russia would set out, even as late as the 19th century, to find the lost hierarchy. Oponia was on the confines of the ocean, called Byelovodye (White Waters), a sort of Śvetadvīpa (White Island) (?). The name Oponia may be compared with Ultima or Ulna, the town whence came the Patriarch of the Indies (c. 1122). Cf. my article in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. 19 (1923), p. 186. Shall we suggest some similarity between Butifilis and Byelovodye?

"I should hesitate to compare Oponia and Ultima or Ulna, and Butifilis with Byelovodye. The etymology of the latter word is so clearly *Byelo*=white + *voda*=water. The expression might be used of any island located in the ocean where there is surf. At the same time the *Molochnia Vody* (Milky Waters) have been a term frequently applied to sectarian settlements, so that there also may be a mystical connotation to the word. For further details on these legends in English, compare Hapgood, *Epic songs of Russia*, and Magnus, *Heroic Epics of Russia*." (Prof. C. A. Manning, Sept. 29, 1926, to myself.)

Oponia. In India, 'no one there lies or can lie; if any attempts to lie, he immediately dies and his memory at the same time. We all walk in the steps of truth and love one another, (Keltuyala, *op. cit.*, p. 348). The Latin version translates this: '*Inter nos nullus mentitur, nec aliquis potest mentiri. Et si quis ibi mentiri cœperit, statim moritur, quasi mortuus inter nos reputatur, nec eius mentio fit apud nos, nec honorem ulterius apud nos consequitur. Omnes sequimur veritatem et diligimus apud nos invicem*' (§ 51-52. Zarncke, *op. cit.*, p. 916).¹

"Another point of similarity lies in the great number of high ecclesiastics who figure in the legend. Byelovodiye had a large number of them, as we have seen, but in this it was not behind India. Prester John was surrounded by a large throng of kings, princes, armies and officials. *In mensa nostra comedunt omni die iuxta latus nostrum in dextra parte archiepiscopi XII, in sinistra parte episcopi XX. præter patriarcham sancti Thomæ, et protopapam Sarmaganinum et archiprotopapatem de Susis*" (§ 73, Zarncke, *op. cit.*, p. 920).²

"The general outlines of the Church of Oponia and in India are so similar that we are led to assume some relationship. Melnikov says (*op. cit.*, p. 25): The rumors about "the patriarch of the Assyrian tongue living in Japan, spreading more and more widely, finally spread throughout the entire Russian Old Faith, exactly as the rumour spread in the middle ages and was accepted as truth for several centuries of the existence somewhere in the East of Prester John. And in fact, the whole surroundings of the mediæval Prester John are absolutely similar to the surroundings of the Raskolnik 'Assyrian Patriarch (P. 213) who is in the Kingdom of Oponia.'" It is strange that Melnikov did not mention the possibility of a new form of the old legend as the basis for Oponia. This relationship is the more likely when we remember that the home of Marko,³ the Topozersky Monastery, is in the Government of Archangel, almost in the region in which the *byliny* were preserved for so many centuries. The wandering minstrels and preachers who were telling about Oponia

¹ "Among us no one tells lies, nor can anyone tell a lie. And if any one there should try to lie, he dies at once; he is considered by us a dead man; he is not mentioned among us, and gets no honour any longer among us. All of us follow truth, and love one another." Approaching the Holy Table in a state of sin at the shrine of St. Thomas was punished miraculously by instant death, said the Patriarch of the Indies who came to Pope Callixtus (1121?). *J. & Proc. A. S. B.*, Cf. Vol. 19 (1923), p. 171.

² "At our table every day there eat by our side, on our right 12 Archbishops, on our left 20 Bishops, besides the Patriarch of St. Thomas and the Protopapas of Sarmagantum [Samarkand] and the Archprotopapas of Susae."

³ The monk Marko had laid down the route to the Eastern Paradise of Oponia, where he was ready to swear he had been (Manning's article, p. 287).

could hardly have failed to know of the wonders of the Christian land of India the Rich....¹

(P. 294) "Usually the legends of Prester John place his Christian country in the heart of Asia. Oponia is an island. It will however be noted that the anonymous account to which we owe the first information about the visit of the Patriarch John to Pope Calixtus (Zarneke, *op. cit.*, p. 839) lays much stress on the fact that the shrine of St. Thomas is situated on a lofty mountain in the middle of a lake and is accessible only at the yearly ceremonies in honor of the saint. This detail may have had some effect upon the site of Byelovodye."²

King Stephen only a duplicate figure of Prester John of India? Even then, the mystery remains which surrounds Prester John of India, and the Patriarch of the Indies who came to the Court of Pope Callistus II. c. A. D. 1122.³

¹ The Sees of Antioch and Assyria are supposed to have Oponia under their jurisdiction.

² Mr. C. A. Manning, Columbia University, New York, to whom I sent a copy of my *St. Thomas and S. Thomé, Mylapore.—Apparitions of St. Thomas and other legends* (in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX (N.S.), 1923, pp. 153-236), writes to me (Sept. 29, 1926): "As regards your notes on St. Thomas, you have certainly brought together a good deal of very interesting material. Unfortunately, Prof. Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France, Paris, has not published his lectures at Columbia on the religious contacts of Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan; for he has gathered there striking facts on early Christian legend north of India and could undoubtedly supplement your studies from more northern sources.

"I will say that I doubt that the Russian legend as I have described it contains any material other than the stories of Prester John and of India, as they were known at Constantinople. The material available was probably the same stock of legends as in Europe, and somehow or other popular tradition localized certain details of the story in Japan, owing to the fact that there was a relatively unknown island with high mountains, etc. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that a mythical Japan was created in the minds of some religious fanatics of the more educated type, and that this legend coincided to a considerable extent with the remains of the much distorted Prester John of Indian legend. Hence the confusion and the ascription to Oponia-Yaponia of all kinds of wonderful qualities. I doubt very much if any Russian source so far known will add much to the legends which you have."

³ Is Ulna or Ultima, the name of the town from which this Patriarch came, earlier than A.D. 1122? Friedrich Wilhelm (*Deutsche Legenden und Legendare*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 45) would equate it with Urhai (Edessa). I have suggested that it may be corrupt for Melia(pur), Mayila(pur), "Peacock (town)." Le Quien seems to make it older than A.D. 1122, when he says of one Mar (Bishop) Thomas, whom possibly he identifies (erroneously in my opinion) with Thomas Cana and places about A.D. 800: "This Mar Thomas, according to the great Belgian Chronicum had come to India from Babylonian, and the town called Ulna or Ultima had been given him as a gift by the King of the Indies." We may compare this with de' Marignoli's statement (A.D. 1348) that the King of Mylapore had given to St. Thomas as much land as he could ride round on his ass. (Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 375.) This donation of the town of Ulna or Ultima by a King of the Indies is not referred to in the story of the Patriarch of the Indies, Mar John III. of A.D. 1122. Cf. my *St. Thomas and S. Thomé, Mylapore*, in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 166-172; 181-184. If the

Was not India, or a place in India (Ceylon?), regarded as an Eastern Paradise or as the Paradise where the just awaited the Last Judgment? There exists in Latin and Greek—the Greek version being the shorter—a “Life of St. Macarius the Roman, a servant of God, who was found near Paradise, written by Theophilus, Sergius and Hyginus.”¹ In few words the story is this. On the day of his marriage, Macarius disappeared and went in search of Paradise. The Angel Raphael, and next a dragon guided him. He passed near a place of torments and a place of purgation and found at last a cave some 20 miles from Paradise where he took up his abode. Two lion cubs, whose dead mother Macarius buried, attached themselves to him. Once, a woman appeared in his cave. It was his bride, who had also come in search of Paradise. During his sleep, she disappeared. In his 40th year, the 7th of his life in the grotto, he had a vision from Christ. Then came a visit from three monks of Mesopotamia, Theophilus, Sergius and Hyginus, who, having decided to reach the place where heaven meets the earth, came to India and discovered Macarius in his cave. Macarius told them his story and sent them back to Mesopotamia with his blessing. The actual author of the story is not known.² At times Theophilus speaks as the narrator, at times all three travellers.

It is not impossible that this legend be of Indian origin, and that Macarius' Paradise be the Mount Meru or Mount Kailash of the Indians, the abode of their gods.

Sadhu Sundar Singh's story of the Maharishi of Mount Kailash bears a striking resemblance to that of Macarius. Sundar Singh too is prepared to swear he has seen (even thrice) the Maharishi, born at Alexandria of Muhammadan parents in 1594, who, at the age of 30—therefore, in 1624—was baptised by Father Jerome Xavier, and who at the age of 105 (therefore in 1699) retired to Mount Kailash, where in a vision from Christ he was told he would not die till Judgment Day. Unfortunately for Sundar Singh, Jerome Xavier, who never was at Alexandria, died in July 1617. How then did the Maharishi obtain from Jerome Xavier a parchment Gospel in Greek Uncials of the time of Constantine the Great, which St. Francis Xavier would have brought to India?³

Col. F. Wilford obtained before 1792 from Reuben Burrow

gift of a town referred to Thomas Cana, Ulna or Ultima should be Cranganore; but the Patriarch who in A.D. 1122 came from Ulna was bishop of the place where was St. Thomas' tomb. Cf. A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in India* (Reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, (Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, p. 66).

¹ Cf. Migne, *P.L.*, t. 73, cols. 415-426.

² *Ibid.*, col. 21.

³ Cf. A. Zahir, *Saved to serve*, Agra, 1918; there is also a reprint of 1919. Sundar Singh's own first version of the story has not yet been made public. It is much worse than Zahir's version and later ones.

a treatise called *Trailokya-darpana*, which the latter had procured at Hardwar. "Its name signifies 'the mirror of the three worlds,' meaning heaven, earth and hell, and answers exactly to the treatise ascribed to Saint Patrick, and called *Dissertatio de Tribus Locis, or Habitaculis*. It was written some hundred years ago, and the copy I have is of the year 1718 of Vicramaditya."¹ This treatise, says Wilford, was written in the spoken dialect of the countries west of Agra.² Elsewhere we are told it was in the Muttra dialect.³

What does it all mean? "In the Book of Leinster, native and foreign saints are commemorated under the heading: *Hic incipiunt Sancti qui erant bini unius moris*, i.e. 'Here begin the pairs of Saints who were of one manner of life.' In this list Thomas, Apostle, and Brendan of Clonfert appear side by side."⁴ St. Brendan's adventures are called *Navigatio Brendani*. He is said to have sailed in search of a fabled Paradise with a company of monks.⁵

What connection is there between St. Thomas and St. Brendan of Clonfert? None I know of. The fact that there existed an *Iter* of St. Thomas⁶ (the *Periodoi*), and that the Hymn of the Soul in the Acts of St. Thomas mentions as St. Thomas' friend and the companion of his travels a youth of kindred character,⁷ whom I identify with Vizān or Labdanēs, son of Mazdai, the king who slew St. Thomas, may have led in the East to romantic developments. Instead of Labdanēs we have the variant Klaudanēs,⁸ to which may be due a confusion with Blandanus, Brandanus of Clonfert.

In the Greek Acts of St. Thomas, St. Thomas is made to say that he was never married.⁹ Who then was Siōphanes, who in the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ* by Bartholomew the Apostle is called St. Thomas' son? Seven days after our Lord's resurrection he was raised from the dead by St. Thomas and was made bishop in his own city.¹⁰ However unlikely, might he be St. Thomas' spiritual son, Vizān, whose name in Greek takes the forms Ouazānēs, Iouzānēs, Iouazānēs, Azānēs? Vizān was made a deacon in his own city on the day when St. Thomas was killed. Was he present with the Apostles, when Jesus showed them Heaven and Hell after Mary's death?¹¹ It matters not,

¹ *Asiat. Res.*, Calcutta, VIII (1805), 268; also III (1792), 299; XI (1810), 94, 95, 96; XIV (1822), 374, 440. Wilford intended showing that St. Patrick's Purgatory is Yamapuri in Hiranya or Suvarneya, the gold island in the West; *ibid.*, X, (1808), 145.

² *Ibid.*, XI (1810), 95.

³ *Ibid.*, XIV (1822), 374, 440.

⁴ Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Cristology*, p. 118.

⁵ *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, II, 758-759.

⁶ M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 24.

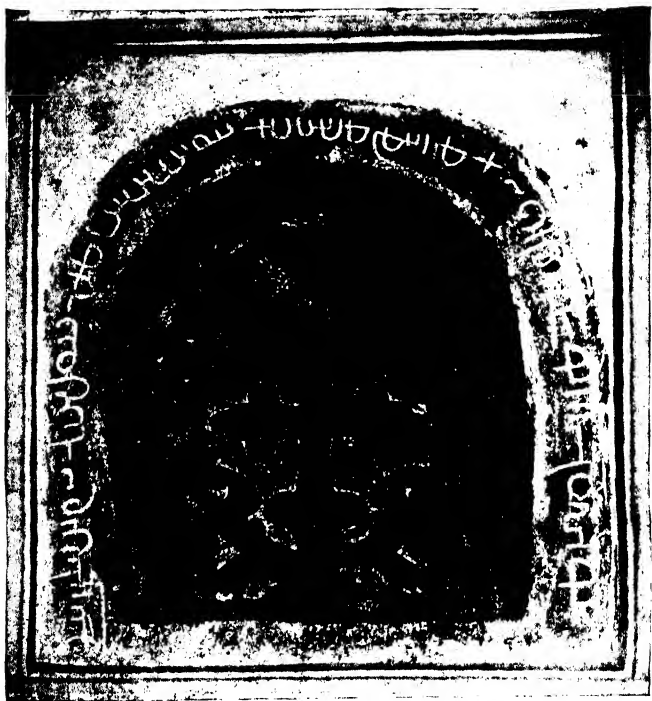
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

⁸ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, pp. 152-153.

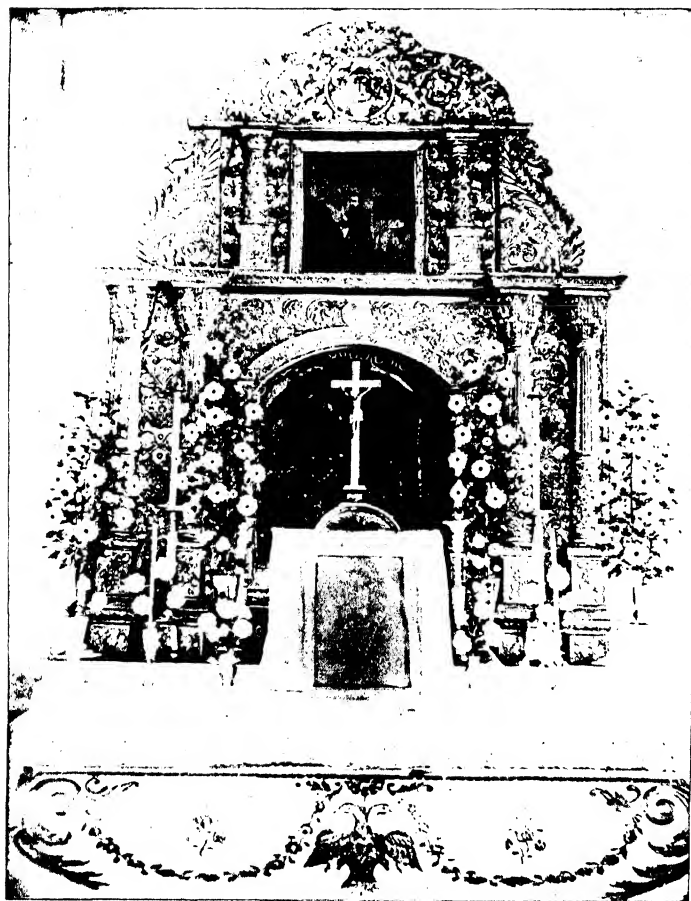
⁹ M. R. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 427 (§. 144); 428 (§. 146).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.



St. Thomas' Mount Church.—Cross on stone, surrounded by a Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription of about A.D. 650. Cf. pp. 38-44, No. 56.



St. Thomas' Mount Church. -High Altar; painting of Madonna and Child, at the foot of the Crucifix; behind the Crucifix, the Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription round a cross of about A.D. 650; above, a picture representing St. Thomas' martyrdom; higher, round a small cross on a six-petaled lotus field, the name of Petrus Uscan in Armenian. Cf. pp. 37-46, Nos. 55-58; pp. 142-144, No. 370; p. 146, No. 372.

perhaps. Some Eastern story, like the *Amitabha sutra* or Immortal Life in the Western Paradise,¹ may have been attached to the name of the Indian deacon-Prince Vizān. His name could lead to that of Prester John.² If the Russians identified Siōphanes with Vizān, a slight change in the name produced Stephanos. They may also have reached the name Stephanos through some other form of Vizān's name. In a future section on Burma we shall see Fernão Mendes Pinto associating with Burma the name of Thomas Modeliar and his disciple John.

We have other clues for Oponia. The *Periplus* mentions a market town, Opone.³ According to Schoff, it is the remarkable headland now known as Ras Haffun, 110°25' N., 51°25' E., about 90 miles below Cape Guardafui. Glaser finds a connection between the names Pano and Opone, the Egyptian 'Land of Punt' or Poen-at, the island Pa-anch of the Egyptians (Sokotra), the incense-land Panchaia of Virgil (Georgics, II. 139: *Totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis arenis*) and the Puni or Phœnicians.⁴ Sokotra, in Sanskrit Dwīpa Sukhādāra, means the 'Island abode of bliss.' Agatharchides refers to it as the 'Island of the Blest,' a stopping-place for the voyagers between India and Arabia. An Egyptian tale speaks of it as the 'Island of the Genius,' Pa-anch, the home of the King of the Incense-Island, and in the 'Genius' may be recognised the *jinn* or spirit of the sacred incense-tree. Sokotra may again be the 'Isle of the Blest,' the farthest point reached by the wandering hero of a Babylonian Odyssey, the narrative of Gilgamesh, who searched all over the world for the soul of a departed friend and found him in the end by prayer offered to Nergal, god of the dead. There too dwelt Shamash-Napishtim, the great-grandfather of Gilgamesh. Pa-anch and Panchaia may again be connected with the sacred bird of the Phœnicians, the immortal Phœnix, who lived in the City of the Sun, near Panchaia.⁵

The Oponia of the Russians, an island subject to the Patriarch of Antioch and Assyria, may have been Sokotra, subject indeed from the earliest times to Assyria, and probably also claimed by Antioch, together with India, as part of its jurisdiction. In our Malabar Christian accounts St. Thomas is said to have gone to Paradise (Ceylon), as also to Sokotra, where he

¹ Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 173; 182-184; T. Richard, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, 1910, p. 9.

² It is Johannes in Medleycott, p. 41 n. King George of China, related to Prester John of India, when converted to the Roman Communion by John de Montecorvino, took the lesser orders, and, says the latter: "When I celebrated mass, he used to attend me wearing his royal robes." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 199. The king of Sandarūk (Cranganore), Xenophon or Xanthippus, was made a deacon by St. Thomas.

³ W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, Longmans, p. 27, §§ 13. 15. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

founded a church. Is Sokotra the original Paradise, which succeeding generations of Christians sought in Ceylon and other parts in India? Why did the Russians seek it in Japan eventually? Perhaps, because of such forms as Ni-pon or Ni-phon or Jeh-pun (Dutch), Chipan-gue or Jipan-ku (Marco Polo) and Zi-pān-Kwe (Chinese). The Chinese meaning of Jī-pān-Kwe, *i.e.*, Sun-origin Kingdom, may also have influenced the Russians in their searching for Oponia in Japan.¹ Panchaia was near the City of the Sun. Pliny places the island of the Sun midway between Taprobanê (Ceylon) and Cape Coliacum (the extremity of South India).²

We are fully aware that this chain of juxtapositions is apt to break at many points.

¹ Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Japan.

² M. Crindle, *Ancient India*, 104 : Pliny, Bk. 6, c. 22 (24).

8. *Christians in Ceylon.*

The Archaeological Survey, 1913. Summary, printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon*, Vol. XXIII, No. 67, p. 121. reports as follows on the discovery of a cross at Anuradhapura.

"A few trial pits were sunk in the old Citadel enclosure to see to what depth the signs of human occupation would go, since there seems no doubt that this site must be the old citadel of Anuradhapura. In all pits fragments of pottery and beads were found down to 20 feet below the present ground level, and in one pit brick constructions resembling small tanks were found at different levels down to 21 feet, thus proving the long continued occupation of the site.

"The foundations of a row of houses of perhaps as late as the 16th century A.D. were excavated along one of the old roads in the enclosure, and near to an ancient stone well. In one of these was found the fragment of a smooth granite column with a Christian cross cut in sunk relief in the centre of one of the sides.¹

"It is improbable that this cross was brought from any distance, since Anuradhapura abounds in fragments of old pillars, which could be more easily utilised for building, and it is therefore possible that it belonged to some ruined building in the neighbourhood. It is at least of interest as being the first Christian cross that has been found at Anuradhapura."

After writing to an Officer of the Ceylon Archaeological Department, Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., sent me on September 20, 1922, a pencil-sketch of the pillar, now in the Anuradhapura Museum, with the following measurements:—

Length of the stone : 30 inches.

Breadth of the stone : 8 1/4 inches.

Thickness of the stone : 9 1/4 inches.

Length of the cross : 4 1/2 inches.

Breadth of the cross : 3 1/4 inches.

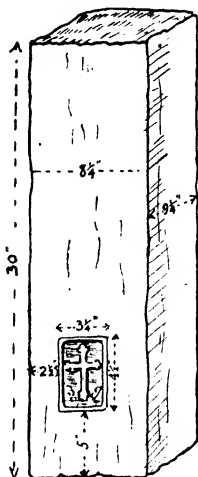
Distance between the border of the cross and the longitudinal edge of the stone : 2 1/2 inches.

Distance between the foot of the cross and the lower end of the stone : 5 inches.

"The extract on the finding of the cross is the only literature on the subject I can now lay my hands upon," wrote Fr. Gnana Prakasar (June 21, 1922). Doubtless, the finding of the cross created a stir in Ceylon at the time, and more literature on

¹ When the picture of the cross is turned upside down, the cross will appear in relief, if it does not appear so otherwise.

the subject must exist. I was in India at the time, and I remember reading accounts of the discovery in our Indian papers.



Measurements of the stone with a cross in the Museum at Anuradhapura, Ceylon.

Further information has appeared lately. Mr. Ayrton states in his notes on "Excavations in the Citadel" of Anuradhapura:—

"In F. 7,¹ lying on the floor level, was a fragment of a rectangular column on which is cut in sunk relief a cross of a floreate type standing on a stepped pedestal, from which emanate two ponds² on each side of the cross like horns.

"It is extremely improbable that this column belongs to the house; rather I should suppose that it and the four fragments in room 2³ were carried off from some ruined building in the vicinity, and that building probably a church. This fragment is of extreme importance for the history of the church in Ceylon, since the type of cross on the stone is similar to that of a cross from a Portuguese church of the 16th century in Kotte, and shows that the Portuguese missions had penetrated as far as Anuradhapura.

"Archæologically it is equally important, since it suggests that these houses cannot be earlier than the 16th century A.D., and shows that the citadel was still inhabited at that date."⁴

¹ A house or room thus marked on the plan of the excavations.

² *Sic*: for 'fronds' or 'pond-lilies' (water-lilies)?

³ In room 2 "were found four fragments of rectangular pillars only 1½ feet high set upright as if to support a seat or table" (*ibid.*, p. 51).

⁴ Cf. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. Edited by

More correct is the view expressed in a note by the editor : “ Mr. H. W. Codrington points out that the cross mentioned on p. 51 is really a Persian Christian cross and refers me to the *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 175, where the find of a cross on St. Thomas’ mound¹ is recorded; the Portuguese having found this cross set up a church on the spot. The cross has been figured by Dr. Burnell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 308; it is almost identical with Mr. Ayrton’s example. As there were Persian Christians in Ceylon in the days of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Winstedt’s edn., p. 322), 6th century, Mr. Ayrton’s inference falls to the ground. I cannot offer a date for the carving.”²

The Anuradhapura cross has the triple button of the Perso-Syrian crosses of Malabar and Mylapore, and of some in China. Like the Syrian crosses it has a calvary of 3 steps; like the crosses of Mylapore, Malabar and China, it has a leaf design at the foot of the cross. This leaf design in the Malabar and Mylapore crosses is, as at Anuradhapura, between the upper step of the calvary and the lowest button of the lower part of the vertical beam. The leaf design in the Anuradhapura cross moves gracefully upwards, touching almost the lowest button of each of the two arms of the cross.

The Anuradhapura cross, when deprived of the central button at the end of the four limbs, would look like a Maltese cross. Even with its buttons, the Si-ngan-fu cross looks like a Maltese cross, and so does another cross from the Che-tze-szeu pagoda near Pekin. We have a clear instance of a Maltese cross in the cross from Mount Si-chan, China. We have several at Mylapore, and one at Kaṭutturutti, Malabar.

As in a Latin cross, the lower portion of the vertical beam of the Anuradhapura cross is slightly longer than the upper part. In this it resembles the cross of St. Thomas Mount, the Singan-fu cross and other crosses in China, the Vatican Cross (6th century), and all the open-air crosses in Malabar.

A. M. Hocart, *Archæological Commissioner*, Vol. I, Colombo, 1924, p. 51. The cross is shown in Plate 76, No. 218.

The pilasters of the larger Kottayam cross are as shown in Plate 29, No. 79.

¹ *Sic* for ‘Mount.’

² *Ibid.*, p. 52. Cosmas writes of Taprobanê or Sielediba (Ceylon): “The island has also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there and a presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. The natives and their Kings are however heathens in religion.” (Bk. XI). “Even in Taprobanê, an island in Hither India, where the Indian Sea is, there is a Church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it” (Bk. III). Cf. M’Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 160; 165; or Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I. 220; 226, or Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), clxxi; clxxvii. Tennent translates ἀλλόφυλλοι in the first quotation by “of different races.” Yule understands “Gentiles; at any rate not Persian Christians.” Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I. 226 n. 7.

Plainly, while the crosses we have mentioned are all Christian and closely similar in the main, great liberty prevailed in the treatment of details. The Anuradhapura cross has, however, all the characteristics of an ancient Indian cross, and the remarks of Mr. Ayrton, that the foundations of the house in which the cross was found may have been as late as the 16th century, was no doubt inspired by the idea that the similar cross at Kotte is of the 16th century.

I am glad that the archaeological authorities of Ceylon have recognised the Persian character of the Anuradhapura cross. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar in his *History of the Catholic Church in Ceylon*, I (1924), p. 9n. 2, thought that the leaf design at the foot of the cross militates against so early a date as A.D. 535, when Cosmas Indicopleustes refers to a Christian community in Ceylon, ministered to by Persian clergy. It is precisely on the strength of the leaf design and the general appearance of the cross that I declared it at once a Persian cross. It may be as early as Cosmas and even earlier. Cosmas does not tell us when the Christian community in Ceylon began. As for the cross, there is no inscription to determine its age.

We are told that the stone of the Anuradhapura cross is broken at both ends. Opinions will differ about the purpose which it served. Since it was found on the floor level of a ruined house, it was not part of the foundations of that house, nor a foundation stone. The stone could not have been the lintel of a door: for in that case the cross would not have been cut in the length, but in the breadth, of the stone. Was it used in a church above an altar? Not likely. Was it erected in a private house for the worship of its Christian inhabitants? Does it come from a well? Did it form part of the jambs of a door-frame? Be that as it may, was not the street in which stood the house containing the cross, a Christian street?

Mme Denyse le Lasseur writes (*Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*, Paris, P. Geuthner, Vol. III (1922), fasc. 1) in an article entitled: "Mission archéologique à Tyr (Avril-Mai, 1921)," p. 12:

"Sur le flanc sud du tell, un peu au-dessous du Neby, je



Patriarchal cross, found by Mme Denyse le Lasseur at Tyre, Syria,

fis vider une citerne ancienne remplie de débris de toutes sortes : tambour de colonne, stèle arabe de basse époque, etc. L'ouver-

ture de la citerne est bordée de gros blocs bien taillés : sur l'un d'eux est gravée une croix à double branche du type dit croix patriarchale ; ce bloc a dû faire partie d'un montant de porte ; peut-être provient-il du palais ou de la maison du patriarche latin de Tyr. Lorsqu'il fut réemployé, plus tard, dans la construction de la citerne de Ma 'chouq, on ne se préoccupa point de la croix, qui se présente maintenant dans la position couchée."

Another pre-Portuguese cross once existing in Ceylon would seem to have disappeared. "Under the Portuguese the Church of São Thomé, which occupied the site of the present Protestant Church at Gintumpitiya, Colombo, 'was held in special veneration for a stone cross which was preserved there and which was believed to be the handiwork of the Saint himself.'"¹

P. E. Pieris writes: "The coconut plantation which was known as the King's and which was at Kannattota had been set apart to supply the necessary oil for the lamp which was lit in front of the Host at the Matriz ; from its rents a hundred seraphim each was paid to the Father of the Christians and the Rector of the new Cidade. The former was the Rector of S. Thomé, at the time in the suburbs of Colombo, a Church which was held in special veneration for a stone cross which was preserved there and which was believed to be the handiwork of the Saint himself."²

The passage in de Queyroz is as follows :—"In the suburbs of Colombo, the (Church) of the Apostle St. Thomas, where resided the father of the Christians ;³ the number of them [of the Christians] has diminished, because of another Church erected by the Clerics.⁴ On a small stone column there was preserved a cross, of those which the glorious Apostle made with his own hands, and it was the second they got (*tiverão*) in Ceylão."⁵

There can be no doubt in my mind that the cross in the Church of S. Thomé, Colombo, was pre-Portuguese. Father Queyroz wrote about A.D. 1686, long after 1547, when the cross of St Thomas Mount was found. By comparison with that cross and another reputed to be miraculous, and venerated by the Syrians at Cranganore till the middle of the 17th century, which appears to be now at Kottayam, Franciscans and Jesuits could recognise a pre-Portuguese cross, and therefore deem it

¹ Cf. the Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., *A history of the Cath. Church in Ceylon*, op. cit., p. 6 n. 17, referring to P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon: the Portuguese Era*, II. 258, and Queyroz, *Conquista temporal e espirital de Ceylão*, 873. The reference to Queyroz is useless, as the cross of St. Thomas' Church is not alluded to there.

² Cf. P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914, II. 258.

³ The Father in charge of the native Christians.

⁴ The secular clergy sent from Cochin.

⁵ de Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 583 ; in a list of churches of 1638. The passage was sent me by the Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J., the translator of Queyroz' *Conquista*, on 10-9-'26.

St. Thomas' own work. Possibly, the Church at Colombo was called S. Thomé's because of the discovery of the cross. We cannot imagine that it had been brought from India. "It was the second they got in Ceylon," by which I understand that it was found there.

Did the cross of the S. Thomé Church at Colombo disappear? If it were the same as a cross at Kotte, with which Ayrton compared the Anuradhapura cross, there would remain that another Persian cross once known to the Portuguese in Ceylon has disappeared. Father Gnana Prakasar is silent about a cross at Kotte. He had not heard of it.¹ Ayrton thought it work of the Franciscans of the 16th century. Surely, the Kotte cross too is Persian, if it is similar, as Ayrton declares, to the cross at Anuradhapura. Father S. G. Perera, S.J., writing to me on September 10, 1926, was not aware, either, of an ancient cross at Kotte, or of Ayrton's reference to it. Mr. Codrington, I am told, likewise does not know of a cross at Kotte. Yet, Father de Queyroz mentions two crosses found in Ceylon. Was not the first one a cross at Kotte, and the second cross one at Colombo? Father S. G. Perera notes that Kotte did not exist before the 14th century. If that were so, the Kotte cross may have been brought from elsewhere in Ceylon, *e.g.* from Anuradhapura,² but probably there were Christians at or near Kotte, long before the 14th century.

Is it not lamentable that, whereas Ceylon should now possess three Persian crosses, it can show only the one recently discovered at Anuradhapura? At that rate, how much longer will the Christian crosses of India which we now take so much pains to trace and make known continue to exist?

Though I have no intention to discuss at any great length the pre-Portuguese period of Christianity in Ceylon, I wish to draw attention to some points of archæological and historical interest.

1. John de' Marignolli speaks of St. Thomas on Adam's Peak, where he ordered his two slaves to cut down that

¹ Letter of September 18, 1926, to myself.

² The priest of Weliveta, Fr. E. J. Aubert, O.M.I., who is in charge of Kotte, writes on October 1, 1926, that he has not heard of a cross of St. Thomas at Kotte. "The present Church is built a mile from the famous Kotta of former times." At the time of sending this to press (3-1-1927) none of my three correspondents in Ceylon has yet told me that Mr. Ayrton's cross has been identified.

Friar de' Marignolli refers to Kotte (c.A.D. 1348), in connection with the city which Cain built. "This city of his is thought to have been where now is that called Kota in Seyllan, a place where I have been." (Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 364.) Yule notes that de' Marignolli overlooks Genesis, IV. 17: "And he built a city, and called the name thereof by the name of his son Henoch." "Kotta, or (Buddhisto- classically) Jāyawardanapūra, near Colombo, is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314." (Yule, *ibid.*, II. 369, n. 4.)

marvellous log with which he built his Church at Mylapore.¹ The vine which de' Marignolli saw near St. Thomas' fine Church at Mylapore (A.D. 1348) was another wonder. St. Thomas had brought the seeds from Paradise, into which he found his way by the aid of angels.² To Marignolli, Paradise was somewhere in Ceylon. Legendary as this may be, it was an old story, we may think, known far and wide.

Baronius writes: "Nicephorus relates that he [St. Thomas] also came to the island of Taprobane; but, as he writes some apocryphal things about Thomas' refusing to go to distant peoples and the Lord's appearing to him, I have neglected them."³

Nicephorus refers to St. Thomas' visit to Taprobane in the following rhetorical passage: "How shall we speak of the very ardent love which Thomas, also called Didymus, had for Christ? Having obtained by lot the Ethiopians and the Indians, and dreading to go to them, he sought to escape; loathing the dark and difform faces of those peoples, and besides their benighted and unmanageable intellects, he postponed going to them.⁴ But He, who is beautiful in form, appears by his side clearly and manifestly, and exhorts him to undertake his ministry. To make him feel safe and secure, he promises to be with him all through life and to assist him in his combats. Nay, he sells him to one of the Ethiopians,⁵ whose livelihood was from the profits of trade, and thus He opens to him an entrance among the Ethiopians.⁶ Next he came to be known to Smindaïos,⁷ the prince of that country, for whom he sedulously prepared the kingdom of heaven, and by his miracles and great wonders he drew the admiration of the Parthians, Medes, and Indians, and of the very Ethiopians. Moreover, he illumined with the preaching of the word all who lived in the furthest parts of the Orient, and up to the farthest Ocean,⁸ also the island called Taprobane, and the nation of the Brachmans. Having everywhere erected very great temples, and holily arranged all else in proper manner, he was finally pierced

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 347.

² *Ibid.*, II. 363.

³ Baronius, *Annales Eccles.*, t. I, Romae, 1593, p. 323; referring to Nicephorus, Lib. 2, c. 40.

⁴ Thus in the Syriac and Greek *Acta*. Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 3; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal N. T.*, Oxford, 1924, p. 365. So too in the *de Miraculis*. Cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, Lipsiae, 1883, p. 97. In the *Passio* he shows himself willing to go (*ibid.*, p. 133).

⁵ Habbān, the merchant of Gondophares, King of the Indians, and therefore not a man from Ethiopia in Africa.

⁶ Ethiopians here would mean the Blacks of North India, some of whom in Mekran may have been in Gondophares' dominions.

⁷ One of the forms of Mazdai's name. St. Thomas went to his Court after visiting and baptising Gondophares and his brother Gad.

⁸ There may be an allusion here to a visit to China.

in the side with lances, and reached Him whose side he himself had touched."¹

Nicephorus Callistus may not have known where to place Taprobane, or that it generally meant Ceylon, *e.g.*, in Cosmas Indicopleustes. The double legend heard by de' Marignolli would show that popularly the Taprobane of St. Thomas was Ceylon. A song of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar brings St. Thomas to Adam's Peak, riding on a peacock.

2. Baronius writes again: "There are other things by a doubtful author, though attributed (but falsely) to John Chrysostom," in which it is said that Thomas baptised the three Magi, who came to Christ's crib, and took them with him as his companions in preaching the Gospel; we read the same in Sophronius² and others."²

We have no authority anywhere to say that St. Thomas met one of the three Magi, King Gaspar, in Ceylon or at Quilon. A passage, attributed to Sophronius or St. Jerome, only says that St. Thomas preached to the Parthians, the Medes, the Persae, the Carmani, the Hyrcani, the Bactrae, and the Magi.³ The Magi here are not necessarily the three Kings, but a people or class, rather. Pseudo-Dorotheus too mentions the Magi among the nations evangelised by St. Thomas.⁴ Pseudo-Hippolytus has instead the Mardoï or the Margoi.⁵ The anonymous writing published with the works of Œcumenius omits the Magi.⁶

A Malabar Christian told de Barros that, at the instance of the Indian Sibyl of Coulam (Quilon), a King of Ceilam, called Pirimal, went to Mascate and Bethlehem and brought back a picture of our Lady which was buried with the Sibyl.⁷ I greatly suspect that King Gaspar of Chola, *i.e.* Coromandel, is meant, in other words King Gaspar or Gathaspar of the Indians, of whom we hear in the Armenian apocryphal Infancy of Christ and who is no other than King Gondophares, converted and baptised by St. Thomas, whom our Indian Syrians have brought somehow from North India to Mylapore. de' Marignolli placed the three Magi on Mount Gybeit, in the lands of the Queen of Saba, and that legend of his bears some

¹ Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccles.*, lib. 2, c. 40; Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 145, col. 862. Nicephorus Callistus is of the beginning of the 14th century.

² Baronius, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 323; referring to: (a) Apud Chrys., Hom. 2 in Matt. *op. imperf.*; (b) Apud Hieron. de script. Eccles.; Œcum. in Act. Apost. The *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum* speaks of 12 Magi or Wise Men.

³ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 146; Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. 23, col. 721.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145; Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 92, col. 1071.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145 and cp. p. 148; Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 10, col. 954, where (n. 4) it is said the Cod. Reg. 1026 has Magoi. That Codex possibly contains Pseudo-Sophronius or Pseudo-Dorotheus.

⁶ Cf. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 152.

⁷ de Barros, Dec. VIII, Bk. VII, ch. 9, quoted through S. C. Prakasar, O.M.L., *op. cit.*, p. 2 n. 4.

resemblance to the *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum* falsely attributed to St. John Chrysostom. We may usefully compare the two. The legend of the *Opus imperfectum* may have come from India, from countries once subject to Gondophares, or may have been localised later in the Queen of Saba's dominions.

The *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum*, though bringing the Three Kings from Persis, makes them watch for the apparition of the star on a mountain in the East, by the side of the Ocean. "I have heard some speak of a certain writing which, though not certain, is not however destructive of faith, but pleasing rather; how there was a people living at the very beginning of the East, near to the Ocean, among whom there was a certain writing, inscribed with the name of Seth, concerning the apparition of that star and the offerings to be presented to Him, which through generations of careful persons had passed from fathers to sons. So, twelve of them, more learned, and fond of the heavenly mysteries, chose themselves and placed themselves to await that star. And, when one of them died, his son, or one of his relatives who was found to be of the like purpose, was appointed in the place of the deceased. In their language they were called Magi, because they glorified God in silence and in a low voice. Now, these men, every year, after the threshing of the harvest, ¹ would ascend a mountain placed there, which in their tongue was called the Mount of Victory. It was a most pleasant mountain, with springs and choice trees, and had a cave in the rock. Ascending this mountain and washing themselves, they prayed and praised God (col. 638) in silence during three days; and so they did generation after generation, always waiting for the star of blessedness to arise haply in their generation, until it did appear to them, coming down on that Mount of Victory. It contained the shape as it were of a little child, and bore above it the likeness of a cross. It spoke to them, and taught them, and bade them go to Judaea. Now, as they went, it went before them, two years, and neither food nor drink was wanting in their satchels. The other things which they are said to have done are briefly set down in the Gospel. And, when they had returned, they kept worshipping and glorifying God more carefully than at first, and preached to all of their nation and instructed many. Finally, when, after the Lord had arisen, the Apostle Thomas had gone to that province, they joined him, were baptized by him, and became helpers in his preaching."²

The chief elements of this story are attached by de' Maignolli to Mount Gybeit, 'Blessed Mountain,' which we seek to identify with Mount Dilly on the West Coast.

¹ *Post messem trituratorium.*

² Migne, P.G., Vol. 56, cols. 637-638.

"It is asserted both by the Hebrews and the Sabæans, *i.e.* the people of the kingdom of the Queen of Saba, that he [Elias] had his place of abode in a very lofty mountain of that land which is called Mount Gybeit, meaning the Blessed Mountain. In this mountain also they say that the Magi were praying on the night of Christ's nativity when they saw the Star. It is in a manner inaccessible, for from the middle of the mountain upwards the air is so thin and pure that none, or at least very few have been able to ascend it, and that only by keeping a sponge filled with water over the mouth. They say however that Elias by the will of God remained hidden there until the period in question.

"The people of Saba say also that he still sometimes shows (P. 392) himself there. And there is a spring at the foot of that mountain where they say he used to drink, and I have drunk from that spring myself. But I was unable to ascend that Blessed Mountain, being weighed down with infirmities, the result of a very powerful poison that I had swallowed in Columbum,¹ administered by those who wished to plunder my property."²

There is an Indian symbol consisting of a circle with three rays issuing from the right half and three rays issuing from the left half. Above the upper half this star has a small cross bending leftwards (westwards?) and resting on the circle.³ It is exactly the description of the Star of the Magi in the *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum* of the 4th or 5th century. "It appeared coming to them, descending above the Mount of Victory, having within itself the form of a small child, and above it the form of the cross." I cannot say whether the symbol occurs on coins or otherwise, but I have no reason to doubt the statement that the symbol occurs in India. If it is found on coins, and these coins are undated, anonymous or later than Christ, we may ask whether this star, surmounted by a cross, inspired the author of the *Opus imperfectum*, or was inspired by him. Rather the former alternative. The story of the Wise Men on the Mount of Victory, near the Ocean, at the rise of the East, fits in with Mount Dilly in the kingdom of the Queen of Saba. The story seems to come from

INDIAN RAYED



DISK WITH CROSS.

¹ Quilon.

² Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), pp. 391-392: de' Marignolli's account.

³ Cf. Goblet d'Alviella in J. Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV. 325^a, fig. 4^a, called 'a rayed disk.' Can this symbol have anything in common with Buddhism, or any other pre-Christian cult?

there. We have on Indian coins other crosses, not hitherto recognised as Christian, but which may have to fall into line with our Christian crosses. From Central India, whence come apparently most of our cross-marked coins, we now get a considerable number of tattoo-marks of crosses, some of them indubitably Christian.

3. Another legend brings to Taprobane, by some explained as meaning Ceylon, the Eunuch of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians. Let us hear Baronius once more :—

“Nicephorus treats of the same [of the Eunuch of Candace]. To these things I shall add what Dorotheus put down in writing about the same Eunuch. He says: ‘The Eunuch of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, preached the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in Arabia the Blest, in the island of Taprobane, and in the whole of Erythra. They say he bore a glorious martyrdom and was buried there. And his tomb is an impregnable bulwark to the Faithful, driving away wicked barbarians, healing diseases and working cures, to the present day.’ Thus he.”¹ At the place indicated by Baronius, Nicephorus does not speak of Taprobane in connection with the Eunuch.² We have shown how he brings St. Thomas to Taprobane.

Father S. G. Perera, S.J., complains that he could not discover the passage of Dorotheus in Migne, *P. G.*, Vol. 92.³ I have not been more successful. We may suppose, however, that there is such a passage, and that we have it now, quoted faithfully and fully by Baronius. Maffei quotes Dorotheus more or less like Baronius.⁴

Pseudo-Sophronius is less explicit: “The Eunuch of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, preached the Gospel of the Lord in Arabia surnamed the Blest, and in the island of Taprobana of the Red Sea. Now, they say that in that same place he also suffered martyrdom and was honourably buried.”⁵

¹ Baronius, *op. cit.*, I. 260; referring to: Nicephorus, *Hist.*, lib. 2, c. 6, 7: Dorotheus in Synopsi.

² Cf. Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 145; Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 2, c. 6 (not 7).

³ Cf. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, Pt. I, July 1919, p. 10.

⁴ Maffei, *Hist. Indic.*, folio edn. 1588, f. 56: “Not different, it seems, is what some say, that in the footprint [on Adam’s Peak] of which I spoke is worshipped the Eunuch of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, though his name, being ancient and foreign, is now forgotten. Among other writers, Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, who flourished for holiness and learning in the reign of Constantine the Great, says that he had spread the Gospel of Christ in Arabia Felix, and the whole of Erythra, and in Taprobane.” I do not find any author before Maffei associating the Eunuch’s name with the footprint on Adam’s Peak.

⁵ Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 23, col. 721; not *P. G.*, Vol. 33, col. 721, as Father S. G. Perera has it in *Ceylon Antiquary*, V. 6-11; nor *P. G.*, Vol. 23, col. 721, as in Father S. Gnana Prakasar, *op. cit.*, p. 4 n. 12.

do Couto¹ and de Queyroz² were perhaps justified in rejecting Maffei's induction that the Taprobane of the Eunuch is Ceylon, and that the footprint on Adam's Peak might have been a footprint of the Eunuch. The Taprobane of the Eunuch might be Sokotra or some other island near by, if the legend deserves at all credit.

4. After discoursing on the ancient relations between Rome and Ceylon and certain finds of Roman gold coins in Manar and Diu,³ Father Fernão de Queyroz writes in his monumental work :

"A stronger argument might be the buildings of Roman architecture of which, it it also said, traces are found on the site of Anu-Rajâ-purê [Anuradhapura], and in other places of that Island, these buildings being very different from those of this Asia,⁴ which are, chiefly the Pagodes, of barbaric, tyrannical and enormous expense. They relate that there was at this court⁵ a separate quarter, where lived the Hudós, which means Whites, that they had a fresh garden there, and traded in cinnamon, which they went to fetch in certain deserts, at a great distance from the City, although cinnamon is now found nearer to that site. In an aldea, two leagues and a half from Manicravare, called Timbay-Pale, there is a rock, and, below, a cave so big, like another Donda cave,⁶ that it lodged 3,000 men; in it are seen some Greek letters, almost entirely obliterated by time, and parts of other Latin letters, among which appear distinctly a G and an F."⁷

Has this passage been anywhere discussed? Pieris⁸ ridicules

¹ Quoted by S. Gnana Prakasar, *op. cit.*, p. 5, from do Couto, Dec. V, vi. 2. do Couto says (*loc. cit.*): "And we made diligent inquiry throughout India and spoke with many ancient and learned Moors, heathen, and even Jews, and in no part of it is there any knowledge or tradition of this Eunuch."

² F. de Queyroz, S.J., *Conquista*, p. 30 : "A greater fable is that of Bishop Dorotheus of Tyre, saying that in this Footprint is venerated the remembrance of the Eunuch of Queen Candace, since the whole Indian sea lies between Abassia and Ceylaõ." Dorotheus did not say this either, if we judge from Baronius.

³ With Father de Queyroz we may recall with reference to Roman gold coins the story of the freedman Annius Plocamus. Cf. Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. 6, c. 22 (24), in M'Crimble, *Ancient India*, Constable, Westminster, 1901, pp. 103-104.

⁴ Father de Queyroz, S.J., at one time Provincial of Goa, wrote at Goa.

⁵ Of Anuradhapura.

⁶ The Donda cave is mentioned in de Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 29.

⁷ Cf. de Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 11.

⁸ Pieris, *Ceylon*, I. 495, n. 49.

For the position of Manicravare, which Pieris refers to in many places as Menikkadawara, see his vol. II, map facing p. 1. Near Menikkadawara appears Timbay-Pale, spelt 'Tambugala', to which there is only one reference in the index. de Queyroz speaks of Manicravare in Bk. 4, ch. 20.

Since 'San Thomé pitiya' at Colombo has become 'Gintumpitiya', might we not compare Timbay-Pale with the name 'Tomaypalli,' Thomas Church, at Cape Comorin? Cf. *infra*, Pt. VI. section 18.

the idea of Greek and Roman letters in that cave. To ridicule is easy. And it may be unpleasant for Mr. Pieris to have to grant that Greeks and Romans visited India and Ceylon almost as easily as Christians from India, Mesopotamia and Persia may have done in the first centuries of our era.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 20 (1852), p. 370 n., I find: "Remains of Roman buildings as well as coins have been discovered in Ceylon. In one instance of the latter they were mostly of the age of Antoninus"¹ There is no need of labouring the point of Roman coins found in Ceylon and India, chiefly South India.

Pieris has a note about the Hudos: "Suddo, 'Whites,' the somewhat contemptuous term still applied to Europeans." And he asks: "Are these Romans, whose coins were discovered by the Portuguese at Mantote in 1574, and which are still unearthened in great abundance, or Persians? In the sixth century Nuxirvam, King of Persia, sent a fleet to Ceylon. (Zinadim, p. XXVI)."²

Father de Queyroz doubtless had a copy of the writings of the Franciscan Friar Negrão.³ He took from him his information on Anuradhapura. Pieris writes: "Fr. Francisco Negrão found the 1,600 columns of the Lowa Maha Paya, and he speaks of a hundred 'pyramids,' varying in diameter from 50 to 100 *braças*,⁴ lying close by, and numerous tanks, one of which was twelve leagues round, with the entire circuit walled in. The great bunds of earth were, he says, lined with stones on the inner side, and there were conduits and outlets for the distribution of the water, which was conveyed by a channel to the lower lands. He also records a tradition that there was a separate *bayro*⁵ in the ancient capital for the Hudos or Whites, who traded in cinnamon, and who also maintained a beautiful park there."⁶

The *Mahavamsa*, X. 90, says that Pandukābhaya laid out "the ground set apart for the Yonas." "And in *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, I, viii, we read: 'Geiger says of the word *Yonasa-bhāgavathu* that its meaning is extremely doubtful. It would mean 'common dwelling-ground of the Yonas or Greeks.' It is not probable that four centuries B.C., already at Pandukābhaya's time, Greeks had settled in Ceylon, but the building erected by that king may afterwards have served as a dwelling-place for foreigners and may have got its name from that fact. (Geiger, *Mahavamsa* (Pali). Introduction, p. liv)."⁷

¹ Antoninus Pius: A.D. 138-161; M. Aurelius Antoninus: A.D. 161-180.

² Pieris, *Ceylon*, I. 562 n. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. vii.

⁴ Fathoms.

⁵ Ward; portion of a city.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. vii. Pieris takes this from de Queyroz, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Negrão's rare and valuable work is so far undiscovered. Cf. my article on *The authorship of the Portuguese MS. on Hindu Mythology*, in *Anthropos*, Vienna, 1907, pp. 272-274.

⁷ Note sent by the Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., Nallur, Jaffna District, 18-9-1926.

According to de Queyroz,¹ Laguna relates that, in the time of Pope Paul III (1534-49), there was found at Rome a stick of cinnamon (*hum pao de canela*) which had been kept from the time of Arcadius, son of Theodosius, 261 years after Claudius.²

In this connection, I find in a letter by Filippo Sassetti, Cochin, 6th January, 1587: "Amato Lusitano si crede che tutte le specie del cinnamomo scritte dagli antichi si possano ritrovare nella cassia d'India di Lisbona, quasi restassero i Portoghesi colpiti di poco diligenti, se nelle navigazioni loro (P. 188) all' Indie Orientali non si fosse scoperta una ricca cosa, chente è il cinnamomo. E se Andrea Laguna avesse creduto il medesimo, non avrebbe reputato che gli avesse donato colui, che gli diedi un pezzo di cinnamomo ritrovato, siccome egli dice, nella sepoltura di Maria sorella d'Onorio, e d'Arcadio scoperta nel Pontificato di Paolo III. Dice egli bene che in Venezia si ritrovessero tutte le spezie della cassa ligneae, ed alla costui opinione si accosta il nostro Mattiolo, e il Fuchsio a quella del Portoghese."³

5. Abū Zayd Ḥasan (c. A.D. 916) says of Sirandīb: "This island contains a multitude of Jews, and followers of other religions. In it there are also Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion."⁴ From Abū Zayd's silence about Christians, it is generally argued that there were no Christians in Ceylon at the time.

To this we answer that, at the end of the 9th century, there was a Bishop from Persia in Ceylon, as also in the Maldives and Sokotra. The information, derivable from Assemani, is not quoted in any book on Ceylon.

"The Metropolitan of Persia, formerly separate from the Archbishop of Seleucia, governed throughout Persia and in Great India, as we read about John in the Council of Nicea;⁵ between him and the Archbishop of Seleucia there was for a long time a dissension, which was appeased at first under George, and at last under Timothy. as I related above (p. 422) from Jesujab of Adjabene, Thomas of Marga, and Gregory Abulpharag. When, however, he submitted to the Primate of Seleucia, his power was restricted to certain limits, namely to Persia properly so called, Carmania, Arabia the Blest, and India. And in Persia (*supra*, p. 423 sqq.) are mentioned the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

² Claudius I.: A. D. 41-54; Arcadius: A. D. 395-408. The difference is not 261 years, but 341. Claudius II: A. D. 268-270.

³ *Lettere di Filippo Sassetti sopra i suoi viaggi nelle Indie Orientali dal 1578 al 1588*, Reggio, Torreggiani, 1844, pp. 187-188.

⁴ Cf. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān* . . ., Bossard, Paris, 1922, p. 119. I find this text attributed wrongly by Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar (*op. cit.*, p. 10) to the Arab merchant Sulaimān (c. 851). The mistake appears to have been made by Tennent, *Christianity*, p. 5, and to be frequently repeated.

⁵ A.D. 325.

Churches of Astachar, Sciraz, Siraph, Darabegerd, Sapor, and Cazerun; in Carmania, Hormuz; in Arabia, Socotora; in India, Serendib or the island of Seilan, which in the Table of Elias is wrongly called Marmadit.”¹

A little further, speaking of Ceylon, and after quoting Cosmas, Assemani writes again: “In the next century (*?sequiori aevo*: in later times?) a Bishop was at the head of Serendiba,² subject to the Metropolitan of Persia; what in the Table of Elias of Damascus (Tom. 2, p. 460 [of Assemani’s volumes]) is also written Marmadit, must be read Serendib, as we have shown above (p. 771).”³

When, however, we turn to the Table of Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus, we find among the Bishops subject to Persia: “the Bishop of Siran, the Bishop of Marmadit, the Bishop of Socotora.”⁴ This gives us three places, each with a Bishop.

Is not Ceylon mentioned here under Siran, instead of Silan, as the Syrians generally wrote it?⁵ And should not Marmadit, evidently a place different from Siran or Ceylon, be taken as a corrupt rendering of ‘Maldives’, the *dīt* of ‘Marmadit’ standing for *dīb*, *div*, (Sanskrit: *dvīpa*; Pali, *dīpa*), ‘island’?⁶ Elias’ list would have in this way three Bishops, each in charge of an island or group of islands. There is no other place-name than the Maldives to fit Marmadit. Marco Polo (c. A.D. 1293) speaks of a Bishop in the Islands of Males and Females, subject to Sokotra, and of an Archbishop in Sokotra subject to Bagdad. We can therefore now identify Marco Polo’s Islands of Males and Females with the Maldives.

Elias of Damascus wrote in A.D. 893.⁷

Renaudot translates Abū Zayd thus: “In this Island there are a great many Jews as well as many different sects, even (*sogar*) Tanuis or Manicheans, as the king allows full liberty of religion to each.”⁸ ‘Or Manicheans’ is an addition by Renaudot. Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, IV. 179) takes the liberty to add ‘or rather Nestorians’ to Renaudot’s ‘or Manicheans.’ Germann contends that the word *Tanui* means dualist, comprising Manicheans and Parsis, but scarcely ever Nestorians. For the meaning of *Tanui* he refers us to Ash Sharastāni’s work on reli-

¹ *Bibl. Orient.*, Tom. III, Pars II, p. 771.

² Ceylon.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 778.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Tom. II, p. 460.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Tom. III, Pars I, p. 594.

⁶ ‘Majapahit’ (Java) would seem to stand for Mahā-Jawā-dwīpa, *hit* representing *dwīpa*. Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 255.

⁷ Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. cexliv. My notes from Assemani do not show when Elias wrote.

⁸ Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, Paris 1718; quoted through Germann.

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, I, 10, translates Abū Zaid thus: “There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion.” He also refers to Jaubert’s *Idrisi*, p. 71.

gious sects and philosophic schools (A.D. 1086-1153),¹ where the Thanawīja, distinguished from the Magi and the Christians, are divided into Mānawīja (Manicheans), Mazdakīja, and Dais-zānīja or followers of Bardesanes. Germann admits therefore Manicheans in Ceylon, but is not disposed to regard Manikka Vāsakar of Mylapore and Malabar as a Manichean.² However that may be, it is scarcely possible, I think, to explain the word *thanawī* as meaning Zoroastrian, and not Manichean, in the case of the vast numbers far away in the interior of North India who opposed such valiant resistance to Timur, committing self-destruction like the Rajputs rather than surrender.³

6. When Al Idrīsī, writing about A.D. 1154, states that the King of Ceylon, "had sixteen viziers, four being natives, four Mussulmans, four Christians and four Jews,"⁴ it is argued that this cannot be correct, as Idrīsī never visited Ceylon or India. Let me only observe that Josephus Indus (c. A.D. 1502) says something similar of the King of Calicut. In the palace "of the Zamorin at Calicut are four large halls, one for Hindus, one for Mahomedans, one for Jews, and one for Christians."⁵

7. It is contended that Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone, and John de' Marignolli say nothing of Christians in Ceylon. John de' Marignolli has, however, a most curious account of Ceylon, or Adam's Peak, or a place beyond, as the Terrestrial Paradise,⁶ of its four rivers,⁷ of Adam and Eve and Seth in Ceylon,⁸ of Adam's dungeon and his footprint on Adam's Peak,⁹ of the city of Cain at Kotte,¹⁰ of the deluge not felt at Adam's house or Adam's Peak,¹¹ of monks calling themselves children of Adam.¹² All this, though partly derived from Buddhist monks, appears to me pre-Muhammadan, and therefore possibly derived from Christians, Gnostics or Manicheans, or even from pre-Christian Jewish notions.

Some of the legends recorded by John de' Marignolli existed still when the Portuguese arrived.

¹ Edited by Haarbrucker, Halle, 1850.

² Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-110. Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 119, has 'Manichéens.'

Prof. W. Ivanow is of opinion that *thanawī* (*sanawī*, etc.) means dualists, Zoroastrians and Manicheans, but never Christians. "The Muhammadans confound sometimes the Zoroastrians with the Jews, because the Zoroastrians, to be among the religions exempted by the Koran from certain taxes, make the Muhammadans believe that Zoroaster was Abraham." (*Note of Calcutta, 20-9-1926, to myself.*)

³ Cf. my extracts from Wilford on the Manicheans in India in *Mem. A.S.B.*, III. 695-697, and my n. 2 at p. 697 *ibid.*, where I refer to Elliot, *Hist. of India*, s. v. Gabrs, Magi (*Sanawīya*) and Sālūn.

⁴ Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵ Cf. V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, II. 150.

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 358; 360-365.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 344; 346-351, 360.

⁸ On Seth, *ibid.*, II. 365.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 353; 358.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 369.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 359.

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 359-360; 367-369.

"One of the documents which I have," says de Queyroz, "states that in the books of Ceylaõ it is related that this Peak [Adam's Peak] was not covered during the deluge of Noë, because, as the waters rose, it too kept rising¹. . . . And, if it is true that in the time of Constantine the Great, the tomb of Seth was opened, and that in it was found this inscription: 'Christ shall be born of a Virgin; I believe in him; in the time of Constantine and Irene, O Sun, thou shalt see me again,' and that the bones were those of a Giant. . . . they said, according to the opinion of the Moors, that there [in Ceylon] was the Terrestrial Paradise, this deceit being increased by the Holy name of that Mountain and by the fertility of that Island, . . . and chiefly by the similarity of the four Rivers which issued from Paradise, as also from this mountain, no such resemblance being found [anywhere else] in the world."² de Queyroz gives even the names of these paradisaic rivers in Ceylon: Maueuilinga, Santoçe Ganga, Iacaganga, Calâne (a river passing half a league from Colombo) or Guïdurê (a river different from Calâne).

Some of Tennent's recondite researches on the subject of Ceylon as the Terrestrial Paradise and the footprint of Adam on Adam's Peak, ought to find room here. We have a sneaking suspicion that the Buddhist literature of Ceylon has not been immune from borrowing in many directions for its Buddha from Christian books and traditions and our apocrypha.

"Fabricius, in the supplemental volume of his *Codex Pseudepigraphi veteris Testamenti*, Hamb., A.D. 1723, says: "Samarita, Genesis, VIII. 4, tradit Noae arcam requievisse super mnotem τῆς Serendib sive Zeylan" (p. 30). . . .

"There is another work in which "Sarandib" does appear in the verse alluded to. Pietro della Valle, in that most interesting letter in which he describes the manner in which he obtained at Damascus, in A.D. 1616, a MS. of the Pentateuch on parchment in the Hebrew language, but written in Samaritan characters, relates that along with it he procured *another* on paper, in which not only the letters, but the language was Samaritan—"che non solo è scritto con lettere Samaritane, ma in lingua anche propria de' Samaritani, che è un misto della Ebraica e della Caldea." *Viaggi*, etc., Lett. da Aleppo, 15. di Giugno, A.D. 1616.

"The first of these two manuscripts is the Samaritan Pentateuch; the second is the Samaritan version of it. The author and age of the second are alike unknown; but it cannot, in the opinion of Frankel, date earlier than the second century, or a still later period. (Davison's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. I, ch. XV, p. 242.) Like all ancient targums, it bears in some particulars the character of a paraphrase; and amongst other departures

from the original Hebrew, the translator, following the example of Onkelos and others, has substituted modern geographical names for some more ancient, such as *Gerizim* for mount Ebal (Deut. XXVII. 4), *Paneas* for Dan, and *Ascalon* for Gerar; and in the 4th verse of the VIIIth chapter of Genesis he has made the ark rest 'upon the mountains of Sarandib.' Onkelos [P. 552] in the same passage has *Kardu* in place of Ararat. See Walton's *Polyglot*, vol. I, p. 31; Baston, *Bibl. Dict.*, 1847, vol. I, p. 71. . . .

"There is another manuscript, written on bombycine, in the Bodleian Library, No. 345, described as an Arabic version of the Pentateuch, written between the years 884 and 885 of the Hejra, A.D. 1479 and 1480, and ascribed to Aba Said, son of Abul Hassan; 'in eo continetur versio Arabica Pentateuchi quæ ex textu Hebræico-Samaritano, non ex versione illa quæ dialecto quadam peculiari Samaritanis quondam vernacula scripta est.'—Cat. Orient. MSS., vol. I, p. 2. In this MS. also the word Sarendip, instead of Ararat, occurs in the passage in Genesis descriptive of the resting of the ark."¹

"The footprint on Adam's Peak was said by the Brahmans to be the footprint of Siva; by the (P. 138) Buddhists, of Buddha; by the Chinese, of Foë; by the Gnostics, of Jeû; by the Mahometans, of Adam, whilst the Portuguese authorities were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas and the Eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia."²

"In the Buddhist annals, the sojourn of Buddha in Ceylon, and the impression of the *sri-pada*, his sacred foot-mark left on departing, are recorded in that portion of the *Mahawanso* which was written by Mahanaama prior to B.C. 301."³

"The Chinese traveller, Fa-Hian, who visited Ceylon, A.D. 413, says that two foot-marks of Foë were then venerated in

¹ Sir James Tennent, *Ceylon*, London, 1 (1859), pp. 551-552 n. 1.

² Cf. Tennent, *op. cit.*, II. 132-133.

"... De Couto pleads more earnestly in favour of St. Thomas, "nos parece que poderá ser do bemaventurado Apostolo S. Thomé", because it appears that, in the time of the Portuguese, there was a stone in a quarry at Colombo with the mark of the knees of this Saint, and closely resembling a similar indentation on a rock at Meliapore, and believed to be equally the physical result of his devotions. The rock at Meliapore is described by Andrea Corsali, in his letter to Julian de Medicis, 5th January 1515; what stone at Colombo, De Couto means, is not easy to conjecture, as no such relic is to be found there at present; but possibly he may allude to the alleged existence of a footprint at Kalany, which however is supposed to be covered by the waters of the river. (De Couto, *Asia &c.*, dec. V, lib. VI, ch. ii)." (*Ibid.*, n. 5.)

³ *Ibid.*, II. 133.

"In the work edited by Wagenfeldt in 1837, professing to be the Phœnician history of Sanchoniathon in the Greek version of Philo, allusion is made to the footsteps of Bauth (Buddha) still extant in Ceylon, ἡς καὶ ἔχθος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν" Sanchoniathon, lib. VII, ch. 12, p. 162. (*Ibid.*, II. n. 6.)

the island, one on the sacred mountain, and the second toward the north of the island.¹

"Strange to say, the origin of the Mahometan tradition as to its being the footstep of Adam, is to be traced to (P. 135) a Christian source. In framing their theological system, the Gnostics, who, even during the lifetime of the Apostles, corrupted Christianity by an admixture of the mysticism of Plato,² assigned a position of singular pre-eminence to Adam, who, as "*leû, the primal man*," next to the "*Noos*" and "*Logos*," was made to rank as the third emanation from the Deity. Amongst the details of their worship they cultivated the veneration for monumental relics: and in the precious manuscript of the fourth century, which contains the Coptic version of the discourse on "Faithful Wisdom"³ attributed by Tertullian to the great gnostic heresiarch Valentinus. there occurs the earliest

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 133. "No second original footstep of Buddha is now preserved in Ceylon, although models of the great one are shown at the Alu Wihara, at Cotta, and at other temples on the island; but a *sripala* is said in the sacred book to be concealed by the waters of the Kalany-ganga. Reinaud conjectures, from the distance at which Fa Hian places it to the north, that the second alluded to by him must have been situated in Madura.—*Notes to Fa Hian*, p. 342." (*Ibid.*, II. 133 n. 2.)

de'Marignolli says that the angel put down Eve on another mountain than Adam, "some four short days' journey distant," but he does not speak of a second footprint. (Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 353.) de Queyroz places the second footprint in Maritu-mandlo (mandalam) on the opposite coast of Tuticorin (p. 29).

Yule argues that de'Marignolli did not visit the top of Adam's Peak. Does the Friar thank God for having given him a glimpse of it only? Or for having seen it from afar on a clear day, which was rarely the case? (Cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, II. 358.) The measurements which he took of the footprint with a Saracen pilgrim from Spain do not, says Yule, correspond to the reality. The Latin MS. used by Dobner and Yule may have dropped some words at this place; for what de'Marignolli gives as the length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ palms (Yule, II. 353), corresponds to the breadth in de Queyroz (p. 29). de Queyroz mentions: 1. two chains and ropes used in the ascent; 2. a bell, half-way, which the pilgrims strike; 3. two tanks full of cobras, one containing more than 6,000; 4. at the top, a level space, 150 paces long and 110 paces broad; 5. in the middle of this a footprint, 6 palms by $2\frac{1}{2}$; 6. a cave reeking with candles and oil; 7. earth and bits of stone carried away as relics; 8. the mountains and trees inclined towards the Peak (pp. 28-29). de'Marignolli has 4 and 5; also next in order after Adam's footprint: 9. a statue of a sitting figure with the left hand on the knee, and the right hand raised and extended westwards; 10. Adam's house, or dungeon, oblong, quadrangular, of great tabular stones one above another, with a door in the middle; 11. a great fountain, full of the precious stones of Adam's tears. (Yule, II. 360-367.) Odoric speaks of a level plain with a lake formed by the tears of Adam and Eve, and full of precious stones and leeches (Yule, II. 98-100). Marco Polo has the chains and the sepulchre of Adam. (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 298-301.) Cp. Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II. 117-119.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. XV. XII. XLVII.—*Sir J. E. T.*

³ *Ἡ Πιστὴ Σοφία*. MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 5114. A Latin translation by Schwartz of this unique manuscript (probably one of the most ancient in existence) was published in Berlin, 1851, under the title *Pistis Sophia*.

recorded mention of the sacred footprint of Adam.¹ The Saviour is there represented as informing the Virgin Mary that he has appointed the spirit Kalapataaroath as guardian over the footstep (*skemmut*) 'impressed by the foot of Ieû, and placed him in charge of the books of Ieû, written by Enoch in Paradise.'²

"The Gnostics, in their subsequent dispersion under the persecution of the emperors, appear to have communicated to the Arabs this mystical veneration for Adam³ as the great protoplast of the human race; and in the religious code of Mahomet. Adam, as the pure creation of the Lord's breath, takes precedence as the *Ewel'ul-enbiya*, 'the greatest of all patriarchs and prophets,' (P. 136) and the Kalifé y-Ekber, 'the first of God's vicegerents upon earth.'⁴ The Mahometans declare that, on his expulsion from Paradise, Adam passed many years in expiatory exile upon a mountain in India⁵ before his reunion with Eve on Mount Arafath, which overhangs Mecca. As the Koran,⁶ in the passages in which is recorded the fall of Adam, makes no mention of the spot at which he took up his abode on earth, it may be inferred that, in the age of Mahomet, his followers had not adopted Ceylon as the locality of the sacred footstep;⁷ but when the Arab seamen, returning from India, brought home accounts of the mysterious relic on the summit of *Al-rahoun*,⁸ as they termed Adam's Peak, it appears to

The passage adverted to above is as follows: Et posui *Καλαπαταρανωθ αρχοντα super skemmut in quo est pes Ieû*, et iste circumdat *αιωνας* omnes et *ειμαρμενας*. Illum posui custodientem libros Ieû," &c., p. 221. In previous passages Ieû is described as "primus homo."—*Sir J. E. T.*

¹ The Pistis Sophia, an Ophite or Gnostic work, is possibly of the second century. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 75-76.

² Schwartze has left the Coptic word *skemmut* untranslated, but Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* for September, 1846, p. 176, renders it by "footstep," trace.—*Sir J. E. T.*

³ Adam was not the only scriptural character whose footsteps were venerated by the Mahometans. Ibu Batuta, early in the 14th century, saw at Damascus "The Mosque of the foot," on which there is a stone, having upon it the print of the foot of Moses. Ibn Batuta, ch. V, p. 30. Lee's transl.—*Sir J. E. T.*

⁴ D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 68.—*Sir J. E. T.*

⁵ Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus*, vol. II, p. 20.—*Sir J. E. T.*

⁶ Sale's *Al-Koran*, ch. II, p. 5; ch. VII, p. 117.—*Sir J. E. T.*

⁷ Yet, Mr. Duncan, in a paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, containing *Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar*, mentions a native chronicle, in which it is stated that a Pandyan, who was "contemporary with Mahomet," was converted to Islam by a party of dervishes on their pilgrimage to Adam's Peak (Vol. V, p. 9).—*Sir J. E. T.* Among the Mackenzie MSS. summarised in *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* some refer to the last Chera Perumal's disappearance. Two, emanating from Muhammadans, make him go to Mecca (*ibid.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 339: 343-344). A Christian version makes him die at Mylapore near St. Thomas' tomb. (Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, l. 10, c. 10.)

⁸ Rohuna or Rohana was the ancient division of the island in which Galle is situated, and from which Adam's Peak is seen. Hence the name Al Rahoun, given by them to the mountain.—*Sir J. E. T.*

have fixed in the minds of their countrymen the precise locality of Adam's paradise. The most ancient Arabian records of travel that have come down to us mention the scene with solemnity;¹ but it was not till the tenth century that Ceylon became the established resort of Mahometan pilgrims, and Ibn Batuta, about the year 1340, relates that at Shiraz he visited the tomb of the Imam Abu-Abd-Allah, who first taught the way to Serendib."²

Considering that the Arabs were seamen before Muhammad, may they not have known and venerated the Peak as Adam's Peak long before Muhammad? There were Christians in Ceylon who could associate with the Peak the name of Adam through Jewish and Gnostic leanings, and Arabia was largely Christian before Muhammad. The Arab merchant Sulaimān (c. A.D. 851) speaks of Mount Rahūn in Ceylon, on which Adam was cast when ejected from Paradise, and of the impression of his foot on the summit, his other foot resting on the sea, which may have led to that other name, Adam's Bridge, between Ceylon and India.

8. Sir John de Maundeville is understood by some to say of Silha or Ceylon that there "dwellen gode folke and reasonable, and manye Christene men amonges them that ben so riche, that thei wyte not what to done with their godes."³

"I take no account," says Emerson Tennent, "of Sir John Maundeville (the author, as Cooley says, of the most unblushing volume of lies ever offered to the world), who professes to have visited Ceylon between 1332, when he set out for St. Albans, and 1366, when he returned to Liege, where he died. He professes to have visited India and China, but his book bears internal evidence that he never wandered further east than Jerusalem. His pretended description of Ceylon is borrowed from Marco Polo, and Odoric of Portenau."⁴

Does the quotation from Sir John de Maundeville refer to

¹ Soleyman and Abou-Zeyd. See Reinaud's *Voyages Arabes et Persans dans le IX^e siècle*, vol. I, p. 5. Tabari, "the Livy of Arabia," who lived in the 9th century, describes the descent of Adam on Serendib. See Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 35.—*Sir J. E. T.*

² "C'est lui qui enseigna le chemin de la montagne de Serendib dans l'île de Ceylan." Ibn Batuta, t. 2, p. 79. Gildemeister, in the commentary prefixed to his *Scriptores Arabi*, says Abu Abdallah ben khalif, "doctor inter Cūfios clarissimus," died anno Hej. 331, 14th Sept. 942, A.D. (p. 54).—*Sir J. E. T.*

³ Cf. *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt., which treateth of the way to Hierusalem; and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Islands and Countryes*. Now published entire from an original MS. 300 years old. 1727, ch. xxx (London, 1866, edn. O. J. Halliwell), p. 364.

⁴ Tennent, *Ceylon*, II. 630. Instead of "for St. Albans" read from St. Albans"; instead of "1366" read "1356." Most French versions have 1322 instead of 1332 in the prologue. See O. J. Halliwell in *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt.*, London, 1866, pp. lx; 4; 315. His journeys, he states, lasted 34 years (p. 315).

Ceylon? It does not come from his ch. 18, where he mentions the isle of Silha and copies Odoric (not Marco Polo). It comes from ch. 30 where there is question of Taprobane, the isles of Orille and Argute ("of which the land all is mines of gold and silver)," ¹ and of the Terrestrial Paradise.

Even if John de Maundeville had mostly copied William of Boldensele, Marco Polo and Odoric, does it follow that he deserves no credence where, as in the case of the text just quoted, he copies neither Polo nor Odoric, nor (as far as I know) William of Boldensele? He may be quoting some source to us unknown, and referring to Ceylon under the name of Taprobane. I find in John de Maundeville a legend about St. Thomas' right arm at Calamyne,² which no earlier traveller known to me has mentioned, but which later travellers, independently of him, have chronicled and fixed at Mylapore.³ This disposes me at least to look with more favour on the gallant knight.

In spite of the silence of so many, we might expect that there still existed Christians in Ceylon as late as 1350; say Syrian, Armenian and Chaldean Christians, merchants in cinnamon and precious stones. From whom did John de' Marignolli obtain his legends about Ceylon? Only from Muhammadans, foreigners too? From Buddhist priests? Why not also from some Christians?

9. Pieris published in the *Ceylon R.A.S. Journal*, Vol. 28, the picture of a woman and child which he labelled Isis and Horus. May it not be the Madonna and Child?⁴ A terracotta image of what appears to be the Virgin and Child was excavated a few years ago at Rhages, near Teheran, and came into the possession of the Oriental Secretary of the British Legate at Teheran. It is believed to be a sixth century portrayal of the Virgin and Child. The chief figure has her hands resting on her knees, while the Infant reclines in the crook of her arm. Her head dress and jewels are elaborate. The work is not beautiful, but it is very rare, and is most important, as it goes to prove Christian missionary work in the Sassanian Empire before the advent of Islam in the seventh century.⁵

10. In 1926 I submitted to some scholars in Malabar

¹ Orille and Argute are the Chrysê and Argyrê of the Greek and Roman geographers, the *Suvarṇa dvîpa* and *Rûpya dvîpa*, or 'Golden and Silver Islands' of the Rāmāyaṇa and other Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Java.

² *Codex syriacus Musci Britannici*, 17,103, Fol. 30 (A.D. 874), says St. Thomas was killed at Qalimaia. Cf. Karl Heck, *Hat der hl. Apostel Thomas in Indien das Evangelium gepredigt?* p. 15. Where did Sir John get his spelling Calamyne for Calimina from? Rabanus Maurus also has Calamia. Cf. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 124, col. 823.

³ Cf. *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, Vol. xix (1923), pp. 153-236.

⁴ I have not been able to consult the *C.R.A.S. Journal*. It could not be found in Calcutta.

⁵ Cf. the London letter of June 1, 1922, in *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, June 28, 1922, p. 477.

Anquetil Du Perron's translation (A.D. 1758) of a document said to have been copied from a Malabar copper-plate, in which several families are declared to be set aside for the service of a church. The date of the document and its genuineness remain to be determined. Among these families are four families of Ceylon (of the Tive caste), and eight of Pujukkiars (other caste supposed to have come from Ceylon).¹ The story elicited by Anquetil about these Tives is that they came originally from Ceylon. The occasion was this. The King of Malabar having given as a maid-servant to a washerman the daughter of a carpenter, the carpenters, insulted, withdrew to Ceylon with the goldsmiths, founders, and locksmiths or blacksmiths. The King tried in vain to make them come back. At last, yielding to the request of Thomas Knaye (the 'Cananeo' of the Portuguese), they returned, bringing with them several families of Tives, who settled in Malabar.² The date of Thomas Knaye's coming to Malabar from Mesopotamia is generally supposed to be A.D. 345. This story still continues in Malabar. As the early Indian Christians appear to have been to a great extent composed of clever handicraftsmen, we may ask whether this exodus to Ceylon was one of Christians. Does a similar story survive on the Ceylon side? In Malabar the Tives, Pujukkiars (read: Ilakkaiyar), carpenters, goldsmiths, founders, and blacksmiths did not become Christians; they were under the patronage of the Christians and recognised no other authority than that of the Christians, in virtue, they said, of an order from Cheraman Perumal, the king of Malabar.

¹ A. Du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*. t. I, pt. I, p. clxxv. Mr. T. K. Joseph writes from Trivandrum (12-9-26) that Du Perron's 'Tives' are the Tiyas, literally inhabitants of the island (Skt. *dvīpa*). "There are Tiyas in British Malabar, and a similar community in Travancore and Cochin, called Ilavas (=people of Ilam, Ceylon) and Chōvas (men in, perhaps, military service). They are coconut-tree climbers, toddy-tappers, by profession and Hindus by religion."

² *Ibid.*, p. clxvi.

9. *Christians in the Maldives.*

Our enquiry about Christianity in the Maldives begins with the name of Theophilus the Indian. Our chief guides in this matter will be Mgr. Medlycott¹ and W. Germann.²

The Arian historian Philostorgius says of Theophilus that, when quite young, he had been sent as a hostage by the Divaei to the Romans, during the reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337). The island home of Theophilus is by the historian called *Διβοῦς* and the inhabitants *Διβηνῶν*, the Latin form of these names being *Diva* or *Divus*, and *Divaei* for that of the inhabitants.

Where was this island? Many identify it with the island of Diu on the Gujarāt peninsula,³ the name Diu representing the Sanskrit *dvīpa* (island); but the earliest reference Yule gives for Diu is of about A.D. 700, when it is spoken of by the Chinese annals as *Tiyu*.⁴

Yule would probably have placed the *Διβοῦς* and *Διβηνῶν* of Philostorgius in the Maldives. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary of Theophilus, wrote (c. A.D. 362) that, on the occasion of Julian the Apostate's accession, when, as the custom was, legations of border nations would have been sent to congratulate him, "Legations were coming in from everywhere earlier than usual; on the one hand, the nations across the Tigris and the Armenians asking for peace; on the other hand, the Indian nations sending before the time nobles with gifts, even from the Divi and Serendivi (*ab usque Divis et Serendivis*)."⁵ The Serendivi were the people of Ceylon; and, as Ammianus' object doubtless is to show that legates came from the extremities of India, even from the islands, we should think the Divi were islanders situated near the Serendivi. In other

¹ Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1906, pp. 188-202.

² Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* Gütersloh, 1877, pp. 67-98.

³ See some names in Germann, who follows their opinion (p. 75).

⁴ *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Diu. The Parsis landed there from Ormuz, when they fled from the persecutions of the Sassanides, and they remained there 19 years (A.D. 698-717). Cf. Germann, p. 76, quoting *J. Bombay A.S.*, 1842, p. 167 sq.

⁵ *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Ceylon and Maldives.—My notes show late traces of Christianity in Egypt, at Kosair, a harbour on the Red Sea. "From Quaquem, as far as Coçaer [Kosair], the land is inhabited by bands of Algarves, a people rich in horses, and most of them armed. Coçaer lies on the shores of the Red Sea; it is a large city, but depopulated, with old buildings of masonry, and ruins, churches having marks of crosses on the walls, and inscriptions in Greek letters, from which it appears that at some time or other it was inhabited by Christians." Cf. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso d'Albuquerque*, by Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 4, 1884, p. 38.

words they were the people of the Maldives. And so Yule understood the passage from Ammianus.¹

As late as 1610, Pyrard de Laval, who was for a considerable time detained in the Maldives after shipwreck, could write: "This kingdom is called in their language Malé-ragué, kingdom of Malé, and by the other peoples of India it is called Malé-divar, and the people *diues* [read: *dives*]. The chief island, as I have said, is called Malé and it gives its name to the rest; for the word *Diues* means a number of small clustered islands."²

The reason why Theophilus would have been sent as a hostage to the Romans was probably, as Mgr. Medlycott suggests, that the Romans had exacted hostages from the islanders to prevent their piratical depredations, and, we might add, their system of confiscating the many ships that at all times ran ashore on their reefs.³ At that time the Romans may still have had, not only considerable commercial dealings with Malabar by way of the Red Sea and, to a minor degree, by the Persian Gulf, but regular settlements of soldiers and merchants in Malabar.⁴

Theophilus received his education among the Romans. Baptised at Constantinople, which might mean that the Divaei were not Christians yet,⁵ he became a monk, was ordained a deacon by Eusebius (of Nicomedia, an Arian prelate?), and was sent as an Arian Bishop about A.D. 354,⁶ to convert the Homeritae (in Yemen). The King was converted and built three churches: one at Tapharon (Saphar, Taphar, Dhafar or Dhofar), another at the Roman emporium of Adane (Aden), and another "where the Persian emporium at the entrance to the Persian Gulf is situated." This is considered to have been Sohar, the ancient capital of Oman,

¹ McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 213, agrees with Yule. J. Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 957n. ² agrees with Medlycott to bring Theophilus from the Maldives.

³ *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Maldives.

⁴ As far back as the 13th century Sokotra too was a noted haunt of pirates. Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 403.

⁵ The Peutingerian Tables (c. A.D. 226) mention a temple of Augustus at Muziris (Cranganore). V. A. Smith, referring to *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 954, thinks that the massacre of Alexandria, perpetrated in 215 by Caracala, put an end to the direct trade between Alexandria and India.

⁶ Germann, pp. 69, 78.

⁷ Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 188, and in *Cath. Encycl.*, XIV. 679a. How did Medlycott obtain his "before 356," and "c. 354" for the beginning of Theophilus' mission? A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 357, gives the date 337-340. Heck, *op. cit.*, p. 29, says: "c. 350." F. Wilford writes in *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), p. 72: "He [Theophilus] thence [from India] returned to Antioch, according to Suidas, where he lived a long time highly respected. He accompanied Constantius Gallus into Germany, as far as Petavium, now Pettaw in Styria, in the year 354." The Emperor Constantius II. reigned from 337 to 361.

though some, with less reason, we think, suppose it was Ormuz.¹

After that, Theophilus revisited his native island, but we are not told what he effected there. "Thence he sailed to other parts of India and reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for they heard the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and did other things which were repugnant to the divine law; and, having reformed everything according to holy usage, as was most acceptable to God, he also confirmed the dogma of the Church."²

Mgr. Medlycott believed that the parts of India visited by Theophilus were Malabar, but not Ceylon, because Ceylon was well known to the Romans and Greeks as Serendiva and Taprobana, and because not until Cosmas (c. A.D. 535) do we hear of Christians in Ceylon. We might answer that Malabar is not mentioned either by name in Theophilus' travels and that Cosmas does not record that Christianity in Ceylon was not earlier than his time. We ought rather to conclude from his account that it was earlier.

From the story of Theophilus we cannot derive any proof about the existence of Christianity in his island home; but his travels, if they really brought him to our India, as is likely, would show there existed in Malabar or in other parts of India a resident congregation with services at which the Gospels were read, and therefore a ministering clergy, also the custom of sitting at the reading of the Gospel, a practice which Sozomen noticed at Alexandria, adding, "which I have neither seen nor heard done elsewhere."³

Whatever may have been the state of religion in the Maldives in Theophilus' time, we have proofs of some sort that Christians lived there at a later period and that they had a bishop.

1. In the Table of Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus,⁴ we find among the bishops subject to Persia: "the Bishop of Siran, the Bishop of Marmadit, and the Bishop of Socotora."⁵

¹ Germann's opinion is that Ormuz is meant (p. 81).

² They are represented as having held Arian views. Both Medlycott and Germann, who think that the Malabar Christians are designated, reject this.

³ Medlycott, p. 200, n. 1.

⁴ A.D. 893.

⁵ There was a Bishop in Sokotra in the time of Cosmas (c. 535). He writes: "And in the place of Kalliana there is a bishop appointed from Persia, as well as in the island which they call the Isle of Dioscoris in the same Indian Sea. The inhabitants of that island speak Greek, having been originally settled there by the Ptolemies who ruled after Alexander of Macedon. There are clergy there also, ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island, and a multitude of Christians. We sailed past the island, but did not land. I met however, with people from it who were on their way to Ethiopia, and they spoke Greek." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. clxxi-clxxii, or McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 165-166.

Siran is doubtless the Silan of the Syrians, the Seren(diva) of the Romans, or Ceylon.¹

The fact alone that two of the three Bishops here mentioned as subject to Persia were appointed to island sees, might make us conclude that the third was also bishop of an island. There remains the similarity between Marmadit and 'Maldives'. No place on the mainland of India will satisfy the similarity, and the spelling Marmadit will not suit any other island in the vicinity of Ceylon or Sokotra except the Maldives. The letters *l* and *r* are easily interchanged, and perhaps the texts of Elias' Tables might show a *v*, *b*, or *p*, instead of a *t*.² Assemani's correcting in two places Marmadit to Serendib falls to the ground. He overlooked the fact that Elias' Siran stood for Serendib, that three bishops are mentioned, and that the bishop of Marmadit comes between the bishop of Siran and the Bishop of Sokotra.³

2. In A.D. 880 the (Nestorian ?) Katholikos Enush sent a bishop to Sokotra; in the 11th century, Sbaryeshu' III. (1057-1072) ordained a bishop for the islands of the Indian Sea and another for Sokotra.⁴ In the light of what precedes and of what we shall still say, these islands of the Indian Sea, distinct from Sokotra, must have been the Maldives or Ceylon or both, rather than islands in the Persian Gulf.

3. We have a further proof in Marco Polo that the Maldives had Christians and a bishop, subject to the Archbishop of Sokotra. The passage we shall quote does not mention the Maldives by name; it speaks instead of two islands, one of Males and one of Females, but we shall show that these two islands were in the Maldive group, whatever be the value of the legends attached to them.

On Alexander and the Greeks fixed in Sokotra in order to get the monopoly of the aloe trade see Abû Zayd Hasan (c. 916) in G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaimân*, pp. 128-129. Descendants of these Christianised Greeks still lived in Sokotra in Abû Zayd Hasan's time. The other inhabitants were not of their religion.

¹ Bishop Jordanus of Séverac calls Ceylon Silen and Silen (Yule, *Mirabilia descripta*, 1863, pp. 28. 30); Al Birûni has Sarandîp (c. 1020); Mas'ûdi (c. 940) has Sarandîb. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Ceylon.

² Some form like Dhîbat-al-Mahal, used by Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1343), may account for the *t*. Edrisi (A.D. 1150) has Dîbajât. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Maldives. We have also Mahajapit for Maha-Jawa-dvîpa.

³ For Elias' Table see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, t. II, p. 460; for his erroneous corrections, see *ibid.*, t. III, pars II, p. dcclxxi and p. dcclxxviii. In the last place Assemani has a long list of old forms for the name Ceylon; he did not notice there, however, that Siran and Silan are identical.

Elias' table is the only authority I have found thus far for the existence of a bishop in Ceylon and Marmadit in or before the 9th century.

⁴ Cf. Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, II. 1141; quoted by Adrian Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, 1913, pp. 104-105, in his chapter on the Nestorian Church in the East. He mentions still (*ibid.*, p. 105) a certain Kyriakos (so called), Bishop of Sokotra, who was present at the ordination of

We read in Bk. 3, Ch. 31, of Marco Polo:—

“When you leave this kingdom of Kesmacoran,¹ which is on the mainland, you go by sea some 500 miles towards the south: and then you find the two Islands, Male and Female, lying about 30 miles distant from one another. The people are all baptized Christians, but maintain (P. 396) the ordinances of the Old Testament; thus, when their wives are with child, they never go near them till their confinement, or for forty days thereafter.

“In the Island however which is called Male, dwell the men alone without their wives or any other women. Every year, when the month of March arrives, the men will set out for the other Island, and tarry there for three months, to wit, March, April, May, dwelling with their wives for that space. At the end of those three months they return to their own Island, and pursue their husbandry and trade for the other nine months.

“They find on this island very fine ambergris. They live on flesh and milk and rice. They are capital fishermen, and catch a quantity of large sea-fish and these they dry, so that all the year they have plenty of food, and also enough to sell to the traders who go thither. They have no chief except a bishop, who is subject to the archbishop of another island, of which we shall presently speak, called Scotra.² They have also a peculiar language.

“As for the children which their wives bear to them, if they be girls, they abide with their mothers; but, if they be boys, the mothers bring them up till they are fourteen, and then send them to the fathers. Such is the custom of these two Islands. The wives do nothing but nurse their children and gather such fruits as their Island produces: for their husbands do furnish them with all necessities.”³

In Bk. 3, Ch. 32, Marco Polo says of Sokotra:—

(P. 398) “When you leave those two islands and go about 500 miles further towards the South, then you come to an Island called Scotra. The people are all baptized Christians; and they have an Archbishop..... (P. 399). Their Archbishop has nothing to do with the Pope of Rome, but is subject to the great Archbishop who lives at Baudas.⁴ He rules over the Bishop of that island, and over many other Bishops in those regions of the world, just as our Pope does in these... And you must know that in this Island there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practice to the best of his ability; but 'tis all to no purpose, for

Yaballaha III. at Bagdad in 1282 (Avril, *La Chaldée chrétienne*, p. 161). “The Indian see” in Fortescue, p. 105, is an evident misprint for “Indian Sea.”

¹ The coast of Mekran.

³ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 395-396.

² Sokotra.

⁴ Bagdad.

they insist that their forefathers followed it, and so must they also....."¹

Yule has collected with much patience and greater erudition curious information on the prevalence, in places far apart, of the legends of Islands of Males and Females. Whether the customs as related by Marco Polo correspond to real facts matters less. "Marco's statement that they [the two islands] had a bishop subject to the metropolitan of Socotra certainly looks as if certain concrete islands had been associated with the tale."² On this concrete ground we may safely take our stand. Had Yule known the evidence we have adduced about a bishop in the Maldives some centuries earlier, he would no doubt have placed the Islands of Males and Females in the Maldives or Laccadives, or in both. Even independently of that knowledge, Marco's description tallies with the Maldives and Laccadives better than with any other islands, and we shall see presently that, independently of it, W. Logan had come to the conclusion that the Maldives were in question.

The islands, says Marco, lay 500 miles south from the kingdom of Kismacoran, which Yule identifies confidently with the coast of Mekran; 500 miles further south was the island of Sokotra. The direction for Sokotra is wrong, but the statement that the Isles of Males and Females were as far from Mekran as from Sokotra is felicitous. A look at the map will show that the description can suit only the Laccadives and Maldives. Marco passed near these islands on his way from China to Persia, and it would be strange if his book, which mentions as many countries as possible, whether visited or not, even the island of Madagascar, did not notice these islands in some form or other. Our previous quotation about a bishop in the Maldives in the 9th century will remove all further doubt. The story connected with the islands ought not to trouble

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, II (1875), 398-399. We do not intend commenting on the pathetic story of Christianity in Sokotra. A whole volume of interesting accounts about the place could easily be compiled. We refer the curious to Yule's comments on Sokotra in his *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 396-400, and in his *Cathay* (s.v. Sokotra). There is an epistle extant from the Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus (A.D. 650-660) *ad episcopos Catarensiū*, which Assemani interprets of the Christians in Sokotra and the adjacent coasts of Arabia (III. 133). See Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 401.

W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 1, says he has written an article, *Das Christentum auf Socotra*, in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1874, pp. 227-258. This ought to be valuable, as Germann is an extremely careful writer. There are allusions to Sokotra in the letters of St. Francis Xavier; in *Oriente Conquistado*, in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, Florentiae, 1887, and Gouvea's *Jornada*, Coimbra, 1606, liv. 3, c. 9. 10. 12. Later Catholic missionary literature will disclose other expeditions to that unfortunate island, among them, I think, Launay's *Hist. des Missions de l'Inde*. The first Portuguese historians too contain valuable information for the 15th century, and St. Thomas' connection with the island: e.g. Correa, *Lendas*, t. I (Lisboa, 1858), 365, 658-659: A.D. 1506.

² Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 397.

us more than similar stories affixed to at least a score of other places. The Maldives, little frequented, little known, would have provided a suitable peg to hang a favourite tale on.

"Hwen T'sang's version of the legend agrees with Marco's in placing the Women's Island to the south of Persia. It was called the 'Kingdom of Western Women.' There were none but women to be seen. It was under Folin (the Byzantine Empire),¹ and the ruler thereof sent husbands every year; if boys were born, the law prohibited their being brought up. (*Vie et Voyages*, p. 218)."²

Though the customs of the Christians in the Maldives must have resembled closely those of the Christians of Ceylon and of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, I hardly think that any of the practices of the St. Thomas Christians would have led to applying to the Maldives the legend of the Islands of Males and Females. I may note, however, that at the time of their fasts Christian husbands in Malabar kept aloof from their wives. "On the days when they fast," writes a Jesuit Missionary about the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar in 1604, "they have the custom that married people keep separate: they do the same on the days of great festivities, and on the Wednesdays and Fridays of every week, when anciently they fasted."³ They fasted, he also observes, in Advent and in

¹ A reason the more, perhaps, to identify the Divai of Theophilus with the Maldivians.

² Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 397.

When we compare the account of the Queen of Saba in de' Marignolli and the position of women in her country, when we also consider that the Sabayo's traditions referred to Rum, the Georgians, Sava and the three Mugi Kings, we cannot feel sure that Huen Tsang does not allude to the Queen of Saba and her island. The Queen of Saba, says Marignolli, was the daughter, by a clandestine marriage in India, of Semiramis, wife of Ninus. "In her land," he continues, "women always, or for the most part, have held the government in place of women. And in the palace there I have seen historical pictures representing women seated on the throne, with men on bended knees adoring before them. And so also I saw that actually in that country the women sat in the chariots or on the elephant-chairs, whilst the men drove the oxen or the elephants." (Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 389.) The Patriarch of the Indies who went to Constantinople about A.D. 1122 complained of the loss of his prince by death. The emperor thereupon gave him one of his nobles to return with him to India. When this prince too happened to die on the journey, the Patriarch went back to Constantinople. Another noble was made to go with him, but died likewise. The Patriarch presenting himself a third time, the emperor would not give him another companion. Though the emperor of Constantinople had probably no relations with India at so late a date, may we not seek a link between the Ruhmis of India, Rum (Constantinople), and the Römogryis of the Katholikos still sent by Antioch to India about A.D. 1145? Cf. *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, N.S., XIX (1923), pp. 183; 185.

³ Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS., 9853, fol. 532 (ink) v, or 93 (pencil) v: "Nos dias de ieitũ tẽ por costume estarẽ os casados afastados; o mesmo fasẽ nos dias de gr.des festiuidades, e nas quartas, e sextas de cada somana, nas quaes antigam.te tamẽ ieitãuaõ."



St. Thomas' Mount Church.—Painting on wood representing St. Thomas' martyrdom (17th Century ?). Cf. p. 44, No. 57.



St. Thomas' Mount. Hill Church. Armenian oil-painting on cloth, showing St. Thomas' martyrdom. Cf. p. 48, No. 65.

Lent, which latter began on Quinquagesima Sunday, "though now they begin it on the Monday."¹

These considerations will, however, appear superfluous. The legends of the men and women living apart is as old as Palladius' account of the Brahmans. We find it in the *Mahābhārata*. It shifted from place to place and ramified into the story of the Amazons. It was known in America when Columbus landed.² A few quotations will suffice in proof.

Friar Jordanus writes before A.D. 1330: "Between this India [India Tertia, with him East Africa] and India the Greater [of which Malabar forms part in Jordānus] are said to be islands of women only and of men only, such that the men cannot live long in the islands of the women and *vice versā*. But they can live there for some X or XV days and cohabit; and when the women produce male children, they send them to the men, and when female children they retain them."³ Friar Jordanus says nothing about Mesopotamian bishops in India, whether the Maldives, Sokotra, Ceylon, or even Malabar.

Nicolo de' Conti (ante 1437), who was for two months at Sokotra among its Nestorian Christians, says that 5 miles from Sokotra and opposite to it, are two islands, 100 miles apart, in one of which live the men, in the other the women.⁴

We read in Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who was at Samarkand in 1403-04: "Fifteen days from the city of Samarkand, in the direction of China, there is a land inhabited by Amazons, and to this day they continue the custom of having no men with them, except at one time of the year, when they are permitted by their leaders to go with their daughters to the nearest settlements, and have communication with men, each taking the one who pleases her most, with whom they live and eat, and drink, after which they return to their own land. If they bring forth daughters, they keep them; but they send the sons to their fathers. These women are subject to Timour Beg; they used to be under the emperor of Cathay, and they are Christians of the Greek Church. They are of the lineage of the Amazons who were at Troy when it was destroyed by the Greeks."⁵

4. Other arguments to uphold the existence of Christian-

¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 532 (ink) r.

² Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), pp. 396-398.

³ Cf. Yule, *Mirabilia descripta*, p. 44.

⁴ Cf. R. H. Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, pp. 20-21.

⁵ Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand*, A.D. 1403-6. London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, p. 175; quoted from Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I. 265-266.

P. Bergeron, *Relation des voyages en Tartarie*, Paris, 1634, pp. 348-349, where, according to Friar de Plano Carpini, during an expedition of Chingiz Khan near Burutabeth (Baṛā Tibet, Great Tibet?) the women said that the women alone had human form, the men being born in the shape of dogs.

Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., heard the story of the Amazons on the west side of the Khaibar Pass. (*Mem. A.S.B.*, III. 614.)

ity in the Maldives are contained in an article by W. Logan in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Febr. and March 1889, pp. 197-307). I read the article while at Mylapore in 1921, where I found a copy of it which had been presented to Mgr. Medlycott by the author. I should have thought better of it, if I had by then discovered Elias' Marmadit. I took no notes. Among Mgr. Medlycott's papers I found two letters by W. Logan¹ which embodied his arguments. These I transcribed, and I copy them here in part.

In a letter of W. Logan, Heatheryhaugh, Moffat, N. B. (June 18, 1906), to Mgr. Medlycott, after the appearance of the latter's book on St. Thomas, I find:

"There is connected with it [Medlycott's argument in favour of Theophilus' Diva being the Maldives] a point which I think will interest you—and that is—the Island of Minicoy was, I am persuaded, at one time Christian, and ruled by a Bishop, who was subject to Socotra.

"I embodied my views on this subject in two articles which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* (February and March, 1889, pp. 197-307)." "And the late Sir Henry Yule, the editor of *Marco Polo*, was good enough to write to me (March 13th, 1889), after reading the articles 'with great pleasure and interest': 'I should at least accept as highly probable that the belief' (about the existence of Male and Female Islands, cf. *Marco Polo*, 2nd edn., vol. II, p. 375) 'which may have existed as a floating legend, had attached itself to Minicoy.' He hoped 'to digest a note on the subject when more capable'; but that time never came: for he died within the year, to the great regret of a large circle of friends.

"Now, the importance of the fact that Minicoy was at one time Christian, as bearing on the St. Thomas legends, is that here was a stepping-stone—a connecting link—between the Christians of Socotra and the Christians of Malabar, and moreover *this stepping-stone was on the direct trade-route between the Red Sea and India and Ceylon*. So much, indeed, does this lie in the way of the Steamships nowadays that the Trinity House Brethren have of recent years erected a fine lighthouse at its S.W. corner. The island lies in the direct route from Aden to Colombo and divides the 8° and 9° Channels. The 9° Channel was, up to near the end of the 18th century, known as 'Mammali's Channel,' from the fact that Mammâlî, the Chieftain of Cannanore, infested that channel with his ships and levied heavy toll on unprotected merchantmen. The situation of the island lent itself to this preying on commerce, and one

¹ For 20 years in the Madras Civil Service on the Malabar Coast, in various offices: Collector of Malabar, British Resident for a short time in Travancore and Cochin, etc., the author of *Malabar*, 3 vols., Madras Government Press, 1887-91.

can understand how Constantine the Great may have required hostages (p. 190 of your book) from the islanders for good conduct. Was Theophilus an inhabitant of Minicoy?

"You will find other references to Minicoy in *Malabar*, Vol. I, p. 262 (Hwen Thsang's description of the Island of women); Vol. I, pp. 283-288 (Marco Polo's account of it); Vol. II, pp. cclxxv-cclxxxviii (a general account of the Malabar Laccadives and Minicoy); Vol. II, pp. cccii-cccvii (a special chapter on Minicoy itself).

"The connection between the Maldives and the Cannanore chieftain seems to have commenced about the end of the 12th century; but probably the connection did not become permanent until Valiya Mammāli's (the Great—*Valiya*—Muhammad Āli's) time, about 1364-65. See *Malabar*, Vol. I, p. 360, footnote."¹

On July 11, 1906, W. Logan returned to the subject of Christianity in Minicoy, after receiving the Bishop's answer of June 30, 1906.

"I am very gratified to receive your letter of 30th June, and I am now sending you (separately) a bound-up copy of my paper in *Blackwood* about 'Minicoy, the Island of Women.' I have also copied on the fly-leaf the late Sir Henry Yule's letter to me of March 13th, 1889, and it will give you a correct impression of how the evidence struck him. I waited patiently for that note he hoped to digest on the subject, but it never came.

"Now you will see that the evidence in favour of Minicoy—a Maldivian island, be it noted—having been at one time Christian rests:—

1. If you grant that the Island of Women was really Minicoy, on the statement of Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese traveller (A.D. 629-645), that it was "sous la dépendance du royaume de Folin" (Byzantine Empire).

2. On Marco Polo's (A.D. 1292-93) specific declaration that the Islanders were "baptized Christians" maintaining Old Testament ordinances, subject to the Archbishop of Socotra.

"And the probability that it was really Christian, like Socotra, is increased by the fact that it lay almost on the track of the merchant vessels plying, as Pliny (whom I quoted to you in my previous letter) says they did in the first century A.D., from Ocelis to Muziris (Cranganore). Just take a map of that ocean and verify the fact that the vessels were bound to touch occasionally at both Socotra and Minicoy. Note also the fact, vouched for by Pliny, that this route enabled the merchant ships to make the voyage both to and from India within the twelvemonth.

¹ W. Logan goes on to insist that the trade-routes between the Red Sea and India have an important bearing on the question of how Christianity came to Malabar.

"With a profit of 10,000 p.c. (as Pliny says) on the venture—he says the goods brought home fetched 100 times what they cost in India—it was well worth their while to find the shortest route."

5. According to the Rev. W. Taylor, one of the Mackenzie MSS. states as follows: "He (Cheruman Perumal) was 40 years old when he went away [to Mecca]; and his instructions to be observed during his absence are given. He died on his return; only his companion reached Kerala, who turned the family of Cheruman Perumal to the Mahommedan faith, and styled the son of the late king Sultan Mahomed Ali. This was in 'Hegira 64.' A list of descendants follows with Mahommedan names, sixteen in number, and then two female rulers. Certain Feringhis (foreigners) came in the year 359 ("Hegira" supposed) and fought with the Mahommedans in the Maldives islands, *turning some of the people to the foreign religion*: in consequence of which aid was sought by the Mahommedans, the leading men among whom came to Cannanore in a dhoney; and an agreement being ratified and recorded on copper-plates, aid was sent; the foreigners were extirpated, and the power restored to the Mahommedans. They were subject to the Cannanore rulers; but one or two among the island chiefs assumed independence, leading to wars and interventions. This notice of the Maldives is introduced as belonging to the time of Isar Bokhar, in the year 455...."¹

Perhaps, because the body of a king was said to have been exhumed near the grave of St. Thomas in 1521-23, did do Couto learn that it was the body of Cheraman Perumal, converted by St. Thomas, who had gone to die at Mylapore, near St. Thomas' grave. Others would have it that it was the Cheraman Perumal of the time of Thomas Cana, whose arrival in Malabar is generally dated A.D. 345. The Muhammadans have made of Cheraman Perumal a convert of theirs, who went to Mecca and died in Arabia. They even said they knew his grave, and that it had an inscription. They could not however find it, when they were challenged to do so. The Hindus say of Cheraman Perumal that he was a S'ivaite who was taken up to heaven. All three classes claim the last Cheraman Perumal as one of their faith.

If Sultan Muhammad Ali is the great (Valiya) Muhammad Ali, he was alive in A.D. 1364, not in Hijri 64.

The arrival of foreigners, here called Firingis, in the Maldives in Hijri 354 is puzzling. They tried to impose their religion, it is said, which, we must conclude, the Muhammadans settled in the island resented. Who were these foreigners?

¹ Cf. Taylor's summary of a Tamil (?) manuscript book, No. 16 (counter-mark not legible), section 2, the original MS. in the possession of "the lady of Cannanore" being called improperly *Kerala Utpati*. (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, VII (1838), pp. 338-339.)

Were they Christians from Malabar? Did they come to the help of their Christian brethren against the Muhammadans, perhaps apostates, and try to make Christians of the latter? Why should they be called Firingis, when the name Nasrani lay much nearer? Because their religion came near to that of the Franks? Surely, we do not expect the Chinese or other foreigners, intent on conquest, to have been called Firingis at that time.

The Maldives produce the *kauris*, the small coin of India and of the further East. They were a nest of pirates preying on the trade passing to and from the Red Sea. For a mercantile community they were worth holding. Such a community was that of the Christians of Malabar, who still had the monopoly of the pepper-trade and commanded the steel-yard at Quilon, Cranganore and Mylapore in the 13th and 14th centuries. These Christians must have had their own ships. There is some evidence that they had their own ships and visited East Africa, when the Portuguese came.

The expulsion of the foreigners I understand, took place in Hijri 455. These dates are mysterious. I do not know who is Isar Bokhar.

Arakanese from Chittagong, among whom there must have been Firingis, made a descent on the Maldives, c. 1607, to take the guns of a wrecked ship, but were driven off. Pyrard de Laval, a French Huguenot, who had been long detained in the islands after shipwreck, was delivered on that occasion. The dates are, however, hopelessly apart.

Why did the Kollatiri Rajas and even the Muhammadan Ali, chief of Cannanore, try to connect themselves with Cheraman Perumal? Had Cheraman Perumal reigned as far north as Cannanore? He may have, if the Calicut Raja too, as tradition says, held his dominions from him. Cannanore was once the capital of the Kollatiri Raja, the chief rival of the Zamorin, and became an important emporium of trade with Persia and Arabia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from which time dates the rise of the family of the Ali Rajas, or Sea Kings, of Cannanore. Their origin is uncertain; but tradition assigns the foundation of the family to a Nayar minister of the Kollatiri Raja, who was converted to Islam about the beginning of the twelfth century. Towards the end of the century the family appears to have obtained the port and town of Old Cannanore as a grant from the Kollatiri Raja. The Ali Raja became his chief admiral and the head of the Cannanore Mapillas; and his power gradually increased till by the end of the eighteenth century he was practically independent of his suzerain and was able to put 25,000 men in the field. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX (1908), p. 298.

Duarte Barbosa, who came to India with Pero Alvares Cabral in 1500, and whose uncle was factor at Cannanore, states that Cheraman Perumal gave Calicut to a nephew and made the

kings of Cannanore and Coulam independent (Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 5). Even now the Kollatiri Rajas intermarry with the house of Travancore (*ibid.*, II, 4n.1). In 1500-1516 the Kollatiri resided at Balaherpatam (other forms of which are Baliapatam or Vallarepattanam). This name, I think, still preserves the name of the Balhara Rajas, of whom we hear so much from the earliest Muhammadan travellers, from the middle of the 9th century. The Balhara was prince of the men who have their ears pierced, the greatest king of India, his kingdom beginning on the sea-side at the country of Konkan (Elliot, *Hist. of India*, I. 3). Coondapoor, north of Mangalore, in which others have tried to trace the name of Gondophares, would have been within his territory.

Do Couto's *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, liv. 7, c. 12 (p. 563 of the Lisbon edition of 1783) has some strange information, which may help in fixing the original seat of Cheraman Perumal. The Zamorin of Calicut had to be crowned on a stone in the temple of 'Rama Ceram,' near the town of Cochin. During the festivities, the Zamorin handed over his royalty to the king of Cochin. Even the kings of Cochin could not account for the origin of the custom. In the time of Uniramacoul of Cochin (1502-1532; *ibid.*, Dec. 7, liv. 10, c. 11, p. 135), the Zamorin, at war with Cochin, removed the stone to the Island of Repelim, outside the territory of Cochin, and there, on the stone, would the coronations of the kings of Calicut take place. Martin Affonso de Sousa, when Captain-Major, took the stone and gave it to the kings of Cochin. After this the Zamorins had themselves crowned in a pagoda at Calicut.

Is there in Cochin any recollection of the practices here referred to, a Semitic and Scythian practice (I believe), and of the history of the stone, other Stone of Scone? Where is it now? Is it used by the kings of Cochin? Is not the name of Cheraman Perumal associated with it? ¹

About the year 1,500 the Malabar Bishops from Mesopotamia still visited Sokotra or were appointed to it; they called themselves Bishops of China, Hend or Hind (Malabar. India)² and Sokotra; but I am not aware that they then visited the Maldives. The last sparks of Christianity flickered out in Sokotra in the 16th century. Christianity in the Maldives would have succumbed at an earlier date to the overwhelming proselytism of Muhammadanism. The proximity of the Maldives to Cape Comorin and Malabar, where there were numerous Christians, and the fact that at Anjediva too there may

¹ This section on the Mackenzie MSS. was published by me in *The Catholic Leader*, Madras, Oct., 28, 1926, but has not up to this date (3-1-27) brought any information. My article on the Mackenzie MSS. ran on till Dec. 16, 1926, and contains other points of interest for the St. Thomas Christians, Cheraman Perumal, etc.

² More likely, Hend and Hind (Malabar and India).

have been traces of pre-Portuguese Christianity make the theory of the existence of Christians in the Maldives plausible.

Father Francisco de Souza has the story of the conversion in St. Francis Xavier's time (before 1552) of the king of the Maldives at Cochín, and of what happened to his descendants till 1656.¹ His conversion does not, however, seem to have been influenced by any survival of Christianity in the Maldives.

I do not recollect that Pyrard de Laval's writings allude to any such survival about A.D. 1600, or that traces of Christianity have since been found in the architecture of the buildings, crosses, etc. A search for crosses might, however, yet be rewarded with good results. The worship of the cross survived to a remarkable degree in Sokotra till A.D. 1600, when all other traces of Christian worship were effaced.

¹ *Oriente Conquistado*, Pte. 1, Cong. 1, Div. 1, §. 67.

10. *Christian ivory carving, Elephant Point, Burma.*

An ivory carving was found by Mrs. Isis Anne Southwell, née Lucas, of Kishanganj, Purnea District. It represents the Holy Family. Though I am not a connoisseur, I consider it an exquisite piece of art. Equally remarkable is its provenance and the story of its discovery.

First, let us describe and discuss the object itself.

The carving with the borders included, is 0m.10 long, 0m.073 broad, and a little over 0m.01 thick at the thickest part. The upper border with its five rosaces, and the two longitudinal borders with seven rosaces each, measure 0m.006 in breadth, the lower border, within which there is an inscription, is 0m. 014 in height.

It represents the Holy Family, with the Holy Ghost, angels and animals, and contains 13 figures, which I designate with numbers in the following order.

1	2	3	4	5	
					13
6	7	8	10	12	
		9	11		

St. Joseph (No. 8), a bearded elderly man, holds with his left hand the right hand of the Infant Jesus (No. 9), who is seated on our Lady's lap (No. 10), our Lady being herself seated on a high-back chair, resembling a throne. An Angel (No. 7), one of whose wings is seen, stands behind St. Joseph, his left hand stretched out, and his right hand occupied in holding up part of his dress. Another Angel (No. 6), wingless, standing against the frame on the left, and nearest in the foreground, holds in his left hand a bouquet, perhaps a lily-stem with three flowers. His right hand holds up the front of his upper garment, which possibly contains more flowers. That he is an angel too we must conclude from the loaf-like thing above his head, which can be noticed also above the head of the other Angel (No. 7), above St. Joseph's cap, the Child's hair and our Lady's veil. This loaf-like appendage can be only an aureola, as is further shown by the grooved line running round it. This curious form of nimbus is, I should think, one of the best proofs of the antiquity of the object. A pre-Portuguese statue representing apparently St. Bartholomew, in the Museum of the Bishop of Mylapore, also has an aureola more or less of this shape. This figure of St. Bartholomew (?) is on the same stone as a figure of St. Thomas, and we have concluded that the two figures at Mylapore are extremely old.

On either side of the ivory, in the background, we

notice a tree with blossoms or flowers at the extremity of the branches.

Above the curved line of clouds dividing off the upper part of the picture from the lower part, there are four angels without halo (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5), two on either side of a dove (No. 3) amid rays, representing the Holy Ghost. Of these angels, very youthful in appearance, we see only the bust. They play stringed instruments. No. 1, from the way he holds his bow, has a violincello, though the instrument is not bigger than the violin of No. 2; No. 4 plays something like a mandoline, and No. 5, a lyre. Neither No. 1 nor No. 2 holds his instrument under his chin.

The face of the Child and the head of the dove are injured, and so is, but less, the face of Angel No. 6. The wonder is that what with knocking about, scraping and scrubbing, and the wear and tear of years or centuries, the figures are not damaged more.

The dress of Angels No. 6 and No. 7 is lovely, and so is the dress of St. Joseph. Above his close-fitting jerkin, fixed with a girdle, he wears a mantle, which hides the dress of his nether limbs. I leave it to others to describe his dress better and to find a name for his cap. Is it peaked enough to be Phrygian? How many pieces does the dress of the Madonna consist of? Note the veil on her head and the loose cloth around her neck. The artist spent much loving care on the fringe of St. Joseph's mantle and of our Lady's upper garment.

The hands of most of the figures are not mere stumps, but show the fingers and the thumbs. The closed fists of some figures are worth noticing too for their naturalness.

The two big Angels (Nos. 6 and 7) are barefooted. St. Joseph has shoes or buskins on, and our Lady apparently too. The feet of the Infant are bare.

A wonderful idiosyncrasy of the artist is in the two animals (Nos. 12 and 13) in the foreground, on our Lady's proper left. Opinion here is divided as to the nature of these animals.

At first I took for a lion the animal (No. 12) which stands up against our Lady's knee, looking caressingly at the Bambino. I was perhaps impressed by its mane and its large open mouth. Next, from the shape of the tail, I decided it was a dog and most of my friends think the same. The animal (No. 13), which looks out over the lion's or dog's head, I took for a cat. We might expect a dog and a cat in the home of the Holy Family, might we not? But, when I showed it to our boys, good judges of monkeys, I was surprised that it looked more like a monkey. But what had a monkey to do at Nazareth, unless his pranks were to amuse the Child? One of our Fathers—for the whole staff of the College was asked to give their opinion—declared it was a sheep. At least one other independently had thought the same. Could it be? We think of the pro-

phetic text of Isaias (ii. 6) about the Messiah : "The calf and the lion and the sheep shall abide together, and a little child shall lead them."

There is something more : something under our Lady's left foot. A cushion for a footstool ? Perhaps ; but, when I looked at it from the Angel No. 6, along a line prolonging the line of the sole of his right foot, I thought I saw a rat. I was, however, prejudiced : I had previously taken for a cat what others declare is a monkey. Another Father, who is a good judge in many things of natural history, thinks it is a tortoise. My catechist independently thought the same. I said : "I see a long snout, and eyes far away, a mere dot on either side of the snout, and something like ears too. It cannot be a rabbit : there was room for a tail, and there is no tail." When I asked my friend who first pronounced it a tortoise, why he had said tortoise, I found he had had a prejudice too. "Do we not read," he asked, "that in the East the tortoise supports the King on its back ?" I answered that I had never heard or read before that the tortoise is a king's vehicle. It may well be an emblem of strength, but does it support kings and queens ? Some of our Easterners say that the earth is borne on an elephant's tusks, or on a tortoise's back, or on the horns of a bull, and when the elephant or the bull moves its head ever so little, or the tortoise starts walking, we have an earthquake. In China, the big stone of Si-ngan-fu, with its Christian inscription of A.D. 781, rests on the back of a tortoise, and China has many other stelae in the same case. But what of that ? The result is that we have not decided yet what that something under our Lady's left foot may be,

To come to the inscription, one of two lines. I could make out soon enough, even without a magnifying glass, the first three words :

Hæc est. arca.

written in old cursive. This is Latin for : "This is the ark," or "This is an ark." Where is that ark which is said to be here ? Jesus ?

The rest of the inscription appeared to be hopeless. I made out :

qd. in Sinu. Jo/|ui.

The dots at the end of some of the words, stuck up as high as the centre of the height of the letters, old-fashioned device in inscriptions, no doubt helps to divide the words. I have carefully noted them in my transcript.

Follow still 3 or 4 letters in the second line, which I cannot interpret. Let me say what I see. The first letter appears to be a combination of *s* and *e* ; the next is *u* or *n* ; the next or last is *a*. I can pass my pen clean between (what I take for) *se* and *u* or *n*. In doing so, my pen scrapes the

level surface of the ivory, which shows that the letters were originally separate as now, and that there has been no fracture, or frittering of the letters. The same for the space between *u* (*n*?) and *a*. The dot beyond the *a* is part of a curl coming from *d* in *qd* of the first line: for, when my pen follows this curl, it cannot reach the level surface of the ivory.

Biblical concordances are of no use. The inscription is not, as far as I can make it out, a text of Scripture. To give a meaning to the sentence I must guess. Let me guess. "This is the ark which (rested?) in the bosom of Jupiter, i.e. God the Father." Strange expression, no doubt, when applied to our Lord. But to whom else can it apply?

I do not deny that I cannot suggest any word meaning 'rested' which will correspond to the last three or four letters; that *qd* for *quae* is a grammatical mistake, and that we expect *Jouis* instead of *Joui*; also that there is no dot for *i* in *in* and *Joui*.

The first limb of *u* in *Joui* adheres to the first *a* in *arca*. Before the *i* of *Joui* and after the first *a* of *arca* I can pass my pen.

The style of writing, I should think, can be 350 years old. It may be older. *Qd* for *quod* would be in ancient style. 'Jupiter' for 'God' recalls the pagan fashion of the Renaissance for designating Christian things.

It is suggested that the carving may be after some well-known picture. If that were so, knowing the date of the painter, we should know that the carver lived at a later date. I appeal to connoisseurs of pictures in Europe for an opinion. Are there perhaps in Europe similar carvings on ivory of the same subject?

Some here suggest Eastern or Asiatic features, e.g. in the treatment of the aureola, and of the trees, in the musical instruments and the way they are held, etc. We have too little to go upon. The lyre is not, I think, an Eastern instrument. And there always remains the Latin text, which, if the carving were an Eastern or orientalised conception, still betrays a Western origin for the scene as a whole.

I took the trouble of sending a photograph and a detailed description of the carving to a Belgian expert in paintings and pictures. He confesses (14-7-1926) that he can give me no clue. He tried long and hard to make out the inscription, and always thought he could read *imago* at the end of the first line, where I read *Sinu. Jo.* He too is in favour of a lion and a monkey. A friend of his, accustomed to decipher old texts, gives up the inscription.

X., one of my friends in India, spent a considerable time on the inscription. I fear we cannot congratulate him on the result of his efforts. To start with, he looked too little at the picture. If his decipherment were true, the scene would be the Adoration of the Magi. Here already we differ completely. He argues that, as the angels above the clouds have no wings,

figures 6 and 7, which I take for angels, are Magi, the eldest Magus being the seated figure No. 8. The wings of figure 7, he contends, show how fast the Magi came. They came very fast, indeed, if we can trust some of the apocrypha, but even the apocrypha do not credit the Magi with wings. "How do you come to that?" I asked my worthy friend. "Look at the inscription," he answered. And this was his reading:

"*Haec er(an)t ave(a) q(uae) d(ederunt) in Sinu J(esu) C(hristi) m(yrrha) in(censum) a(urum).*"

This was baffling. My friend had read, or thought he had read, the very letters I could make nothing of. To do so, or while doing so, he had distorted the entire meaning of the picture. I objected: "*Avea* is not a Latin word; *v* should be in the form *u*; *arca* is clear; at least *a.ca* is clear; there is nothing in *est*, (*ert*, as you read it), to show the presence of an abbreviation; we expect *in Sinum* in your interpretation; *J.C.* is impossible, as we have a clear *o* after *J*. Neither do I see that *in* for *incensum* is justified." Quite unperturbed, my friend opined that figure 6 holds a branch of myrrh; figure 7, a nugget of gold in his left hand; figure 8, a spherical box of incense. I rejoined that what he took for a spherical box in the left hand of his elderly Magus is St. Joseph's left hand holding the right hand of the Infant. Du Cange, he thought would give the word *avea*, a neuter plural (derived from *avere*, 'to hail'), as meaning 'presents,' '*dons de bienvenue*.' We could not then consult Du Cange. As for the animals, he recognised in them a lion and a 'bleating' lamb, both symbolical of the conversion of the Gentiles.

Later on, X. wrote to me (11-7-1926) that Du Cange gives *averium*; *aver*, -is; *avere* (neuter indeclinable); *averum*, -i; *averae*, -arum; *averiae*, -arum, the meaning of all these being: "*facullates et omnia quae sunt in bonis; res praesertim mobiles, ut pecuniae, etc.*" Hence he proposed:

"*Haec er(an)t aver q(uod) d(ederunt) in Sinu J.C. m(yrrha) in(censum) a(urum).*"

I am less convinced than ever by this explanation; but I duly note it, because something better should be proposed, and I do not know myself what to suggest beyond my own interpretation.

We sought for the advice of several others further away, each time with disappointing results.

The Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities at the British Museum writes on October 25, 1926, after seeing a photograph and my reflections made above: "I think that at last we have found the clue to the inscription in the ivory carving. We cannot make out one part, but that is perhaps no matter for surprise, as the man employed to carve the ivory may easily have gone wrong himself and produced something unintelligible.

"The scene is definitely connected with the Presentation in the Temple; it may perhaps be a preliminary scene. The Virgin and Child and St. Joseph are obvious. The figure on the extreme left is the handmaid, who usually carries the offering of two doves in a basket, but here seems to have a flower in her left hand. The third figure, that of an Angel, is normal in Presentation scenes. The inscription begins with *Haec est arca* (or *arcae*) and ends in *imago*; the intervening letters rather baffle me. The clue which makes the attribution certain is to be found in mediaeval 'typology'. You may have heard of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, consisting of scenes from the Gospels explained, each in relation to three Old Testament types. In one of our illustrated MSS. of this work, the first of the three O. T. types of the Presentation is the Ark of the Covenant, which was also regarded as a symbol of Our Lady. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the person who ordered the ivory to be carved was familiar with this typology and symbolism, to which the inscription has direct reference.

"I think I told you that in my opinion the ivory may have been carved in the East Indies, but not earlier than the close of the 16th century. A great deal of ivory carving was done at Goa for the missionary Fathers at that time and later. Now that the main lines are indicated, it may well be that someone will be able to read the part of the inscription at present undeciphered."

Our comments. How can St. Joseph, seated on a low stool, and our Lady, seated in a chair of state, be connected with the Presentation in the Temple? We look in vain for Simeon and Anna, for the high-priest, or the turtle-doves. Nothing in the picture recalls the architecture of the Temple. Have we not rather a scene of the domestic life at Nazareth? Why has figure 6, supposed to be a handmaid, an aureola, unless perhaps it also represents an angel? The applicability of the word *arca* to Our Lady did not escape me: we invoke her as *foederis arca*. What made me apply *haec est arca* to Jesus is what follows in the inscription. *Arcae* cannot be admitted: it makes bad grammar, and what is taken for *e* is a dot of separation. What is read as *imago* is evidently the end of the first line; but there is no *a*, and *ima* cannot be separated from *go* with a dot. The interpretation does not, moreover, take into account the second line of the inscription. It is quite possible that the ivory was executed in India, but that does not decide the question whether it may not be pre-Portuguese. Once we suppose that it is Portuguese work, made in India, we naturally think of Goa. The Philippines and Japan, and probably China too, turned out very artistic Christian work in the 16th and 17th centuries. In one of the churches of Pondicherry I was shown one of the Stations of the Cross,

carved on ivory, a large and fine piece of work, which was thought to have come from Manila, and I could only speculate on the pecuniary value of fourteen such Stations. In the Portuguese period Europe too supplied India and its churches, and some of its greatest kings, with some of its best Christian productions in painting and ivory.

A learned Benedictine, residing in London, was also appealed to. He writes (28-10-1926): "I think I recognise in it the Adoration of the Shepherds." Once more, we must be excused if we disagree and leave it to a larger public to exercise their own ingenuity.

I said that the story of this masterpiece is not less interesting than the masterpiece itself. On hearing that the ivory had reached me safe and that I wanted full particulars about the family history of it, the owner wrote, greatly rejoicing:

"Dear Rev. Father,

"I am really glad to hear you received the carving in good condition. I think you will agree that the carving is on ivory. It was clear to me, when I first saw it, that it really was a very valuable piece of work: the exquisite art of the carving is indisputable, and its antiquity was prized by me. Many a time I was anxious to know what I really had; but, rather than entrust it to the hands of people (well, I doubted others!), I preferred to remain ignorant of its earthly value and only to regard it as a religious relic, which appreciation of mine stood higher; hence this great delay in trying to know its mercenary value. And I can assure you that, had not Rev. Fr. de Bono pressed me to send it to you, I should never have let it leave our home. However that may be, now that it is out I hope it will accomplish the end for which it was sent, and that you may succeed in unravelling the apparent mystery of its antiquity, etc.

"Now for the story of how it came into the family. Mrs. Southwell, when a child of about 6 years of age, picked this piece of ivory up in her rambles on the sea-beach at a place called Elephant Point, where her father was in or about the year 1889¹ as Telegraph Master. It was originally a black undecipherable block, and, after careful washing and scrubbing with alum and other things, it was brought to the present state in which you see it now.

"Elephant Point is, or rather was, a mere piece of land away from the mainland on the coast of Lower Burma. The sea there is generally very rough, and I do believe there is no more left of Elephant Point than a light-house.

"Mrs. Southwell's mother, Mrs. Lucas, had the ivory in her possession till very recently, when my wife had to steal

¹ *Sic*, for 1899, or rather for 1900.

it away from the home altar on the ground that, as she was the finder of it, and as she was old enough to take care of it herself, she was entitled to it. This was about the year 1916 or 1917. It has been with her since; and, on my marrying her in 1918, I advised her to treat it with special care, and, if possible, to reverence it as a precious relic. We have done so. On every occasion when the children fell ill, this relic was promptly placed under the pillow after blessing the child with it. I for one cannot say we were ever disappointed in our expectations. Last year particularly, one of the children, playing with it, threw it out of the window, and for days together we did not miss it, till one of the children fell ill; then came the search and the find again.

"I cannot say or I will not say anything miraculous about it, but I feel that it is such: for we never fail to place it under the pillow of the sick.

"So much for its tradition with us. . . . We are in bad circumstances, no doubt, but I do sincerely hope by your kind prayers and God's blessings that He will prevent us from having to part with such a relic.

"Our Christian names are: Denries Eugenc Joseph Southwell; Isis Anne Theresa Southwell.

Yours sincerely,

D. E. SOUTHWELL."

So this carving was washed up by the sea, perhaps after centuries. Further study may show whether we are justified in supposing that it may go back to pre-Portuguese times, to some Venetian, Genoese or Pisan merchant, obscure Marco Polo, bent on spices or precious stones, or to some medieval Franciscan or Dominican going to Cathay, who suffered shipwreck or passed through a storm in the Gulf of Martaban. There was a ruined church at Pegu, near Rangoon in 1496, in which Hieronimo di S. Stefano buried his companion Signore Hieronimo Adorno.

'Elephant Point is on an island near the entrance of the Rangoon River. No land lies opposite on the East and South sides. It is exposed therefore to the full force of the sea.

To the owner I wrote that, as I would require the ivory some time for study and description, I sent him a photograph of it with this piece of advice: "Never part with this palladium of your house, and may it be still in the family a thousand years hence."

Though I had no reason to doubt the correctness of the story of the ivory, I wanted the strongest possible guarantees for the sake of my readers. Rarely does the Indian Sea throw up such treasures; more rarely, perhaps, are they discovered. When such things do happen, we want the strongest possible

proof for ourselves and others. I wrote therefore to Mr. Southwell (28-4-1926) :—

“1. Is Mrs. Southwell prepared to swear on her honesty as a Christian that she found the ivory on the sea-beach at Elephant Point, Burma? Her exact age at the time matters less, and I leave this out in such a summons as this, as it might give your wife scruples. I do not ask her actually to swear, but only whether, in a court of law for instance, she would be prepared to do so when asked my question. You will understand that readiness on her part to do as asked will remove all doubt as to the accuracy of a point which in historical circles is of the highest interest.

“2. Will your wife be good enough to find two or more witnesses attesting in writing that they have always heard in the family that the ivory was found as stated: on the beach at Elephant Point, Burma? I wish they could recall from what year they heard this. All further details on their part will be welcome.

“Your wife too should make her declaration about No. 1 in writing.

“3. Was there anyone with Mrs. Southwell, your wife, when she found the ivory, and can anyone be made to testify to that?

“4. Is anyone alive who saw Mrs. Southwell, then a child, bring it into the house from the beach? Can you get a declaration from that person? Is Mrs. Lucas, the child's mother, alive?

“5. I shall have to state that the ivory is injured for the Child's face, for the head of the dove and for the face of figure No. 6. Were these portions injured, at the time of the find? If not, to what are the injuries due? To the fact that the ivory was thrown out of the window last year by one of the children?

“6. The same question for a fracture at the back of the ivory and at the corner, top, right-hand side of the be-holder.”

Mr. Southwell answered (Kishanganj, Purnea Dt., May 1, 1926) :

“... Mrs. Southwell says she is prepared to swear to the authenticity of her story of the find. She says her mother and the children had gone on the beach for a dip in the sea. No one was actually by her side, when she picked it up. I think it was just as well too: for then her companions would justly claim to have an equal share of the relic. She naturally made mention of it to her mother, who said: ‘Don't! What rubbish you pick up, child!’ Still, Mrs. Southwell was not inclined to throw it away, but took it to



Mylapore (Saidapet) Little Mount Church — Armenian inscription 14 lines (A D 1663) at the foot of the steps leading to the Church left side Cf p 30 No 49a

B — Cross on the rock near the perennial spring Cf p 31 No 49b p 123 No 284

C — Cross on the rock at the entrance to the cave left side, within the Church Cf p 31, No 49c, p 120 No 273



Little Mount, Saidapet; Marble altar and statue of St. Thomas within
St. Thomas' Cave. Cf. p. 120, No. 275.

her father for his inspection. The result you are aware of already.

"I noted with the deepest interest your endeavour to place on it a historical date, and other details, especially your suggestion of a shipwreck; but the idea that struck both of us at first was that, as that part of the place (Elephant Point) was so prone to bad weather and heavy seas, some pious, saintly person may have consigned this treasure (which to him must have been all he had to save himself and his companions) into the sea, believing thereby it would be the oil on troubled waters. This was our first and—I may say—our constant and firm idea. Even just now, while writing about it, I felt an apprehension that you might ridicule the simplicity of it; yet, on the other hand, I felt something stronger forcing me to speak out and plainly too, impressing me that the simplicity of the idea itself is sufficient to be convincing: for

I am truer than Truth's simplicity,

And simpler than the infancy of Truth. (*Shakesp.*)

"It is with this idea and conviction that we had ventured to put it to the use I mentioned in my previous letter. It is not for me as a layman to proclaim anything, but I would very much like to have it with me for no other purpose but that for which it has already been in use by us, that is for the sick, and, as you know, no one can foretell sickness.

"So much for that part. Now for the chips. You see, Mrs. S. says she is prepared to give all statements on oath, if required to do so. She says that those chips were there, when the thing was found. I for one saw them there, when we first met in 1918, and I can safely vouch for no new cuts or chips.

"I am sorry I neglected to answer your questions in the first letter, but we are both of opinion that the object under the foot [of the Madonna] was intended to represent the Serpent's head under her foot....

"I appreciated it [the ivory] so much that I guarded it most zealously and never went out of my way to put it in anybody's hands; but for the time it has been with us I can swear that the same story was given of it by Mrs. S.¹ I cannot recollect now to whom else it was related; but I think that at Sonapore it was mentioned to a Bengali gentleman who was very interested in our religious books, etc. His name is Babu F. B. Mukherjee, D.T.S.'s Office, Sonapore (Saran). Never to anybody was it shown unsoli-

¹ The first intimation I had of the ivory is contained in a post-card, written by Mr. Southwell (Kishanganj, Febr. 2, 1926). There I find: "I have a piece of ivory which was found by my wife, when she was a child, on the beach in Burma."

cited. Even to the Rev. Fr. de Bono not a word was said till he had asked the question himself. It always remained on our altar, till required for the sick.

"Mr. Lucas, Mrs. S.'s father, is still alive, living at No. 2, Lyall Road, Allahabad. You may address him direct."

No one, least of all myself, will ridicule the suggestion about "the oil on troubled waters." It was in my mind too when I spoke above of shipwreck, but I set it aside, because I expect that in a storm a relic like this would have been dipped in the water, securely fastened, and would have been recovered but for a shipwreck. We have not many accounts of medieval travellers in our Indian seas; yet we have one in which—what I had forgotten—a relic was thrown into the sea outright.

Blessed Odoric of Pordenone, going to China (c. A.D. 1323) with the relics of the four Franciscans martyred at Thana, Bombay Presidency, A.D. 1321, says: "As I went by sea with those bones, towards a certain city called Polumbum [Quilon] . . . the wind failed us utterly. Then the idolaters came beseeching their gods to give them a fair wind; which however was all to no purpose. Next came the Saracens, and wrought greatly to have a wind granted to them; but neither had they anything for all their prayers. Whereupon they enjoined on my comrade and me that we should pour forth our prayers to God to bestow it upon us. And if this took effect, the greatest honour would be shown us. And the skipper said to me, speaking in the Armenian tongue, that others might not understand: 'If we cannot have a wind, we shall cast those bones of yours into the sea.' Then my comrade and I made prayers to God Himself, but seeing that still there was no wind to be had, we began to promise ever so many masses in honour of the blessed Virgin, if we could but have a wind; but even so we could not obtain any wind at all. So then I took one of those bones and gave it to our servant, and told him to go to the bow of the ship with haste and cast it into the sea. Then, when the bone was so cast into the sea, straightway a most favourable wind arose, which never failed until it brought us into harbour; and thus we got thither safely through the merits of those friars." (Yule, *Cathay*, 1866, I. 71-73).

On July 14, 1926, Mrs. I. A. Southwell sent me from Kishanganj the following declaration:—

"I, Mrs. Isis Anne Southwell, do hereby declare my readiness to give an oath that the statement made by me with regard to the find of the carved ivory is, to the best of my knowledge, true, and that such a statement has always been given by me with regard to the piece of ivory carving.

Mrs. Isis Anne Southwell."

On May 7, 1926, Mr. Southwell had written: "Neither Mrs. S. nor I shall be 'up a gum-tree,' if you write to Mr. Lucas. They all know that we have the relic. When Mrs. S. asked her mother to return it, she did not refuse. As ladies do, she answered a question by asking another. 'What will you do with it, child?' she asked Mrs. S. So, Mrs. S. decided to ask no more, but to take it and show her mother what she would do with it. That's all. They are all quite well aware that we have it, and that they cannot take it back."

I wrote to Mr. T. Lucas at the address shown above, and received from the place indicated the following answer, dated August 21, 1926.

"Dear Rev. Father,

"Please find in the accompanying enclosure an autograph, containing all that I happen to know of the ivory carving.

"Sorry to have kept you waiting long. I have had to give myself time to think out particulars of an occurrence, between 26 and 27 years ago. It never occurred to me at any time that the ivory would come to be subjected to scrutiny by an expert. It was enough for me to be the possessor of this article lost at sea and found.

Yours sincerely,
THOS. LUCAS."

The enclosure, dated Allahabad, No. 2, Lyall Road, August 21, 1926, states:

"With reference to your letter, dated the 3rd instant, soliciting information regarding an 'ivory carving' said to have been found in Elephant Point.

"I was stationed at Elephant Point when the 'ivory carving' in question came into my possession.

"There was at the time a small Burman village on the island.

"There was a very poor Burman family living in that sea-girt village.

"My predecessor in service had employed as *ayah* for his child a daughter of this very poor, ignorant Burman family. As we knew little or nothing of the language, being newcomers from India, and this servant knew her business—she had learnt to use a few English words—I took her on as *ayah* for my little ones.

"The village was adjacent to my bungalow, and both were directly on the beach, exposed to the sea.

"The beach was where the children would be taken off an evening, and, returning home, the servant would pass through the village by way of diversion.

"Returning home as usual one evening with the children, the *ayah* (the Burman girl servant) presented the 'ivory carving' in question, and expressed the one word *pya*¹ in her native tongue. Now this word *pya* is a Burmese expression used where great respect or religious veneration is intended. She, therefore, meant to convey to me that the figures in the carving were connected with worship (this by way of explanation). The term *pya* also means 'God,' as I always understood it.

"Questioned as to how she came by it, she gave us to understand that *it was found*. I accepted that statement. Such a find on an island washed by the sea, as Elephant Point was, was quite possible.

"I troubled no more, took possession of the 'ivory,' by paying a few annas for it, and meant to keep it with me for good.

"The ivory was readily parted with, being of no use to a Buddhist, who evidently understood its religious significance, hence the application to it of the word *pya*. It was brought to me as the likely person to appreciate it, or (with the idea) that it would appeal to a Christian, and they knew I was one.

"The ivory could not have been long in the possession of the Burman; had it been so, they could have sold it to others, who were there before me.

"To my certain knowledge, the colour of the ivory was greyish in front,² and brownish at the back, which was smooth to the touch. There was nothing obscure about the carving, as even the Buddhist recognised in the attitude of the figures carved thereon an atmosphere of religion.

"The discoloration is evidently the work of time, or of the action of the sea. If at all the ivory in question was held in the bowels of the ocean, the latter, true to tradition, had to give it up, which she did.

"I find nothing new in your observations on the figures. The damage to the inscription, the mutilation of the figures, even to the fracture in the plate, were all there.

"I never looked upon it as a talisman, nor was it put up in my house with such intent. I secured and meant to retain it, not only as a unique work of art and a keepsake, but particularly for all that the carving represented, which interested me.

"However, if this information will help you in the least

¹ Bhurā (Burm.) pronounced *p'hra* in Arakan, and *p'hya*, *pyā* in modern Burma proper, is in constant application as a style of respect, addressed to persons and things of especial sanctity and dignity. Thus it is the habitual designation of the Buddha and his images and dagobas. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *pra*.

² I would say "white."—H. H.

to unravel the secret that the carving holds, I should be very pleased.

Yours sincerely,
THOS. LUCAS."

We gather from Mr. Lucas' letter, in spite of differences of a material nature, that his impression too is that the ivory plaque was recovered from the sea at Elephant Point. Whether the actual finder was the Burman girl or Mr. Lucas' daughter, is of lesser importance to the historian, though not in a matter of rights. We may note that Mr. S. states in his letter of May 1, 1926, that Mrs. S. carried the plaque to her father. If the *ayah* presented it in the name of the child under her care, the contradiction between the father's and the daughter's statement would be mitigated. A child of six might remember the find and her mother's remark on the occasion.

On August 27, 1926, Mrs. S. noted about her father's letter that the *ayah* had been dismissed from the family service by the time of the find, that not the *ayah*, but the mother would accompany the children for a dip, which would be in the forenoon, and not in the evening, that a Burmese girl of 14 or 15 could know little of the religious character of the plaque, that the plaque was left with Mrs. Lucas from 1905 and that Mr. Lucas did not refer to it from 1917 to 1926.

My letters to Mr. Lucas (Aug. 30, Sept. 16 and 17, 1926), of which I sent a copy to Mrs. S., elicited from Mr. Lucas (Sept. 9, 20, 21, 1926), the following points. He married Mrs. Lucas on June 28, 1893; his daughter Isis was born on Aug. 5, 1894; he went to Rangoon mid-June 1898, and was posted to Elephant Point in January 1899. He left it in November 1900, for Ye, Amherst District, whence he went to Mergui. He "guesses" that the *ayah* was 12 or 13 years old when he took her on, and that she was with him 6 or 8 months. He "could not vouch" that the *ayah* had obtained the ivory from his daughter, in case his daughter found it. As for the few annas given to the *ayah*, they were a gratification rather than a purchase.

The Assistant Director General of Telegraphic Traffic, in his No. 149-G/26, dated Delhi, November 26, 1926, informs Mr. D. E. Southwell that Mr. T. Lucas, a retired Deputy Superintendent, was employed at the Elephant Point Telegraph Office "from the 28th January, 1889, to the 27th November 1900."¹

Mrs. Southwell may therefore have been in her 6th year at the time of the find. Her reminiscences (Sept. 2, 1926) about her father's different postings in Burma are confused, as may be expected from one then so young. She did not remember the date when the family went to Elephant Point, but calculated

¹ I take this from the original letter lying before me.

that they went from Elephant Point to Lyallpur in 1901, thence to Lahore (summer of 1904), Allahabad (summer of 1906), and Lahore (from about March 1907). Her father, she thought, went first to Rangoon from India. When he was posted to 'Aye,'¹ her mother, who had not yet unpacked, took her to the Moulmein Convent. Next her father and mother went to 'Aye' and Mergui. At the convent, she fell ill, went to her grandmother's place at Moulmein, and was from there taken by her mother to Elephant Point. The *ayah* was dismissed after 2 or 3 months; a male cook, taken on after that, was dismissed; then came a memorable flood, heavier than usual, which washed away the fishermen's huts, reached the steps of the office, and left her other vivid recollection. Not long after that, her father was transferred to India. The find of the ivory would have taken place at the end of the stay at Elephant Point rather than in the beginning. "I can safely say I well remember my mother rubbing and scrubbing the ivory with what I now call alum, because I often heard my mother tell Miss Middleton, Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Hasslem that her Isis had found it on the beach and that she had rubbed it with alum. It was always on the altar."

No trace of Mrs. Southwell's name is found in the Moulmein Convent Registers, nor does anyone at the Moulmein Convent remember her.² The flood described happened at Ye, according to Mr. Lucas.³ We did not find it possible to address other witnesses.

All this notwithstanding, I see no reason to doubt that Mrs. Southwell picked up the ivory on the beach at Elephant Point in 1900. She died on May 7, 1927, while being taken to the Purnea hospital, and was buried at Majlisipur. Her husband died the same year. I cannot say what has become of the ivory now.

¹ *Sic*, for Ye.

² Letter of Mother Leonie, St. Joseph's Convent, Moulmein, 10-10-1926, to Mrs. I. A. Southwell.

³ Mr. T. Lucas' letter, Allahabad, 20-9-1926, to myself.

11. *Christians in Burma.*

We read in the travels of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano that there was a ruined church in Pegu in 1496.

"While we were thus suffering from cold and heat [at the town of Pegu], with many fatigues and hardships, Messer Hieronimo Adorno, who was a man of feeble constitution, and greatly reduced by these afflictions combined with an ancient malady which tried him sorely, after fifty-five days' suffering, during which he had neither physician nor medicine, yielded up his spirit to our Lord God. This was at night, on the twenty-seventh day of December, St. John's day, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-six. Although the sacraments of the church could not be administered to him, as there was no priest among us, ¹ nevertheless, such was his patience and contrition that I am sure, judging from the excellent life which he had always led, that our Lord God will have received his soul into paradise, and to that effect have I prayed and continually do pray. His body was buried in a certain ruined church, frequented by none."²

We should think that Hieronimo di Santo Stefano buried his friend, not in a ruined Buddhist pagoda, but in a Christian church. Revolutions were so frequent in Burma, the North was so often at war against the South, that, if Christians had congregated at Pegu and built a church, as the Hindus congregated and built pagodas far away in the interior, it may have proved of short duration. We have but to judge by what happened repeatedly to our churches at Pegu in the 17th and 18th centuries.

That ruined Church at Pegu may have been of short duration. It may have lasted centuries. But we do not know. By whom was it built? By Syrians or Armenians? By Franciscans or Dominicans of the Middle Ages? We cannot say. A Dominican, Friar André-Marie, claims for his medieval confrères an enormous field: Ethiopia, India *cis*- and *trans*-Gangetic, Siam, Cambodia, CochinChina, Tonkin, China and even Japan.³ I can find nothing on medieval Dominicans in China, nor do I find the Franciscans elsewhere than in China and passing through India. Possibly, the Dominicans had a field of apostolate

¹ From this we might argue there were other Europeans at Pegu.

² Cf. R. H. Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, London, 1857, p. 6. —Friar Matthew Escandel, a Hungarian, is said to have reached China by land from Tenasserim with merchants (Christians?), c. A.D. 1399. Cf. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Voyages aventureux*, ch. xcvi, quoted by L. Gaillard, S.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

³ André-Marie, *Missions Dominicaines de l'Extrême Orient*, Bauchu, Lyon-Paris, 1865, I. 52-53.

beyond India. The Franciscan John de' Marignolli, who visited Tartary and China (A.D. 1340-1345), states that only the Minorites were known in China.¹

The presence of Christians in Pegu may have led Vasco da Gama to say in his *Roteiro* (1498), "Pegu is a land of Christians and the king is a Christian, and they are all white like us."²

Perhaps a similar explanation should be devised for other places which the early discoverers described as Christian. Wilford states, like Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, that in Malabar the Christians were regarded by the Hindus and Jains as Buddhists, and Christ as an emanation of Buddha.³ Might this have led to Vasco da Gama's way of speaking in connection with Pegu and Siam? The supposition would not explain why the people of Cael on the Fishery Coast were called Christians by him, or why the people of all Buddhist countries were not called Christians. On the other hand, it is clear enough that the first discoverers were not accurately informed on this matter. Vasco da Gama's *Roteiro* places Christians at Coleu (Quilon); Cael and Bemguala (Bengal) had Christians and a Moorish king; Quorongoliz (Cranganore) had Christians and a Christian king; so too Chomondarla (Coromandel), Pegu and Siam; Conjmata and Pater (50 days' sailing from Calicut) had Christians and a Christian king; Camatarra (Sumatra) was of the Christians.⁴

What shall we think of the inevitable Fernão Mendes Pinto? While traversing the lands of Timplan, he was told that a certain John, a disciple of Thomas Modeliar, who had been killed at Digum, likewise suffered martyrdom for having preached the Gospel at the court of the Calaminam King.⁵ Suffice it to say that Digum, Timplan and Calaminam are with Mendes Pinto place-names in Burma, and that the name Thomas Modeliar was given by the Indians to the Portuguese at Mylapore in A.D. 1521-23, when they dug into St. Thomas' tomb, as that of the king said to have been buried close to the Saint in a separate 'chapel.'⁶ Thomas Modeliar would seem

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 341.

² Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*. 1st edn., p. 525, s.v. Pegu.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, X (1808), p. 60. Paulinus (*Systema Brahmanicum, Liturgicum, Mythologicum*, Romae, 1791, p. 161) says: "The Malabar Brachmans call St. Thomas the Apostle Budha, and the Christians they call Baudhenmar, as if they had received from Budha or a man full of the spirit of God and of piety the institutions of the Christian faith."

⁴ *Roteiro da Viagem que . . . fez Dom Vasco da Gama em 1497*, published by D. Köpke and Dr. A. da Costa Paiva, Porto, 1838, pp. 108, 109, 112.

⁵ No reference is given by Padre Antonio Thomaz da Silva Leitão e Castro, in *Os livros Indianos e o martyrio de S. Thomé*, Lisboa, 1882, p. 26. I have not traced the passage yet in Mendes Pinto.

⁶ "Tanimudolyar which in their language means Thomas, servant of God." Cf. Correa, *Lendas*, II. 726. A rotograph in my possession of a MS. sent from Goa after March 22, 1547, and copying an earlier

in Mendes Pinto's mind to be St. Thomas, and John, his disciple, might be a form of Vizan, Mazdai's son, whom St. Thomas made a deacon. Digum would be the great pagoda of Dagon near Rangoon, and it is quite possible that Armenian or other Christians, descendants of pre-Portuguese Christians in Burma, tried to connect Calaminam, suggestive of the Calamina of St. Thomas' martyrdom or burial, with the death of a disciple of the Saint, and Digum with the temple of King Mazdai in which, according to the *Passio*, St. Thomas was killed by a heathen (Brahman?) priest identified perhaps in Burma with Brama, Burman: the more so, if they placed Gondophares at Mylapore and did not know how to explain Calamina for Mylapore and Mazdai. One of the Greek spellings of Vizan's name is Iouzánês,¹ and he is honoured as St. Johannes in the Antiochian Church.²

The legend of Calaminam and Digum could not well have originated among European Christians settled in Burma in the Portuguese period. After 1523, when St. Thomas' relics were discovered at Mylapore, Mylapore was more than ever Calamina in the estimation of European Christians. Before 1523 they were still too few in Burma to spread with success in Burma the story of Thomas Modeliar and his disciple John; and from 1498 they had learned that St. Thomas was buried at Mylapore.

I am not aware that the Calaminam of Mendes Pinto has yet been identified. The Rev. J. M. Jarre, Catholic Chaplain at Maymyo (Burma), writes to me (Nov. 18, 1926): Calamina means 'place of the foreign ruler,' also 'palace of the black ruler.' *Cala* means foreigner; it may also mean black. *Min* means ruler, governor, even king; and *nam* is palace, even Kingdom."

In the Kyanzittha Cave, near Pagan, Burma, Mr. Charles Duroiselle, the Superintendent of Archæology, reports (1922) the discovery of a small series of paintings representing, not only several Mongol types, which he thinks to be soldiers of Kublai Khan's army, who would have occupied Pagan in 1387, but crosses which he argues are Christian.³

This discussion is so ably conducted that, in spite of its length and some divergences from our views, we wish to take it over practically entire with its notes and give it all the publicity it deserves.

These paintings "were found some time back painted on the walls of the Kyanzittha Cave; careful and exact copies

document from Mylapore, of Oct. 10, 1533, gives the name of the King as Tane Modeliar, and several times as Tome Modeliar.

¹ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 157; Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 41.

³ A summary of the Report appeared in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, Sept. 9, 1922 (dāk edn.).

were made of them. The Kyanzittha Cave, as its name indicates, was built, or at least is supposed to have been built, by King Kyanzittha (1084–1112). This cave, clearly destined for the habitation of monks, is a low brick monument, half underground and half above, close to the Nat-taung Monastery, near the Shwezigôn Pagoda at Nyaung-u; as far as has been ascertained, it is not mentioned in any inscription found at Pagan, and its attribution to King Kyanzittha rests solely on popular tradition, which, in the absence of old written documents, may be accepted as probable: the date of its foundation would fall between A.D. 1084 and 1112. Some of the interior walls of the cave are ornamented with a variety of well-executed frescoes, which are on the whole very well preserved. All do not represent Mongol personages, but those that do were probably painted during the occupation of the city, and their fall¹ therefore may be put down as 1287. One represents a Buddha seated European fashion on a high chair, his feet resting on a lotus; a full-blown lotus is seen rising up on its stalk from the back of the chair, at the junction of one of the back legs and the seat; the back of the chair is high, and trifoliated, the upper portion forming an oval halo round the Buddha's head; he is holding his begging-bowl on his lap with both hands. Another shows a Buddhist monk, Chinese, as his dress indicates; he is meditating. His eyes are closed; he holds a rosary in front of his breast, and is seated in the posture of meditation, that is on his hams, with his feet crossed in front, soles upwards.² There are one or two others, the technique of which certainly shows strong (*P. 18*) Central-Asian influence.³ But the most interesting figures are those reproduced in Plate I. The first (fig. 1) represents a Mongol officer. He is seated on a low wooden stool; on his head is a helmet, from the summit of which hangs backwards what appears to be the tail of an animal. The upper part of his body is clad in a close-fitting jerkin adorned with rosaces, and his legs are encased in similarly close-fitting trousers; a bandana surrounds his waist. The features are very clearly cut, and the high cheek-bone, almond eye, faint moustache, and spare beard are reminiscent of the Tartar type. A bird is perched on his left hand. It is not easy to make out exactly what kind of bird this is; the head itself is little bird-like. It is not a cock nor a parrot. I myself think it is meant to represent a hawk or falcon. As is well known, like the nobles of medieval Europe, the Tartars were fond of hunting and hawking. As far as is known, hawking was never practised in Burma; there is no mention of it anywhere in Burmese

¹ The fall of the Mongols at Pagan (?).—*H. H.*

² Might not this be the Chinese Tāmo or Tōna, or Boddhi Dharma, between whom and St. Thomas there may be identity?—*H. H.*

³ These pictures should be published.—*H. H.*

literature ; so that this sport was new to them, and the bird, in all probability, unfamiliar. This little detail of a badly drawn bird is interesting in that it shows that these pictures were painted, not by the Tartars themselves, but probably by some local artists. Quite familiar birds, as the parrot, the cock, the peacock, etc., the Burmese know how to represent beautifully, as is attested by old frescoes, stone and plaster-carvings at Pagan and elsewhere.¹ Figure 2 of Plate I represents a Mongol regular in the act of shooting with bow and arrow ; he is dressed apparently much in the same way as the first figure, but has no hide boots like the officer. Such is, up to now at least, the meagre tangible evidence of the passage of Kublai Khan's warriors in the old city of Mien : passage which politically shook the country to its foundations, and tolled the knell of the first Burmese dynasty.

"35. Not far from the figures of the Mongol officer and soldier, which form the subject of the preceding paragraph, and are illustrated in Plate I, are found pictures of crosses, unmistakably Christian crosses ; as has been said above, the Kyanzittha Cave is a Buddhist monument, hence the interest of the Christian symbol on its walls, at the Burmese capital, in the closing years of the 13th century. The fresco is a square measuring 30"×30". The square is bordered by two lines of about a quarter of an inch each in thickness ; the outer one is black and the inner pale yellow. Within this square, about one inch from the yellow line on the four sides, is a geometrical figure forming another square and made up of thirteen small panels marked out by a thin yellow line ; five are in the middle ; of these the central one is somewhat larger, the outer four coming into contact with it at each of its angles ; around these inner five is a series of eight slightly larger panels, the space between all these figures being filled with the outlines of floral designs in black. It is in each of the eight outer panels or squares that the crosses are painted. They are yellowish ; the fibres and the knots in the wood are very realistic, leaving no possible doubt as to the material intended to be represented. As is well known, the two principal forms of the Christian cross, and which were at first used indiscriminately, are the equilateral or Greek cross, and the *crux capitata* or Latin cross, in which the lower limb is longer than the three others ; in course of time the equilateral cross became the particular emblem of the churches in the East, and the cross with unequal limbs became popular in the West. Our fresco represents both kinds, and four of each, the Latin crosses being somewhat bigger than the others. These crosses are, as far as is known,

¹ "But some birds in Burma resemble the hawk ; hence, the non-descript bird on the Mongol officer's fist is probably to be put down to defective craftsmanship."—C. D.

the earliest testimony, if not of established Christianity, which I doubt, at least of the presence of Christians in the Buddhist metropolis. This must not be taken to mean that Christianity had never before been heard of in Burma, that Christians had never set foot on its soil; there is on the contrary a reasonable likelihood to the contrary; for, in the south of India, Christianity had, at the end of the 12th century, been established for nigh on seven centuries already, and it had not been unknown either, though for a somewhat shorter period, to the north-west and north beyond Burma; unfortunately, there is (*P. 19*) no documentary evidence, internal or external, to enlighten us on the subject in so far as this province is concerned. From which side had the Christian or Christians responsible for those representations come? Were they settled there or merely passing through? These are questions, an attempt to elucidate which may prove interesting.

"St. Thomas the Apostle chose India for the field of his labours, and suffered martyrdom and was buried at the Little Mount at Mylapore,¹ a suburb of Madras. It was for a time thought that this legend rested on pretty solid foundations, but later researches have proved that St. Thomas never went to South India and was not therefore buried there.² All the best early evidence, that is, from the third century to the 6th, tends to show that he evangelised the Parthian Empire, and that, by India, he is understood to have also carried his labours into a region including the Indus valley, but never went any further to the south of it into Hindostan proper.³ The first reliable intimation we have of the existence of Christianity in Southern India dates from the 6th century and is found in the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes (535 A.D.). He travelled in South India and tells us that in Ceylon there was then "a church of Christians with clergy and a congregation of believers"; he did not know, however, whether Christianity was established anywhere further East;⁴ he adds that there were Christians also at Male, that is Malabar. These Christians were of East Syrian origin and had come to India probably to avoid persecution.⁵ The Christians in Malabar were, and are known as "the Christians

¹ At the Cathedral of S. Thomé; not at Little Mount.—*H. H.*

² It cannot be said that this is proved.—*H. H.*

³ The reader who has followed us so far will know what to think of this point and others in this paragraph on which we do not comment.—*H. H.*

⁴ Cosmas' ignorance as to the existence of Christians beyond Taprobane or Ceylon, has been turned into an argument against the existence of Christians at Mylapore. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137, answers that 'beyond' may mean, not the Indian mainland, but the countries towards China, and that "the isolated church of Mailapur, which after all stood in the closest connection with the Church of Malabar, must have appeared to him as an appendix of Male."—*H. H.*

⁵ This statement is too general.—*H. H.*

of St. Thomas"; there is no doubt that they were Nestorians;¹ St. Thomas seems to have been their special saint, hence the pious legend that he had evangelized South India and was buried there. From that early period there were Nestorians in Malabar up to the time they were converted by Catholic Missionaries in the 16th century. Such being the case and considering the relations, commercial and otherwise, which existed between Burma and Southern India since the early centuries of our era; considering also the extraordinary expansive and proselytising spirit of the Nestorians, who soon became known all over Asia, there is a great probability that Christians of St. Thomas, laymen or clergy or both, found their way to Burma at some time or other; if so, whether their influence was in any way felt, whether they succeeded in founding here and there small Christian communities, as they had done in India, is a problem which will probably never be solved. The fact that the crosses found at Pagan are painted on the walls of a Buddhist monument, goes, I think, far to show the unlikelihood of a community, however small, of South Indian Nestorians being established at the Burmese capital: in such a case, they would have had a church, or a chapel,² or at least a house wherein to meet; and would not have painted crosses in a Buddhist cave. Presumptive evidence points rather to the north-west as the route by which these Christian symbols came to Burma.³

¹ Were there no Christians in Southern India before the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus (A.D. 431)? Were there none in China? Theodoret (*Sermo IX de legibus*; Migne, *P.G.*, t. 83, col. 1038) says of the Apostles, "our fishermen and publicans and Paul," that "they carried the laws of the gospel to all the nations. They induced into receiving the laws of the Crucified, not only the Romans and those living under their sway, but the Scythic and Sarmatic nations, and the *Indians*, and the *Æthiopians*, and the *Persae*, and *Særae*, and the *Hyrcani*, and the *Bactrians*, and the *Britanni*, and the *Cymbri*, and the *Germani*, in a word, every race of men, and all nations." Theodoret was born in 386 (393?) and died in 457 (458?). Long before him, (c. A.D. 303-305), Arnobius wrote in *Adversus Gentes* that the new power which had arisen from the works wrought by the Lord and his Apostles "had subdued the flame of human passions, and brought into a hearty acceptance of one faith a vast variety of races, and nations the most different in their manners. For we can count up in our reckoning things achieved in *India*, among the *Seres*, *Persians* and *Medes*; in *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Asia* and *Syria*; among the *Galatians*, the *Parthians*, and the *Phrygians*; in *Achaia*, *Macedonia* and *Epirus*; in all the islands and provinces which the rising or the setting sun looks down upon." Quoted from *Max. Biblioth. Patrum*, 1677, II. 448, in Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), LXXXIX n. 3.—H. H.

² "The broad tolerance of those times would have viewed such a building with no disfavour; there can still be seen a Vishnuite temple right in the midst of the grandest Buddhist monuments; see Duroiselle's "the Nat-Hlaung-Kyaung, Pagan," in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, for 1912-13*, page 136 ff.—C. D.

³ "The literature on the history of the Christians of St. Thomas and early Christianity in Southern India is rather voluminous; the interested reader is referred to the following: C. Swanston, *A Memoir of the Primi-*

"The history of the spread, at an early period, of Christianity in the East, that is Central Asia and China, was up to a few years ago rather involved, and forms the subject of a rather voluminous, but intensely interesting literature. It is the Nestorians who were the first apostles of this vast extent of territory. Nestorius was the patriarch of Constantinople, and after the condemnation of his heresy by the Council of Ephesus in 431 and his banishment, his opinions began to spread rapidly to Persia. It is however about the 7th and 8th centuries that their progress further East to Central Asia and China assumes a (P. 20) real importance. There was already a Metropolitan see established in China in the middle of the 9th century, and the Nestorians were numerous in Central Asia; in fact, they were found all along the route from Persia to China, principally on land, but also along the sea route. It is not the place here to follow their fortunes. Suffice it to say that in China proper they suffered a heavy blow when the edict for their proscription was promulgated in 845, though there is evidence that they continued to exist, if not exactly to flourish, in Central Asia. There was a great recrudescence of missionary activity in the 12th and 13th centuries, during the reigns of the Great Mongol Khans: Chinghiz, Okkodai, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai; at the beginning of the 13th century the Nestorians were very numerous among the Oigurs, the Mongols and the Tanguts;¹ the Keraites (Kitan) had been converted at least a century before that. All these Great Khans appear to have been rather indifferent in the matter of religion, above all that professed by their subjects, though they themselves had rather a leaning towards Buddhism. But they took great delight in listening to discussions among adherents of rival cults: Taoists, Buddhists, Musulmans, Nestorians, and sometimes Catholics. Guillaume de Rubruck,² a Franciscan monk, who was sent among the

tive Church of Malaya, or the Syrian Christians of the Apostle Thomas, J.R.A.S., I. pages 172-192, and II. 54-62, 243-247; Yule's Marco Polo, vide in Index; S. Lévi, Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, III. St. Thomas, Gondophares, Masdeo, in Journal Asiatique, 1897; W. Philipps, The connection of St. Thomas with India, in Indian Antiquary, 1903, pages 1; 145: this last is a splendid work and has said the last word on the subject.—C. D.

¹ "The Tanguts, or, as they are also known, the Si-Hia, were the descendants of the Tang Yang, and therefore of Tibetan origin, and their language belonged to the Tibeto-Burman family. As nearly as the 8th century they had spread along the upper course of the Yellow River. In the 10th century their kingdom corresponded to the province of Kan Su. Si-Hia (the Western Hia) was properly the dynastic name of the kingdom; it originated in 883, when the chief of the Tang Yang helped the Emperor Hi Tsung to defeat the rebel Hung Ch'au; as a reward he was affiliated to the imperial clan of the Hia, and created Duke of the Hia. The Tanguts were for a time a thorn in the side of China. They were conquered in 1227 by the Mongols."—C. D.

² "There was a good number of travellers in Central Asia and China in the 13th century; but the following are the principal, from whose works and letters knowledge has been derived: J. of Plano Carpini (Plan

Tartars by St. Louis, King of France, and who resided at the court of Mangu for some time, tells us of such a discussion which took place on the 31st of May 1254, at Karakorum between Musulmans, Buddhists and Nestorians, and in which the Buddhists were worsted. He reached the Mongol Court at Karakorum in 1253, and tells us how he met, in a tent surmounted by a cross, not far from that of the Great Khan, an Armenian monk who had come from Jerusalem to convert the Emperor Mangu; how again, the chief wife of Mangu, and her children and some ladies, came to the Nestorian chapel. They all prostrated themselves on the ground, touched the images with their right hand and then kissed it; Mangu also came in and made the Franciscans sing hymns. These little details show how Christianity in several of its forms: Catholic, Armenian, Nestorian, was not only tolerated, but revered by some of the very highest at the court of the Great Khans. That among the immediate entourage of these Tartar Emperors, among their troops and officers, there was a large number of Christians cannot be doubted; historical records, as a matter of fact, show this to have been the case. It is even recorded by Plan Carpin that the Great Khan Kuyuk (died 1248) had intended becoming a Christian. The conditions during the reign of Kublai Khan (1260-1294), whose troops took Pagan in 1287, were in no way different from those obtaining under his predecessors; he himself had a Christian bodyguard of 1,000 warriors, and Christians were to be found among his troops and no doubt among his officers. We learn from a Chinese work of the 12th century, quoting an earlier work of the 11th century, that there was a Nestorian church at Ch'eng-tu in Sze-Ch'wan built by people from Central Asia; and Marco Polo is quite explicit as to the existence of Nestorians in Yunnan in the 13th century.

"The above sketch is necessarily very short and therefore imperfect, and the reader, for fuller information, is referred to the principal works on the subject,¹ but even so it will be seen that the assumption that there were at least some (*P. 21*) Christians in the Mongol contingent which reached Pagan, rests on solid foundations and carries a feeling of *vraisemblance*, not

Carpin), sent in 1245 by Pope Innocent IV. with a letter to the Tartar Emperor and his people; returned to France in 1247. William of Rubruquis (Guillaume de Rubruck), sent by St. Louis of France in 1253; returned 1255. Hayton (Hethum) I., King of Little Armenia: started in 1254 and returned 1255. Marco Polo, the greatest and most interesting of all, 1271-1299. Jean de Monte-Corvino started 1289 and resided in China for many years."—*C. D.*

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*; W. W. Rockhill, *William de Rubruck*; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*; Havret, *Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*; Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, etc. See also previous footnote."—*C. D.*

Add two studies by A. Mingana: *The early spread of Christianity in the Far East*, in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 9, No. 2, July 1925; and: *The early Spread of Christianity in India*, *ibid.*, Vol. 10, No. 2, July, 1926.

to say certitude, which study of the subject serves only to strengthen. How long were the Mongols in Pagan after its fall? Probably not very long; a few weeks at the most; long enough, anyway, to allow them to paint, or cause to be painted, all these curious frescoes mentioned in the foregoing paragraph on the walls of the Kyanzittha cave. The fact that the crosses here discussed are found painted among images of warriors, monks and others bearing unmistakable Mongolo-Chinese characteristics, tends to show that these crosses were painted by, or at the instance of, Christians among the troops of the Great Khan who entered Pagan in 1287.....

"37. Although Europeans have known Burma for nigh on five centuries¹ and European influence made itself felt gradually in many ways: economic, political, etc., it does not appear to have made itself felt for some centuries in Burmese religious art and architecture; in so much at least as I am aware, Burmese temples and their decorations shew not the least trace of such influence till the beginning of the 18th century, and then only at (P. 22) Amarapura, the then capital. But that influence is unmistakable, above all as regards frescoes, and sculptures ornamenting some temples and monasteries....."

May we hope that Mr. Duroiselle will give us more of these frescoes in the Kyanzittha Cave? At p. 41, App. E., I find that only three have been photographed, from drawings prepared in the Superintendent's Office, *i.e.*, Nos. 6 to 9 (annual numbers) or Nos. 2209 to 2211 (serial numbers). One of these 3 photographs is that of the crosses; the other two must be figs. 1 and 2 of Plate 1, in the Report for the year ending 31st March, 1922.

As the photograph of the fresco of the crosses was not published in Mr. Duroiselle's Report for 1922, I applied for a copy, and was further given permission by Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology for India, to publish it, a favour for which I am duly grateful.

Mr. Duroiselle is, I believe, right in feeling strong on the subject of the Christian character of these crosses, even though

¹ "The first European who visited Burma was Nicolo di Conti; he was first in Tenasserim and Arakan, and at Ava about 1430. Next comes the Russian Nikitin, who, during his travels in the East between 1468 and 1474, visited Pegu. Two Genoese, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano and Hieronimo Adorno, came from South India to Pegu; the latter died there in 1496, and was buried by his friend Santo Stefano *in a church* then in ruins; this seems to indicate there may have been a mission in Pegu before that. Whether the church had been Catholic or Nestorian, there is no means of ascertaining; but from the early centuries of our era, there had been Nestorian Christians in Malabar and Ceylon. After the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in November 1497 and the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in May 1498, the influx of merchants and others to Burma becomes almost uninterrupted."—C. D.

they are different in form from the crosses incised on stone found thus far in China, Ceylon, Malabar and Mylapore. The symmetry of the complicated drawing, the eightfold repetition of a cross in two sets of four each—the Latin or longer crosses being on the bigger petals, the four Greek crosses on the smaller petals, of an eight-petalled lotus fresco, and a ninth cross occupying the centre—especially the fact, vouched for by Mr. Duroiselle, that the fibres and the knots of the wood have been realistically imitated, cannot be the result of mere fancy; they point to set purpose, to the religious character of the crosses. What Mr. Duroiselle calls the floral designs may be compared with some of the floral or cloud-like designs of Christian crosses in China.¹

If the crosses are Christian, as I think they are, one cannot well understand how they came to be painted by Christians in a shrine occupied at the time by Buddhists. Were they painted by Buddhists in imitation of what they had seen done by Christians, say the Mongol soldiers of Kublai Khan, whom they would also have depicted on their walls? That would argue Christian influence on Buddhist art, and the presence of Christians, with perhaps a place of worship in other parts of Pagan. Or may the cave have served as a place of Christian worship, either for the soldiers of Kublai Khan or even for an earlier colony of Christians from China or from Southern India? A place of Christian worship might have become a place of Buddhist worship in the sequel, either by the gradual deterioration of its congregation and clergy or through Buddhist supersession. We must suspect that ancient Nestorian churches in China eventually lost their Christian character and became heathen pagodas through one or other of these causes. In India, in the beginning of the 14th century or earlier, many Christian churches, according to Friar Jordanus of Séverac, were turned forcibly into mosques by Muhammadans from Multan, and their endowments and properties were confiscated.² If something similar had happened for the Kyanzittha Cave, can we be sure that what is described as paintings of Buddha and Chinese Buddhist monks is really Buddhistic? If it is, may it not have been added later? The presence at Pagan of Christians from Southern India, in particular from the Telugu country or from near Mylapore, would not at all be surprising, considering that the Vishnuites (from Southern India?) had a temple at Pagan, and that the Christians of India were great traders.

It is easy to ask questions. We feel, however, little

¹, pp. 1
or H. Havret, S.J., *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, Pt. II, 176; 177; 180.

² Yule, *The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus*, 1863, p. 23. This was in Lesser India, i.e. in Sind and Gujarat up to Kanara.

reverence for a remark made on Mr. Duroiselle's report by Mr. Lewisohn, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma. "Some of the crosses," he writes, "are the same as the multiplication sign, which is not a specifically Christian symbol. If, however, the design is not of religious import, it may perhaps be of interest as a very early specimen of Cubist art."¹

What has the Cubist art to do with Burmese art and a multiplication sign? Or a multiplication sign with a fresco? Why not argue that all Greek crosses are a sign of addition, and when turned to the proper angle, primeval signs of multiplication? Might not some signs of addition and multiplication, among them those of the Kyanzittha Cave, be Christian crosses? What shall we make of crosses whose lower vertical limb is longer than the other three? What of crosses which the painter took pains to represent as made of wood? Mr. Lewisohn's facetious speculations are worse than regrettable. They are a disgrace in an official document. I am not Mr. Duroiselle's spokesman, but I feel the stronger for him, because, as these slighting comments on a most valuable discovery came from his superior officer, Mr. Duroiselle was forced to keep silent. These same cheap remarks may have been the reason why a reproduction of the fresco was not published with Mr. Duroiselle's report.

To the Christians of the East and of the West it was not even a matter of indifference which kind of tree the wood was of on which our Lord was crucified. Ibn Muhallal (c. 941 A.D.) speaks of the Christians near Naja, tributary to Thatháh, who carried away a kind of wood which fire would not burn, believing that Christ had been crucified thereon.²

Duroiselle's fresco of nine crosses may be compared with the woven horizontal bottom of a Chinese bedstead pictured by Gaillard in his *Croix et Swastika en Chine*, p. 55. It shows 8 crosses in panels round a cross in the central panel, this central cross being itself flanked by smaller crosses in each angle of the central cross. All the crosses are equal-armed. The arrangement is again that of an eight-petalled lotus; eight crosses are on the petals; the central cross with its four smaller crosses is in the cup of the lotus.

Fernão Mendes Pinto, while referring to Chinese intercourse with Burma two centuries earlier than under Kublai Khan, would seem to speak of a temple erected to a cult foreign to

¹ Cf. *Report of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Burma, Rangoon, 1922*, p. 2.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), cxi; clxxxvii; Thathah was a month's journey from Harkah or Harkat in the direction of China. Harkah was itself east of Khorasan and the Muhammadan cities of Mawarunahr. Cf. also Yule, *Marco Polo*, I (1875), pp. 132-145. On the woods of the cross of Christ (palm, olive, cypress, and citron) see John de' Marignolli (c. A.D. 1348) in Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), pp. 364-365. Sir John de Maundeville, *Travels*, ch. 2, has: cypress, palm, cedar and olive.

Burma. "And in the Kingdom of Pegu, where I have often¹ been, I have seen one [a temple]² like unto this (the temple of Bigay potim, that is to say God of a hundred and ten thousand Gods, *Corchoo fungané ginaco ginaca*, which according to their report signifies 'strong and great above all others'), named by those of the Country Ginocoginano,³ the God of Greatness,⁴ which Temple was in times past built by the Chinese, when as they commanded to the India's, being according to their Suppuration, from the Year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1013, to the Year 1072, by which account it appears that the India's were under the Empire of China but only fifty and nine Years, for the Successour of him that conquered it, called Exitagano,⁵ voluntarily abandoned it, in regard of the great expence of money and bloud that the unprofitable keeping of it cost him." "6

Diogo do Couto makes some wild guesses about St. Thomas with reference to a bell and an anchor found in Pegu.

"When the flower-born fisherman, the founder of the dynasty of Pegu Kings, started building the town of Pegu, he also wished to build to his Idols some Temples, which they call Varellas; and so he began to dig the foundations of one which he had decided to make very sumptuous. And below, in the foundations, they found a copper bell, shaped like ours. It was seven fathoms (*braças*) in circumference, a palm and a half thick on the sides, and three fathoms high; around it, below, there was an inscription and beautifully wrought letters in relief, the characters of which are not known nor understood (*P. 159*) by all those Gentios. He ordered to place this bell on the Varella, which was one of the great labours of the world and was held in much veneration by all the Gentios.

"And, while making our conjectures on this matter, it seems to me that the bell was the work of the Apostle St. Thomas, who journeyed there preaching the Law of Grace, that country being inhabited then by Chins [Chinese]: for they have it in their writings that they were already the masters of those Kingdoms; and so they have still many of their things, because the work of their Temples, which are Varellas, was doubtless by the Chins, and this kind of bells was never used in the East except by Christians, and the Holy Apostle must have had them founded by the Chins, who are the best workmen to be found in the world for all manner of handicrafts. And this

¹ *Algumas vezes*: sometimes. Cf. *Hist. Oriental de las peregrinaciones de Fernan Mendez Pinto*, translated into Spanish by Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, Madrid, 1664, ch. 96, p. 173, col. 1.

² Another temple of another god idol (*ibid.*).

³ Ginocoginana (*ibid.*).

⁴ God of all greatness (*ibid.*).

⁵ Oxuagam (*ibid.*).

⁶ Cf. *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, written originally in the Portugal tongue. . . . Done into English by H. Clogan], Gent. The Second Edition Corrected and Amended, London, 1663, ch. 30, section 2 (read 3), p. 119.

opinion of mine about the Chins having been lords of these Kingdoms is confirmed by this that, when the first King dug the foundation for the building of his palaces, they found underground an anchor of cast iron, which is made in China only; it had four flukes, like those of our galleys (*galés*), and was so big that in our own times it was used on the ship of a Portuguese merchant called the Lagra (hum mercador Portugues chamada a [*sic*] Lagra, morador....) an inhabitant of the colony of S. Thomé. A few years ago (*P. 460*) this anchor was lost in the same sea of Pegu, where the ship that used it was lost. Else, we may think also that this anchor belonged to one of the ships sent by King Solomon to those parts in quest of things for the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence, it seems that the sea already reached up to the City of Pegu, and that the ships cast anchor there, that is at the distance we said, all of which was covered by that deluge which, they say, swallowed up, more than a thousand years ago, and covered more than a hundred leagues of land:¹ and, as I presume, the whole was then peopled by the Chins.”²

Baron Textor de Ravisi is the author of a *Mémoire sur la Vierge du Temple de Shoë-Dagon-Prah à Rangoun*, in *Extraits des*

¹ Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, Tom. viii, Dec. xii, lib. 5, c. 3, Lisboa, 1788, p. 455. There do Couto says that at first all was water up to the Kingdom of Brama, a distance of 60 leagues. To the Portuguese Pegu was Lower Burma; Brama, i.e. Burma, was north of the Kingdom of Pegu, in other words it was Ava.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 458-360.

“Another remarkable thing about the Shwé Dagohn Pagoda is its bell, 14 feet high, 7½ feet across, and weighing 42 tons, the third largest bell in the world. This bell has a history. After the second Burmese war in 1853, the English made an attempt to carry it as a trophy to Calcutta, but ere they shipped it the monster toppled over into the Rangoon river, and sank to the bottom. With the appliances then at hand they were unable to get it up again. After a time the Burmans made a request that they might have it. Yes, they might have the bell, if they could get it. They succeeded in raising it out of the river, and hauled it back in triumph to the position it occupies to-day.” Cf. *Four years in Upper Burma*, by W. R. Winston, London, C. H. Kelly, 1892, p. 132.

The second largest bell in the world is said by the same author to be that of the Mengohu Pagoda of Mandalay, a picture of which appears in his book at p. 133; the largest bell is that of Moscow (*ibid.*, p. 134).

Gasparo Balbi visited the Dagon pagoda in 1583. A staircase led up to it, divided into three flights of 40, 30 and 20 steps. At the highest flight of stairs stood two angels of stone with a crown in three tiers. “On visiting this place, at the foot of the first staircase, when one ascends, I turned to the left, and, with some Portuguese who were in my company, we found in a hall a very big bell, which, when we measured it, we found to be seven paces and three palms; the whole of it is full of letters, from the top to the bottom, so close that one touches the other; and they are very well made, clear and polished, but there is not a nation that can understand them, not even the people of Pegu; and they have not even a remembrance whence it came or how it was carried there.” Cf. *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali di Gasparo Balbi*, Venetia, 1590, fol. 97r.

travaux de 1864 à 1867 de la Société académique de St. Quentin (St. Quentin, Jules Moreau, 1866), pp. 1-37. This was followed by a *Deuxième mémoire sur l'idole de la Vierge du temple de Shoë-Dagon-Prah à Rangoun (Indo-Chine)*, pp. 37-66. The notes I took at St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, in 1923, during a perfunctory examination of these articles, show that the statuette, which Textor de Ravisi acquired during his stay at Karikal and thought might be a Madonna, does not hold a child. To suggest that the statue is a Madonna or that it should be compared with the Kuanin of China, who is generally represented with a child, may appear therefore superfluous. It is not even sure that the statuette represents a woman. de Milloüé, Director of the Musée Guimet at Lyons, to which the statuette was presented in 1879 by Textor de Ravisi, holds that it represents Gautama Buddha.¹

I should not have adverted to this statuette, if there were not a chance that the Baron be right. Opinion is still divided about the person of Kuanin. Friar John de' Marignolli, expressing probably the opinion of highly-placed Chinese Christians of his time (1342—end of 1345), plainly states that the cult of the Madonna was not unknown in one of the temples of China. At the risk of being counted among the retrogrades, I record this opinion here: "Also all the philosophers and astronomers of Babylon and Egypt and Chaldea calculated that in the conjunction of Mercury with Saturn a girl should be born, who, as a virgin, without the knowledge of men, should bear a son in the land of Israel. And the image of this virgin is kept in great state in a temple in Kampsay, and on the first appearance of the moon of the first month (that is of February, which is the first month among the Cathayers) that new year's feast is celebrated with great magnificence, and with illuminations kept up all the night."²

¹ Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, XII (1883), p. 312. Cf. also *Congrès international des Orientalistes: Compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873* (t. I, Paris, 1874), pp. 381-385. In t. II, Paris, 1876, p. 423, there is an illustration of "some statuettes of Buddha found in India, in 1856, at the foot of a tree called *Jeloupei-maram*, near a ruined tower." I have little doubt that the allusion is to what was found near the ruined 'Chinese' tower of Negapatam, then within the grounds of the Jesuit College transferred later to Trichinopoly. For a picture of the tower see Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 320.

² Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), pp. 393-394, where see Yule's objections. For the cult of Kuanin supposed to be the Madonna see L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika*, 2nd edn., pp. 167-171. Fr. F. de Queyroz (*Conquista*, p. 30) says: "As God made him [St. Thomas] the Apostle of the Universe, he left traces of his presence in the whole of it; and even in China he sowed so much the new Law which he preached and the prodigies with which he confirmed it, that one of its Emperors sent at that time ambassadors to bring him news about it; and the Devil profiting by the occasion, he introduced through them into China, instead of a knowledge of the Law of Christ, a new Idolatry, which from that time originated in that vast Monarchy, as our Missionaries labouring in that

The Rev. O. Huysman, formerly in Burma and now of the Kumbakonam Diocese, wrote for me the following notes on February 2, 1923, at St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, where I met him :

"When I was in Northern Burma one of my friends, Mr. Gibson, who had been in the Survey Department and who was then residing at Mandalay, spoke to me of a surveying expedition which, as far as I remember, he had made on the side of Pakokku, and he said he had found there a pagoda which had all the characteristics of our ancient Catholic cathedrals.¹ This might perhaps be a clue to Mr. Duroiselle.

"I also remember that, while in North Burma, I heard old Fr. Lecomte, then in charge of Nabeik, say that there was a very mysterious part of the country, where, people said, a white Saint had come formerly, and that the inhabitants of those parts were of a religion which was neither Buddhism nor heathenism ; it could be only a corruption or a vague notion of Christianity. Once he had succeeded to get people to guide him to it ; but, before they reached, they left him, from fear of the consequences probably. As far as I remember, that country must be in the Chindwin District. Fr. Lecomte believed in it firmly, and he greatly regretted he had not been able to manage his exploration successfully. He seemed to say there would have been danger in pursuing it."

This may be compared with what we find about a Chinese Toma or Tamo, who is represented as a White Buddha and is spoken of as the son of a South Indian King.² Just so ; Śālivāhana (St. Thomas ?), under the name of Vikramamitra, identifiable with one of the Vikramadityas, is called the son of the

Christianity have newly (*de novo*) ascertained. And the memories of St. Thomas and of the ancient Christianity of China may be seen in Manoel da Faria e Souza, *tomo 2*."

It is remarkable that at this early date our Missionaries thus explained the vision of Emperor Ming-Ti (A.D. 58-64), which not a few Sinologists still explain with reference to Christ (cf. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *World-Healers or the Lotus Gospel*, I. 27-28). Might not Nāgārjuna's tower in South India have reference to the palace built in heaven by St. Thomas and the Hymn of the Soul, in which St. Thomas, the singer, represents himself as the conqueror of the dragon ?

¹ Mr. Gibson was the Settlement Officer for the Pakokku District. He wrote the Settlement Report for that District, and may have alluded to his discovery in his report. (Letter of Mr. F. C. Clancey, 125 Cantonments, Agra, U.P., 16. 11. 1926, to myself)

² L. Gaillard, S.J., *Croix et swastika en Chine*, 2nd edn., pp. 74n. 1 : 78 n. 3 ; Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Crisology*, index, s.v., Tamo, where he is described as the "Twin of Shaka." Our Didymus, of whom the Gnostics made the Twin of Christ ? Mrs. E. A. Gordon (*ibid.*, pp. 250-251) believes she discovered a picture of St. Thomas in one described as Tamo's in the Forest of Tablets at Sianfu, wherein the 'Sin-gan-fu' stone was housed in 1907. Pelliot (*Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung Pao*, 1914) thinks that the place where it stood before was the very place where Olopen built his monastery in the 7th century.

Ghosa (Chosha, Chola ?) Raja Gandharupa (Gondophares ?) in the Bhāgavat, Brahmānda, Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, according to Wilford.¹

Considering that the Irawaddy River cuts across the length of Burma, nothing was easier for foreigners than to go to Upper Burma, to Ava. We find a Vishnuite temple at Pagan, and, as we have said, Christian traces in the Kyanzittha Cave near Pagan. Pakokku is north of Pagan, on the right bank of the Irawaddy, and within easy reach of Pagan. It is not impossible that Christians were fixed here too, and that they introduced a style of architecture recalling the style of our Western cathedrals. I look with much suspicion on the un-Indian architecture of some ruined temples in Kashmir. There is a small district of Pakokku near the Chin Hills, far away from easy communication. It is less likely that Mr. Gibson referred to the Pakokku near the Chin Hills. There may be alive those who remember what places, pagoda or pagodas, he referred to.

The same for Fr. Lecomte. It may not be too late to record what traditions he picked up, and in what direction and how far he went. The Chindwin River, branching off from the Irawaddy westwards, and leading high up into Upper Burma, may have lured Christians as far as the amber and jade mines near the Chindwin Shan State of Hkamti. Surely, the ruby mines of Ava were exploited from very early times, offering another attraction.

Ancient Christian communities eventually cut off from a Christian base would naturally have drifted away into the stronger ambient cults. This is what happened in China. The Christian captives dragged from Siriam to Ava in 1613 and parked off in the interior might all have succumbed to Buddhism by now, but for the labours of the Jesuits, Barnabites, and others. Even so, not a few apostatised; some, too, of European stock. In 1609 a Dominican, Frey Francisco d' Annuniação went to the king of Taungu to negotiate friendly relations with Siriam. "Here he ransomed many sons and daughters of ancient Christians who had already become gentoos."²

A summary of these notes on Burma published in *The Voice*, now edited from St. Patrick's Church, Moulmein, Nov. 1926, pp. 288-292,³ elicited further particulars.

Fr. X. Boulanger, the editor of *The Voice*, states (Nov. 1926, p. 289) in corroboration of Fr. O. Huysman's remarks on Fr. Lecomte: "I myself remember that, when in 1888-89 I was

¹ *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), p. 43. He refers to the sections on futurity.

² Cf. *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. 21, 1925, p. 47.

³ Taken over by *The Rangoon Times*, Tuesday, Dec. 21, 1926, p. 13.

stationed at Myingyan, a few miles above Pakokku and on the opposite bank of the Irawaddy, I met a woman who told me that she was one of a number of people living somewhere up the Chindwin, who were not Buddhists, but had a religion of their own, and after questioning her I came to the conclusion that they were the remnants of an ancient Christian community."

Fr. J. M. Jarre, writes to me from Maymyo (Burma) on Nov. 18, 1926:—

"In 1889-90, when I was stationed at Amyin, south of Monywa, in the Lower Chindwin, I saw a number of Shans, from the east of Burma, returning from a pilgrimage at Alaungdaw Kathaba, a place situated about Long. 94°30' and Lat. 22°20', twenty-three miles west of Kani, a small town on the right bank of the Chindwin. I made inquiries, and I heard that a saint, named Kathaba, whose body is said to be preserved intact, is venerated there in a cave by many Chins, Burmese and Shans, who from time immemorial go there in pilgrimage every year, in the month of February. The saint was not a Buddhist, not a man of the land, but a foreigner, they say: of what religion, nobody knows. I tried to go and see the place by myself, but was prevented from doing so. I learned afterwards from Father Lecomte that this was the very place he had wished to visit some years before, and a Burmese Christian told me how it was that he could not find it. Father Lecomte was preceptor to some princes, and, as such, under the pretext of giving a holiday to his pupils, he asked the king's permission to bring them to Alaungdaw Kathaba. The permission was graciously granted, with a royal order to all chiefs on the way to facilitate the pilgrimage of the Father and the princes; but, underhand, a secret order was given not to bring them to the real place, lest Father Lecomte should perhaps wish to take away the holy body. And, in fact, he was brought to Gangaw, a place far beyond the true one, and came back without having seen anything.

"*Alaung* means corpse; *daw*, holy, and Kathaba is the name of the saint....¹

"In 1895-96 I was stationed at Meiktila, a town about 45 miles south-east of Myingyan. I received the visit of men of Mahlaing, a village 32 miles south-east of Myingyan. They invited me to go to their village, where, they told me, a good number of people among them, who never believed in Buddhism, and who might perhaps be willing to become Christians, wished to hear of our religion. I was sick then, and soon after had to leave the place; so I did not go to Mahlaing.

"Sixteen miles east of Myingyan there is a place called Natogyi. A young Burmese Catholic went there a few years ago for his trade. He saw near the place the ruins of a big

¹ Here comes a passage on the meaning of Calamina, which we gave above, p. 527.

building, which he thought might have been a Catholic cathedral, called by the people *Paya gyi* (that is, big place of worship). Is this the pagoda with all the characteristics of our ancient Catholic cathedrals mentioned by Mr. Gibson? I cannot say.

"According to San Germano, during the reign of Bodaw Paya, the founder of Amarapura, many people were burnt alive, because they refused to become Buddhists, and called themselves worshippers of the true God. The word they used to signify 'worshippers of the true God' is Talaing, the name of a race which occupied Burma years before the Burmese. Whether or not these Talaings are a remnant of very ancient Christian communities, no one knows at present."

I sent this letter to *The Voice* and commented as follows.

1. Fr. Boulanger's note is all too short. Could he recall in what way his conversation with that woman from up the Chindwin made him suspect her people were the remnants of an ancient Christian community?

2. The Atlas of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 26, 1908, shows Monywa, Kani and Gangaw, but not Amyin or Alaungdaw Kathapa. The same Gazetteer, Vol. 10, pp. 230-231, states of the Lower Chindwin District: "Many celebrated pagodas are situated in the District. One of considerable (P. 231) note is Alaungdaw Kathapa, built on the watershed between the Patolon and Yoma streams in the Kani township, in memory of the Buddhist monk who is said to have conducted the first Synod after the Buddha's death. A large number of pilgrims from different parts of Burma visit it every year. Other notable shrines are the Paungwa, the Shwekuni, the Shwegu, the Sataungbyi, the Shwemyindin, the Shwezigon, the Shinbyuyatkyi, and the Ingyindaung pagodas. Powundaung, a hill about 3 miles east of Lengauk village in the Salingyi township, is noted for its numerous cave temples carved out of sandstone rock. There are said to be 444,444 images of Buddha of different sizes in these recesses." This seems to land us in the midst of Buddhism; yet, all depends on what is meant by Buddha and whether the monk in question was a Buddhist.

3. I find in the Atlas of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. 26, 1908, Myingyan and Meiktila, and between the two, on a railway line, Mahlaing. Will anyone at Myingyan or Meiktila try to discover who were the people of Mahlaing who invited Fr. Jarre to their place in 1895-96, and to what religion other than Buddhism they belonged? If there were any remnants of ancient Christians in Burma, the first thing to ascertain is whether they still worship the cross in some form or other. Even this may not now be a safe guide, after so many centuries of complete abandonment.

4. A stone temple like a Catholic cathedral at Nato-gyi brings us back to Mr. Gibson's statement. Nato-gyi is on the map. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. 18, p. 416, places it in the Myingyan District, Upper Burma, between 21°18' and 21°40'N.

and 95°31' and 96°1'E., but says nothing of archaeological remains. The Archaeological Department, with headquarters at Mandalay, must know about this temple. Can we get at its history?

5. Amarapura was founded in 1783 by Bodawpaya (1781-1819). Who could have been the Talaings, worshippers of the true God, whom he burned alive, because they would not become Buddhists? At one time it was fashionable to derive the word Talaing from Talingāna, the Telugu country. Thus Arthur Phayre in *On the history of Pegu* (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. 42, pt. 1, pp. 32-34, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 676). Prof. Forchhammer (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, *ibid.*) did away with that theory. If there were anything in Phayre's opinion, we should think of Christian Telugus (Kalingas) from near St. Thomas' tomb settled in Burma in very early times, like the Hindus settled there too, and that far in the interior. We might expect that some of these 'worshippers of the true God' are still extant. Where can they be found and what are their beliefs? Do they connect themselves with the saint of Alaungdaw Kathapa, or with temples of a foreign architecture? Christians from near Mylapore settled in Burma would naturally have introduced the style of architecture prevailing at Mylapore, and that may have been foreign, the Christian architecture of Persia or Mesopotamia adapted to the tastes and conditions at Mylapore.¹

The Voice of December 1926, pp. 316-317, contained another answer to our inquiries, addressed to the editor by M. Paul, St. Xavier's School, Mandalay.

"In the last month's issue of *The Voice*, I read the interesting article on 'Archæology' by the Rev. Father Hosten. As regards the Roman crosses² found in a fresco in the Kyanzittha Cave, near Pagan, a reference had already been made to them by the late Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., in his Annual Report, page 33, for the year 1917. Mr. Duroiselle was first in doubt as to their Christian character. I am glad to hear now that he has now come to share the views of his predecessor in office. If these crosses were made by Christian soldiers of Kublai Khan, there should be other places also, I suppose, where similar traces of Christianity could be found. I hope that some day these will be unearthed by some keen archaeologists.

"I have also drawn the attention of the Archaeological Department to the mysterious region in the Chindwin District alluded to by the late Father Lecomte. Mr. Duroiselle has promised me to explore it at his earliest convenience. If I am not mistaken, it should be the mysterious cave called Alaung-

¹ I published Fr. Jarre's letter with my comments in *The Voice*, British Burma Press, Rangoon, vol. 16, No. 2, February 1917, pp. 43-49.

² Say: Greek and Latin crosses, rather.

daw Cathaba, some 20 miles from Monywa. I heard about this about 25 years ago from the late Bro. Cyprian, of St. Peter's School, Mandalay. Anxious to explore this mysterious region, I went to Monywa a few years ago, but my little expedition proved futile for want of reliable guides. Report states that the cave cannot be entered by single individuals, but only by a number of people together and with lighted torches. Rooks, indeed, owls, and other birds of the night guard the place ferociously. The passage through it is fairly wide, having a streamlet which enters by one side and comes out by the other. As you advance, the roof of the cave slopes down gradually, to such an extent that, at last, there is left only enough space for one person to creep through it. The roof then rises again gradually, coming at last to its usual height. Far away, on a dingy cot in a nook of the cavern, under a glimmering light, reposes in state a white figure, with hands clasped, and clad in black robes, probably petrified. Some say they could even discern faintly something like a cross in his hands. When and how this mysterious personage came there and met his death, nobody could tell. And no brave mortal has since entered the inner vault for fear of evil consequences. Burmese pilgrims go there at certain times of the year, and put their offerings of food in a cup and float it down the streamlet, which brings it back by the other side quite empty. Offerings of money are also sent through a hole in the left side of the wall of the cave.¹ It does not return, but its journey down the hole could be heard for some time. Some say it may be a missing Catholic missionary by name Cuthbert, which the Burmese pronounce Cathaba, come out independently from the West with the doughty sons of Portugal to preach the Gospel. However, it is now left to Father Hosten and Mr. Duroiselle to solve the mystery."

Father P. Laurent wrote from Nabeck to *The Voice* on November 18, 1926 (cf. *The Voice*, January 1927, pp. 12-13):—

"I have formerly been stationed in the Upper Chindwin for a year, and I did not hear that there had ever been a Christian village in those parts. On the left bank of the Lower Chindwin, the Catholic prisoners from Syriam were retained at a place called Payeinma. But some 180 or 200 years ago, the greater number of them migrated and founded the Catholic village of Nabeck. Only a few remained at Payeinma and became apostates."²

¹ If this is true, the place must contain a regular cabinet of Burmese coins from the most ancient times.

² Nabeck had a church of St. John the Baptist with 300 Christians in 1644. Cf. *The Voice*, 1927, p. 23. We do not find Payeinma as a Christian settlement in 1644, and we cannot well expect at Payeinma forerunners of the Nabeck settlement till after the capture of Syriam in 1613.

Fr. P. Laurent writes of the Christians of Nabeck: "They know of

"As regards the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Kathaba or Kasaba, the Christians believe that the personage whose remains have been deposited there was a foreigner whose name was Gaspar. It is situated on the right bank of the Chindwin, some 50 or 60 miles from the river between Monywa and Gangaw. The shortest way thereto is through Kani, headquarters of a subdivision in the Monywa district. Father Jarre and myself had heard of Father Lecomte's mishap when we planned to visit Kathaba; but we never started, as it so happened that, when one was ready, the other was not.

"I cannot gather any information as to whether or not there have ever been any Christians at Kathaba, and this is all I have ever learned concerning the place.

"At the time of the annexation of Upper Burma, one of our Catholics, an interpreter with some British officers, related to me that he had spent one day at Kathaba. There is a little height all surrounded with water, and near it a large rest-shed for the pilgrims. He did not make any mention of a pagoda. There is no village, but a large forest in the neighbourhood.

"Some of my Christians here tell me that there is a cave in which a human form is seen lying on the back, and alongside of it there is a book with two candlesticks, the whole being petrified. They also say that now the cave has fallen in and that nothing can be seen.

"It is a place of pilgrimage for the Burmese and Shans, and some years ago, when I was stationed at Monhla, Ye-u District, I met a Shan woman, who said that she was on her way to visit the celebrated spot."

I followed up these two letters with "*Traces of early Christianity in Burma or The Wise King Gaspar and Prester John of India*" (cf. *The Voice*, April 1927, pp. 90-96; May 1927, pp. 115-132).

We need not pay any attention to a supposed identity between Kathaba or Kathapa and Cuthbert, an imagined Portuguese missionary. The Burmese legend about Kathapa must be much older; possibly, as old as the pilgrimage to the cave. What the people take for a petrified or intact body with a cross in its hands, or with two candlesticks and a book, is probably a natural formation or crystallization of the rock.

The name Gaspar given to Kathapa or Kasaba by some of the Nabeck Christians was puzzling. There could be little

the Payeinma establishment and a few of the present Christians of Nabeck have still relatives there or consider themselves related to people there. Maghiekan village is better known to our Christians, being nearer to them for time and distance; some of our families still own land or other immovable property on that side. Nabeck came next. All here know of only three churches built at Nabeck: the first, a wooden one, was pulled down about the middle of the 19th century, and replaced by a brick building; then came the present church, built in 1911." (*Letter from Nabeck*, 2-6-1927.)

doubt that they meant Gaspar, one of the Three Wise Kings. Did their Gaspar belong to the same cycle of Christian legends as Mendes Pinto's Thomas Modeliar and his disciple John? Was the name Kathaba or Kathapa also pronounced Kasaba by others than Christians? Was it from the name Kasaba that the Nabeck Christians had come down to Gaspar? In that case, their identification founded on mere assonance was not worth pursuing. Could they also have reached Gaspar from the forms Kathaba, Kathapa? They could; but, in that case, was it not arrived at through a pre-Portuguese identification of Kathapa with Gaspar? Pre-Portuguese Christians in Burma might have identified Kathaba, Kathapa, Kasaba with Gaspar through 'Gathaspa,' an old oriental form of Gondophares' name. They could also have come to Gaspar-Gondophares through the Kandapa of Tamil and Malabar Christian tradition.

In *The Voice*, Rangoon, April 1927, p. 93, I threw out the suggestion that Fr. Laurent's Christians would probably identify Kasaba-Gaspar with the Wise King Gaspar. Fr. Laurent called the elders of the village and all declared that Kathaba is not a Burmese, but a foreign, name. One of them said it was the name of the Wise King Gaspar, but all the rest protested it could not be. (*Letter of Fr. Laurent, Nabeck, 2-6-1927.*)

Naturally, we do not believe that the Magus Gaspar lies buried in the Alaungdaw Kathapa Cave. We might, however, seriously doubt that the monk said to be buried there is he who convened the first council after the Buddha's death.

M. Paul writes from Mandalay: "I made enquiries from some Burmese Buddhists about Kathapa, whom some call Kāyapa, a Buddhist divine, who flourished in the 9th century, A.D., and who seems to have convened the 4th Buddhist Council. They send money offerings to the shrine at Alaungda Kathapa in the hope that it will one day be utilised for the coming mission of Kāsyapa, to whom some refer as the 'White Saint from the West.' These reports are really very conflicting and, unless somebody explores this mysterious country, the mystery will never be elucidated." (*The Voice*, Rangoon, June, 1927, p. 147.)

In Malabar, and probably further east too, St. Thomas was called Buddha. His followers in Malabar are called Buddhists to this day. Christ may have been regarded as an *avatār* of Gautama Buddha. There are indications to that effect, as also to the effect that Thomas was regarded as an incarnation of Christ. There may have been councils of religion convoked in St. Thomas' time by king Gondophares (Gaspar). St. Thomas too may have convoked a council of bishops. We have a story from a Syriac book in Malabar stating that St. Thomas convened a council of bishops at Mylapore. We even get the places they came from: Candahar, Cabul, Caphurstan (Kafiristan), Lesser

Guzarate, and other (unnamed) neighbouring places.¹ Such a council may have been assembled by Bishop Dionysius (of Cranganore?)² with the help of King Mazdai's deacon-son Vizan of Mylapore, the John of Mendes Pinto. The strange thing is that Burma, like China, has knowledge of a white saint, from the West and that, in China, he is Tamo, a white Buddha, son of a South-Indian king, whose worshippers regard the cross as a religious emblem. Equally strange for Burma that a figure supposed to be that of a missionary rather than of a king should be called Gaspar. Less strange perhaps in that pre-Portuguese Christians in Burma, like the Hindus and Tartars (Chinese? Burmese?), would have honoured St. Thomas at his tomb of Mylapore, and would have transferred to Mylapore, as did the Malabar Christians, the Gaspar-Gondophares of the North-West frontier. That done, it was easy to make of Gaspar the father of Thomas. Gaspar would be the Gandharupa, Ghosha (Chosha, Chola?) Raja, father of one Vikramāditya who lived 84 years and is Śālivāhaṇa (the cross-bearer or cross-borne).³ In Gandharupa's other names, Harsha Megha, Gadha Raja, Gard-dabharupa, Rashada Sena, Gadhendra, names connected with asses or the face of an ass,⁴ we would have the gibe of the Roman *graffiti* representing Christ crucified in the form of an ass, gibe not unknown to the pagan Chinese, who crucified a pig.⁵ The gibe would have been transferred to Gondophares, who, if the 'father' of Thomas' new religion, may have been represented as the father of Thomas or Christ. The Vikramāditya said to be the son of Gandharupa also appears as the grandson of Ati-Brahma and son of Brahma.⁶ In the case of Śālivāhaṇa (St. Thomas? Christ's twin), the father also appears as the grandfather.⁷ Other gibe against Christ? Some Gnostics represented the Holy Spirit, feminine in the Aramaic languages, as the daughter and wife of the Father, whence it followed that the Son was both son and grandson, his mother being also his sister.⁸

¹ A. Kircher, *China... illustrata...*, Amstelodami, 1667, p. 91 col. 2.

² Max Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, Lipsiae, 1883, p. 139.

³ *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX (1807), pp. 139, 140, 145, 150.

⁵ H. Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, 2^e partie, Chang-hai, Imprim. de la Miss. Cathol., 1897, p. 189.

⁶ *As. Res.*, IX (1807), 150.

⁷ *Ibid.*, X (1808), 39-41.

⁸ J. C. Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli*, Lipsiae, 1823, p. 134.

13. *Siam and Cambodia.*

On reading Varthema's *Travels* one is struck by the number of Christians he met beyond the Coromandel Coast towards Malacca. He came across Christian fellow-travellers from Sornau.¹ Now, Sornau must have been, if not the capital, one of the chief towns of Siam.²

Vasco da Gama writes, in the usual style, in his *Roteiro* (1498): "*Xarnauz* is of Christians, and the king is a Christian."³

In connection with Siam, we must set aside a text in Thomas Yeates' *Indian Church History*, London, A. Maxwell. 1818, reprinted with comments by Mrs. E. A. Gordon in her *Asian Cristology*, Tokyo, Maruzen & Co., 1921, p. 51. Yeates professes to take it from Assemani, and it has led his republisher to build upon it some of her analogies between Assyrian Christianity and the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism. Yeates makes the canon of Theodosius (A.D. 852-858) say that, whereas the Metropolitans of Elamis, Nisibis, Perath-Mesena, Assyria, Beth Garma, and Halacha⁴ must every four years be present at the Patriarch's Synod, "the other Metropolitans, namely of China, Hindia, Persia, of the Merozites, of Siam, of the Raziches, the Hariuns, and of Samarkand," owing to their distance and by reason of infested mountains and turbulent seas, must send every six years letters of salutation (of adhesion and union, rather, as Assemani has it), and alms for the maintenance of the Patriarch's household. Assemani (Tom. III. Pt. II, p. 439) mentions "the Metropolitans of the Sinae, and of India, and of Persia, and of the Maruzitac, and of Sciana (Syria),⁵ and

¹ Varthema, *Travels*, Hakluyt Society, 1886. Part of the text reads thus in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, under the year 1510: "They said they were from a city Sornau, and had brought for sale silken stuffs, and benjoin, and musk." Varthema, 212.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866) ci. n. 1. In *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Sarnau, Shahr-i-nao (new city) is identified with Yuthia or Ayodhya, built about 1350; *ibid.*, 1886, xiv, Yule doubts whether Varthema ever went beyond Calicut and Cochin. Is that probable? He speaks of himself as visiting Malacca and Sumatra. Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. Malacca and Sumatra. On Shahr-i-nao see also Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I. 124 n.

I have not now Varthema by me; but, if I remember well, Winter Jones and Badger, his commentators, too often explain away his references to Christians in those distant eastern parts. By 1510 the Farther East was overrun by Portuguese adventurers and merchants, and by the Armenians, who had not ceased their activities.

³ *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 601, s. v. Sornau.

⁴ I write these names as I find them in my notes from Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. III. pt. II. p. 439. The Latin text is also quoted by Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, p. 152 n. 2.

⁵ The explanation about Syria is by Assemani. Why should Syria have been placed in the position of the more distant churches?

of the Razichitæ, and of the Heriunitæ, and of the Samarcanditæ."

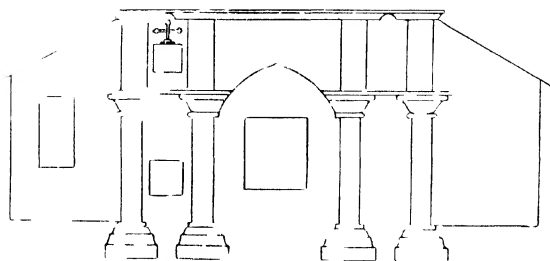
Unheard of is the Metropolitan of Hara, "in Camboja," whom Yeates mentions in an appendix (p. 287 of Mrs. Gordon's reprint), as taken from Assemani's collection (*ibid.*, p. 51). I turn for help to Yule's *Cathay*, I (1866), p. ccxlv, and find that Yeates' "No. 9, Metropolitan of Hara, Camboja" appears in Yule's list as "No. 10. Hara [Herat]." Yule refers to Assemani's Vol. II. pp. 458-459, which quotes Amru (c. 1340).¹ Mrs. Gordon again availed herself of an erroneous text to derive certain surprising conclusions. In a picture from Cambodia she recognises the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.²

¹ Yule is right, as I ascertained in Assemani, III (not II), p. 368.

² Cf. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Cristology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-147. The picture faces p. 38, and may be compared with another facing p. 124. See also her bold comparison between the cross-shape disposition of the five Angkor Vat temples and the four great pilgrimage churches at Jerusalem grouped round a fifth central one, the Holy Sepulchre (*ibid.*, pp. 144-146)



St. Thomas' Mount Church. nting on wood representing our Lady and Child. Taken away to Chandragiri in A.D. 1558 by the Raja of Vijayanagar, it was sent back in a royal palanquin. Cf. pp. 45-46, No. 58; pp. 143-144, No. 370.



A—St Thomas Mount—No 55 Mam Road, St Thomas Mount
Cf p 129, No 308

(b)

(a)



b—St Thomas Mount—Road lined with a wall on both sides, leading up to the mound on the top (a), the Church of Our Lady's Expectation and (b) the Convent of the Holy Apostles—Cf pp 34-59 and 134-149

14. *Kalah.*

A passage in a letter from the Nestorian Patriarch Isho'-Yahb III. (c. 650-660) complains that Simeon, the Metropolitan of Riwardshir, neglects the missions under his care, or rather that their bishops have become schismatical. Among them is India. "As far as your district is concerned, from the time you showed recalcitrance against ecclesiastical canons, the episcopal succession has been interrupted in India, and this country has since sat in darkness, far from the light of the divine teaching by means of rightful bishops: not only India, that extends from the borders of the Persian Empire, to the country which is called Kalah, which is a distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs, but even your own Fars."¹

Colon, as Assemani wrote Kalah, was generally identified with Quilon; "but," says Yule, "this is an arbitrary and erroneous rendering in Assemani's Latin. The Syriac text has Kalah, and probably refers to the port of the Malay regions noticed under Calay and Queda."²

In his earlier work (*Cathay*, I (1866), p. 71 n. 2) Yule had identified Colon with Quilon, and so do most writers. Gilde-meister (*Scriptores Arabum de rebus Indicis*, p. 63),³ gives the Syriac of Assemani (III. Pars I. 127-129) and reads Kalah, instead of Colon, but explains it as meaning Chola, Coromandel. Reinaud had identified Kalah of the Arab traveller Sulaimān with Galle (Ceylon), or Coromandel. This explanation supposes that the first letter of Choramandalam was pronounced like a *k*. Mgr. Medlycott would place the Kalah of Assemani's Syriac text at the port of the Malay regions referred to by Yule, or at Galle (Ceylon);⁴ but how it helps his discussion about the place of St. Thomas' burial, Calamina, one does not see.

If we have by all means to seek for an *Indian* Kalah so far away from Quilon, the place would seem to be the Kalah or Kalāhbār of the Arab merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851), which Gabriel Ferrand identifies, not with Queda or Kedah, but with the port of Kra or Krah, on the west coast of the isthmus of that name, a little above 10° Lat. North, in the Malay Peninsula.⁵

¹ Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III, Pars II. 438; translation by A. Mingana, *Early spread of Christianity in India* (reprint, 1926, p. 32) who notes that *Parses* should be translated by *Fars*, and not *Persia*.

² Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 569, s.v. Quilon, note.

³ Quoted by Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 147 n. 1.

⁴ Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 153-160.

⁵ *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Cf. also Dames, *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 165 n.

What is the origin of the name Cape Romania at the northern extremity of the Malay Peninsula? May we compare it with Ramaniya, applied to Burma, or with Arramaniya, applied to some country of the Transgangetic Peninsula? Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I, 243 n. 3.

15. *Christians at Malacca.*

"And in that part of the palisade (*tranqueyra*), which is beyond the Malacca river, in a site (belonging) to Raya Mudiliar which later was the property of Dona Helena Vessiva, among the mango-trees (*mangueiras*), while digging to the bottom, about two fathoms (*braças*), they found in the ruins of an underground house of bricks, like a Hermitage, a + fleurie (*floreada*) of copper somewhat eaten with age (*pouco carcomido*), of the shape of the crosses of the knights of Calatrava,¹ three palms in breadth and length, on a square marble stone of the length and breadth of the said + ; and it seems it is the + of some Christians of Meliapor who came with merchants of Choromandel to Malacca."²

We should conclude from this that the Christians of St. Thomas or the Chinese Christians had had a commercial settlement at Malacca before the Portuguese: for some of the Malabar traditions, if we may call them so, mention Malacca as visited by St. Thomas, though they oftener refer to China.³ The fact that a hermitage is mentioned, by which the Portuguese understood a chapel, would show that there had been a chapel on the spot, and this would carry us back, we may imagine, to a period greatly anterior to the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. The depth at which the cross was found and the fact that this brick house was underground adds to the mystery and the antiquity.

Christian prisoners are mentioned at the capture of Malacca in 1511,⁴ and Correa's reference to a settlement of foreigners at

¹ For a picture of a knight of Calatrava and his cross see *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, III, 150a. The cross on their white mantle was a scarlet cross fleurdelysée (*ibid.*, p. 150b).

² Cf. a MS. note by Sir Henry Yule taken from Godinho de Eredia, fol. 15, in *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edn., revised by H. Cordier, London, Murray, Vol. 2 (1921), p. 35. We translate the Portuguese text of the note.

When did Godinho de Eredia write? In *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Malacca, there is a quotation from him, which Yule dates 1613. The same date is given by Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II, 171n.

³ The Syrian books of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar spoke of a journey of St. Thomas to Marhozaya, and Bishop Francis Roz, S.J., first Latin Bishop of Angamale-Cranganore (1600-1624) asserts that this was Malacca. Cf. do Couto, *Da Asia*, dec. 12, liv. 3. c. 4 (t. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 273). Even if Marhozaya were not Malacca, would Francisco Roz have dared to affirm it was, unless there was a strong local tradition that there had been Christians at Malacca? I suspect that Marhozaya is only the Mahosha of Jacob of Sarug, mentioned in connection with St. Thomas' travels, a place near Basra, Cf. Medlycott, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249. A bishop, of the country of Prester John, said, while in Malabar, that the miracle of the palaces related in St. Thomas' story happened at Khanbaliq (China). Cf. Correa, *Lendas da India*, III, 423-424.

⁴ Cf. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque*, by Walter de Gray Birch, London, III (1880), p. 91.

Malacca before the Portuguese conquest may belong to a colony of Christian foreigners. "For in Malacca, as there was a continual traffic of people of many nations, each nation maintained apart its own customs and administration of justice, so that there was in the city one Bendará of the natives, of the Moors and heathens severally; a *Bendará of the foreigners*; a Bendará of the foreign merchants, of each class severally; to wit, of the Chins [Chinese], of the Leqeos [Loo-choo people], of the people of Siam, of Pegu, of the Quelins [Klings, Kalingas or Talingas, Telugus], of the merchants from within Cape Comorin, of the merchants of India [*i.e.*, of the Western Coast], of the merchants of Bengala. . . ." ¹ A similar organization would have existed in other emporiums of India and the Far East from time immemorial. Varthema says of Malacca (A.D. 1510): "I believe that more ships arrive here than in any other place of the world." ²

¹ Cf. Correa, *Lendas*, II. 253 (A.D. 1511). Quoted from *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Kling, p. 373 b. *Bend'ira* is explained (*ibid.*, p. 63 a) as Javanese: *bendaru*: lord, or *bāndrū*; from Skt. *bhāṇḍārīn*, 'a steward, or treasurer.'

² Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, *s.v.* Malacca, p. 415b.

16. *The Java Seas.*

There appear to have been, before the Portuguese, Christian settlements near or in what are now the Dutch Indies.

"The Syrian Bishops Thomas, Jaballaha, Jacob and Denha, sent on a mission to India in 1503 by the Patriarch Elias, were ordained to go 'to the lands of the Indians, and the islands of the Seas which are between Dabag and Sin and Masin' [Mahachin]. (Assemani, III. Pars I, 592.) This Dabag is probably a relic of the form Zábaj of the early narratives, used also by Al-Birūnī. Ibn Khurdadbah and Edrisi use Jaba for Zábaj.¹ Walckenar, quoted by Mr. Major (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. xxvii) says: 'The Purāṇas and Hindu books show that the title of Maharaja or Great King was originally applied to the sovereign of a great part of India, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and the neighbouring Islands. This dynasty continued till 628,' etc. It is a pity that Baron Walckenar did not quote more definitely 'the Purāṇas and Hindu books' which give this precise and interesting information, and in the absence of such quotation there must be some hesitation in accepting it. The truth appears to be that, whilst the antiquities, literature, and traditions of Java and other islands show that communication with continental India in remote times must have been large and intimate, nothing distinct has yet been produced to show that any record of communication or knowledge of these islands has been preserved on the Continent. Friedrich and Lassen certainly seem to have no knowledge of such records as Walckenar alludes to."²

This was written by Yule in 1866. When he returned to the subject twenty years later,³ he had found that Java is mentioned in the Rāmāyana (IV. xl. 30, Kern), in the *Aryabhata* (IV. v. 13, Kern), and *Sūrya-Siddhānta* (XII. v. 38, Kern). Moreover, he did not scruple any longer to identify the Dabag of Assemani with Java. In 1866 he had even placed under Java a reference to a Queen of Saba by Friar John de' Marignolli (c. 1347-48), who says that there were a few Christians in her realms,⁴ while Kunstmann transferred the scene to the Maldives.⁵ We may add that references to Java and the

¹ We have shown above, p. 409, n. 4, that Ibn Khurdadba appears to distinguish between Jāba and Zábaj. Al Idrisī merely copies Ibn Khurdadba for Jāba. Jāba would be Saba, in India, and Zábaj would be Java.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), civ.

³ *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Java.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), 346.

⁵ We have tried to show above that this queen of Saba was in India.

neighbouring islands are found in plenty in the Tamil writers.¹ A reference to Christians quoted by us under Ceylon from John de Maundeville concerning Taprobane belongs, perhaps, to Sumatra and Java rather than to Ceylon.

Gabriel Ferrand states that, as shown by Kern, Zâbeġ, more correctly Zâbag, is equivalent to Jāwaga, or Jāvaga, i.e., Java.²

¹ Cf. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1921, pp. 10-44, in an article on *Greater India : Expansion of India beyond the seas*, by Prof. Rao Sahib S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

² *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

17. *Tonkin.*

The Spaniard Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos has some wonderful things about St. Thomas. A great traveller, Ordoñez visited the Holy Land, Morocco, Guinea, the Congo and America. During his second stay in America, he relinquished the army, became a priest and worked a long time at Santa Fe de Bogota. On the return journey to Spain, he was shipwrecked near Cuba, and visited next Mexico. On the way to New Grenada, his ship was forced to seek the coast of China. He visited Macao, Canton, and Japan. Another storm drove him to Tonkin. Here he settled down as a missionary to the heathen, and during two years (1590-91) achieved such grand results that they arouse suspicion, chiefly as no contemporary speaks of them and no trace of his work remained after his departure. A new journey brought him to Goa, the Cape of Good Hope, and America. He was seen next in Argentina and Peru, and in Ecuador, where he worked among the savages. Finally, back in Spain, he wrote a series of works, now extremely rare, depicting his experiences.

One of his works is quoted in 1625 by a Dominican, Gregorio Garcia, in a treatise entitled: "The spread of the Gospel in the time of the Apostles." Here St. Thomas is mentioned as visiting, on his return from China, Tonkin, Champa (Cochin-China), Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra. Ordoñez de Cevallos would have found all this in the royal archives of Tonkin, together with the contents of St. Thomas' preaching. In theological parlance of the 16th century, St. Thomas taught the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, the Incarnation, the virginal birth, and the Saviour's crucifixion.¹

We expect former Christians in Tonkin, when we find

¹ This information is taken from a study on St. Thomas by the Rev. A. Våth, S.J., in *Die Katholischen Missionen*, Nov.-Dec. 1918, pp. 36; 38. He quotes Romanet du Caillaud, *Origines du Christianisme au Tonkin* (Paris, 1915), p. 83 sqq., and, as containing extracts from Gregorio Garcia: Borunda, *Clave general de Jeroglificos Americanos*, published by the Duc de Lobat (1898), pp. 238 sqq.; 258 sqq.

Bernard Quaritch's *Catalogue*, No. 399, of London, April, 1926, p. 79, No. 1094, contains the title of a copy of this work, the price of which is marked as £65: Ordonez de Cevallos (Pedro): *Tratado de las Relaciones verdaderas de los Reynos de la China, Cochin-China y Champaa y otras cosas notables, y varios sucesos sacadas de sus originales*. En laen, por Pedro de la Cuesta, año de 1628. Sm. 4to with a large woodcut portrait of the author at beginning.

them in large numbers in former times at Chang-chau in Fu-Kien, whence Father Martini reported not a few crosses sculptured on stones, images of Our Lady with angels prostrate on the ground, and two small hanging lamps (*cum duabus pendulis lucernulis*), a beautiful marble cross in the Prefect's house which the Christians obtained for their Church, also a Bible mostly in Latin, written in Gothic characters, which the owner, a heathen, would not part with, as it was a treasure which had been long in his family. The Laurentian Library, Florence, is said to have a Latin Bible of the 11th century, obtained by Father Philip Couplet from a Chinese in the province of Nanking. Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I. xx. 122, n. 3.

18. *Position of the Christians in India and the Farther East.*

The Christians in Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and in or near Java, would have been Armenians, or, more generally, Arameans (Syrians and Chaldeans), with perhaps not a few of the St. Thomas Christians settled in Malabar. If they knew the high-roads of commerce at the end of the 15th century, the probabilities are that they had known them for several centuries past.

We may depend on it: they were the same Christians as those of whom Nicolò de' Conti wrote (*ante* 1437) that there were a thousand "Nestorian heretics" at Mylapore, adding: "These Nestorians are scattered all over India, as the Jews among us."¹

They would have been the people who in Friar de' Marignolli's time (A.D. 1346-48) ruled supreme at the two ports of Mylapore and Quilon, then visited by Chinese ships. "That King [of Malabar or Coromandel, who had given the log to St. Thomas] also gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steel-yard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no one dares take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death. I spent four days there [at Mylapore]: there is an excellent pearl-fishery at the place."² "And these latter [the Christians of St. Thomas at Columbum or Quilon] are the masters of the public steelyard."³

They held that same privilege at Cranganore. "We have given to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due custom of all that may be measured by the *para*, weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted and carried,....salt, sugar, musk, and lamp-oil, or whatever it may be, namely within the river mouth of Codungalor"(Cranganor), etc.⁴

¹ R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 7 of text. de Conti's text in Ramusio (*Navigazioni e Viaggi*, Venetia, 1613, I. 339) is: "A town of a thousand fires, which is called Malepur, situated on the coast of the sea in the other gulf towards the river Gange, where the body of the Apostle St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church, the inhabitants of which are Christians called Nestorini, who are scattered all over India like the Jews among us, and the whole of that province is called Malabar." Translated from the Italian text in Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 223, n. 1.

² Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 337-338.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 343.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 378 n. 1. Burnell fixes the date of Iravi Corttan's grant at about A.D. 774. See *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Cranganore. Others now put it as late as A.D. 1320: thus Kielhorn and T. K. Joseph. Cf. T. K. Joseph, *The Malabar Christian copper-plates*, Trivandrum, 1925, p. ii.

In 1494, they enjoyed still important harbour dues and exemptions at the Church of St. Thomas, at the extremity of Cape Comorin.

The edict pillar recording these privileges still exists on the spot.

"The following are the contents of a royal edict which was issued to the church and to the chief of the fisher Christians on the 15th day of the month of Sittrai in the Kollam era 669, concerning the grant from the harbour dues for the expense of cocoanut oil for lighting the lamps in the Church of Kumari Muttom. A tax on nets in the harbour, a toll of one fanam on every ship that touches at the port, and one fanam on every laden boat that leaves the port, the toll on rice and all other perquisites in the harbours at Kumari Muttom and Kovalam, and the tithe of fish caught in or brought to these harbours. The exemption of the left hand and right hand tax (*idankai valunkai panam*) and other imposts of all sorts and the cess to maintain the army and to reward the soldiers, is granted to all who live within the four boundaries. This inscription was engraved by me and was set up at the four boundaries so that it may hold good so long as the moon and stars endure. Our subjects are enjoined to protect them in the same way as we have protected."

This edict pillar is one of two on the south and south-west of a church, now in ruins, called Tomaypalli or Thomas Church. Doubtless, that church of Kumari Mattam is the one mentioned before 1516 by Duarte Barbosa. "At this Cape Comory, there is an ancient church of Christians which was founded by the Armenians who still direct it, and perform in it the Divine Service of Christians, and have crosses on the altars. The mariners pay it a tribute and the Portuguese celebrate mass there when they pass. There are there many tombs, among which there is one which has written on it a Latin epitaph: "*Hic jacet Cataldus, Gulli filius, qui obiit anno . . .*"²

"The passage appears, according to Lord Stanley's note, neither in the Barcelona MS. nor in the Munich MS. No. 570, and it is not found in the Portuguese text nor in Ramusio, but depends only on the Munich MS. No. 571. It would seem therefore to be a later interpolation."³ Even so, the Latin inscription, the date of which was missing in the MS., according to Lord Stanley, may refer to a pre-Portuguese traveller, as else there would have been little reason to draw special attention to it. The Armenians mentioned in Barbosa's text may mean Arameans, Syrians. On the other hand, a Malabar Missionary states about 1686 that there was a colony of Armenians at Palayur,⁴ the word 'Armenians'

¹ Cf. V. Nagam Aiyar, *State Manual of Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1906, II. 148, and see I. 195-196.—K.E. 669=A.D. 1494.

² Dames, *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 102-103.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Brit. Museum Sloane MS. 2748 A, fol. 2r-39r, of which I have a rotograph in my keeping.

being used here evidently in contradistinction from 'Arameans,' 'Syrians,' as Syrians lived there too.

Was it not near the church of Kumari Mattam, or at Covalam, also at the extremity of Cape Comorin, and therefore both opposite Paradise (Ceylon), that Friar John de' Marignolli erected his column with a cross, in imitation of Alexander the Great? It had carved on it de' Marignolli's and the Pope's arms and a Latin and Indian inscription. My search for it in January 1924 proved futile. It may have been buried in the sands, which, near Covalam, are blown up in dunes, threatening Covalam itself. I was told that a Hindu shrine had been buried there. I should have been happier to hear it was an ancient cross. We might have dug for it, or rather have asked the Travancore Government to exhume it. It is possible too that de' Marignolli's pillar was destroyed in one of the periodical invasions from the Pandya or Madura kingdom, which would come round by Cape Comorin or through one of the passes in the mountains close to the Cape.

During my visit to the two edict pillars at Cape Comorin, I examined carefully the ruins of the Tomaypalli, and was of opinion that excavations in the floor of the church, or among some tombs outside, might be rewarded by the discovery of at least the epitaph of Cataldus, son of Gullus. Ancient epitaphs of Indian Christians might also be found.

Lower than the ruins of Tomaypalli, and closer to the sea, I found, near a Muhammadan ruin, a third inscription on a pillar, which, owing to the surf splashing against it at times (as I was told), was practically obliterated. On the occasion of my visit, the Superintendent of Archæology for Travancore, Mr. A. S. Rāmanātha Ayyar, who had come with me, took new estampages of the two known inscriptions of A.D. 1494 and 1526; the third inscription gave too faint an impression to be of use. On being told of another edict pillar beyond Covalam, westward, on the right of the road beyond the village, we motored to Covalam, admired the new stone church which was being built there, trudged on foot across a mound of sand which had blocked the road for traffic, and continued till darkness overtook us. Our guide, a Christian, strained his eyes in vain to discover the stone he had spoken about, and the people, Hindus, near whose houses we stopped at the end of our trudge, either knew nothing of the stone or refused to show it for fear we might claim some property. Having to leave early the next morning, I left instructions to the Vicar of the fine new Church of 'Cape Comorin,' but never heard whether our guide was more successful the next morning. Yet, the inscription of A.D. 1494 states that pillars were set up at four boundaries.

We may conclude that the Christians in South India had possessed exceptional privileges on both coasts, at all the harbours of importance, and that from time immemorial.

Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam, at the mouth of the Tamraparni, in the time of its greatness must have known them congregated there in great numbers. The older name Sōnagarpaṭṭaṇam or Jōnagarpaṭṭaṇam recalls their name of Yavanas.¹

A Malabar MS. of c. A.D. 1800 speaks of a persecution of Manikka Vāśakar which obliged the Christians of Kaveripattanam to take refuge among their brethren in Malabar. The date given for this event in the MS. is 293. It gives also the date 315 for the arrival of Mannikka Vāśakar at Quilon and the defection of some of the Christians there.² The former date is remarkably close to 270 in V. A. Smith, and the latter to the date 302-315 proposed by Geiger for a visit to Ceylon by a reformer, who is supposed to have been Manikka Vāśakar.³ Ittūp tells us further that some time after A.D. 200 a Manichean came from Persia to India.⁴ Naturally, we might now think that the Tamil poet Manikka Vāśakar was not a Saivite, but rather a Manichean imbued with Hindu notions. The Manigramakar of Malabar might be 'people of the Mani (Manes') village.' As V. A. Smith noted, we come down to apostolic times for St. Thomas in South-India.

Some of the Malabar Christians were the descendants of Thomas Cana, whom several independent authorities bring to Malabar in A.D. 345, and who obtained for his coreligionists, on copper plates, privileges which, it is contended, were granted only to members of the royal family.⁵ He did not introduce Christianity. He came to fellow-Christians.

¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), p. 359 and note.

² T. K. Joseph, *The date of Manikka Vachakar*, in *The Western Star*, Trivandrum, Oct. 23, 1926.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 233-234.

⁴ Ittūp, (Malayalam) *History of the Malabar Syrian Christian Church*, Kottayam, 1906, pp. 84-85, translated passages of which I owe to Mr. T. K. Joseph.

⁵ Padre Antonio Thomaz da Silva Leitão e Castro states (*Os livros Indianos e o martyrio de S. Thomé*, Lisboa, 1882, p. 26), without giving any reference, that, "when dying in 1544, Jacob, the Chaldean Bishop of Cranganore, asked our treasurer Pedro Sequeira to buy back some copper-plates which necessity had made him pawn, because these plates constituted a most precious possession; they were the title-deeds, the originals of the gifts and privileges which the holy Apostle had obtained from the ancient native princes." Bishop Jacob died in 1549, and the Padre's authority seems to be Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa*. We find attributed here to St. Thomas what is generally ascribed to his later name-sake. Jesuit authorities have it that these copper-plates were taken to Portugal by the Franciscans. They cannot now be traced in Malabar. At my request, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, wrote to the British Ambassador at Lisbon, and a search was made in the Torre do Tombo there, but without effect.

On January 20, 1730, Sicard sent to Fourmont for the Library of the King of France: (a) the Life of St. Thomas in Chaldean Syriac, a copy of which was sent to Rome in 1724 to have it printed; (b) the privileges

Of them Gundert wrote that "one Kerala Ulpatti (legendary history of Malabar) of the Nasrani says that their forefathers built Codangulur [Cranganore], as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple."¹

A Jesuit Father, writing in 1604, says: "In the olla of Coulão,² the king who granted it calls the Christians of St. Thomas Tarijanel,³ which means kings, or first kings, a name by which these Christians were called anciently, because the chief ones of them descend, it seems, from

which an ancient Emperor of the Malabar Coast called Cherama Peroumal granted to the St. Thomas Christians, also in Chaldean Syriac. Cf. H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, pt. 2 (Paris, 1902), p. 834.

¹ *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Shinkali, quoting Gundert, *Madras Journal*, XIII. 120. In January 1924, at an interview with the Diwan of Cochin, I was told that the stone had been buried for fear of Tipu Sultan. The Diwan, a Hindu, who in his childhood had been vowed to one of the Christian churches as a slave, as the custom still is, was keen on making a search for it. It so happened that on my visit to Cranganore we found in a garden, two furlongs from the Tiruvanchikulam temple, an enormous stone, 6 feet by 4 feet, now in the Trichur Museum. It was half buried under a bamboo-clump, and bore a long inscription in Malayalam and Sanskrit, the earliest mentioning the kings of Cochin: but it was not the stone we coveted. An account of the St. Thomas Christians, written at Trichur in 1820, states that the Christian stone was erected "on the North side of the church at Cranganore." (Cf. *South India Christian Repository*, Madras, Vol. II, 1833, p. 195. This slab, I must say, is never mentioned by our Missionaries nor the Portuguese historians, which might mean that it had disappeared before A.D. 1498.

² One set of 3 Quilon copper-plates, according to T. K. Joseph, belongs to the 9th century; another set of 4 plates, to a later date in the same century. The first set misses the last plate, the second misses the first. It seems, however, that the substance of one of the lost plates is in A. Du Perron's *Zend Avesta*, vol. I, pt. 1 (Paris, 1771), pp. clxxv-clxxviii.

³ Tarijanel must mean 'Tarisā people.' The word Tarisā comes, indeed in one of the two sets of copper-plates of the Quilon church. According to T. K. Joseph, Tarideical Naiquemar means "Christians of the Nayakkar caste." "In South Travancore," he adds in a MS. note sent to myself, "there is even now a handful of Christians called Taritāykkal (Tarisā) Chettis, i.e. Christians of the Chetti caste, or Christian merchants. The Diamper Council Decrees (Sess. 7, Dec. 5) make special reference to these. Nāyakkār, like Nāyar, is from Skt. *nāyaka*. Nāyan, Nāyanār, and Nāyudu are other forms, the first two of which are terms of respect, meaning 'lord' or 'master', while the last is the name of a South Indian caste. The Nāyaka or Nāyaka rulers of Madura are well-known." In his *The Malabar Christian copper-plates*, 1925, p. ii, T. K. Joseph explains 'Taritāykkal' as meaning "literally: orthodox, perhaps Nestorians," and as opposed to "Manigramakkār (perhaps Manichaeans)." T. K. Joseph also explains Covilmar as Kōvilmar: people of the ruling class, almost like Kshatriyas—Sess. 8, Dec. 6, of the Diamper Council appears to be meant above.—The word 'Darenygul', opposed to 'Munneygramaccar', is explained as "those who were unmoved," in a paper from Trichur, 1820, *South India Christian Repository*, vol. II (1838), p. 192.

the ancient kings whom St. Thomas made Christians. Later, they were called Nasrani, *i.e.* Nasareans, the Moors and the Turks calling them so. However, in the parts of the South beyond Coulão, they retain the ancient name, not only they, but even those of their caste who have become gentios, without wishing to receive the law of God, as are those of Bepar.”¹ When the Christians were expelled from Mylapore, as Malabar traditions state for a date not clearly defined, they scattered to many places, and “became gentios, as are those of Bepar, who are called Ta(ri)deical Naiquemar, themselves confessing that they are by caste Christians².... Among these Christians [of St. Thomas] there are some of the caste of the King of Cochin, whom they call Covilmar, and others Bramenes, and others Belalas, honourable people in Bisnaga.”³

Whatever be the value of the word Tarijanel, the tradition may be right which makes of some of the St. Thomas Christians descendants of the ancient Kings of Malabar. If there is any truth in the *Passio*, which I consider earlier than the *de Miraculis*, attributed to St. Gregory of Tours (*d.* A.D. 593-594), there were many Christians at Andranopolis, when the author of the *Passio* wrote. “And there,” he says, *i.e.*, at Andranopolis, “is the seat of St. Thomas and the Catholic faith unto this day,”⁴ meaning it had been there from the beginning, even from St. Thomas’ own day. Andranopolis, Andrapolis, or Sandarūk would be Cranganore. It would follow that Greek was used or known there by the aristocracy of Malabar in the first century. Some of the Yāvanas in Southern India would have been Christians. Cosmas Indicopleustes too (A.D. 535) speaks of Christian Greeks in Asia in conjunction with Persarmenians and Elamites. Pelagia, the daughter of St. Thomas’ deacon, King Xanthippus or Xenophon of Sandarūk, whom I identify with King Andrew of Cranganore of the Malabar-Syrian tradition.

¹ Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS., 9853, fol. 90r. (ink).

² *Ibid.*, fol. 86 r.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 86 v.

⁴ Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, Lipsiae, 1883, p. 139. I consider the *Passio* older than the *de Miraculis*, because the latter follows the *Passio* up to a certain point for the scene in the Temple of the Sun, and then deviates from it abruptly to be able to follow the version of the *Acta*. Gregory of Tours (*d.* 593-94) cannot be the author of the *de Miraculis*: he knew the *Passio* and says with it, in his *Liber in gloria Martyrum*, that the translation of St. Thomas’ relics took place after a long time, whereas in the *de Miraculis* it is made to take place in the lifetime of Mazdai. Cf. Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 80 n. The *de Miraculis* is quoted by St. Gregory the Great in his *Liber Responsalis* (Migne, P. L., 78, 84); the *Passio*, by St. Isidore of Seville (*d.* 636) and the Mozarabic liturgy. If we suppose that the *Passio* is of about A.D. 450, it testifies better than any other document we have to the apostolicity and permanence of the Malabar Church, and the flourishing condition of the Church of Andranopolis, the town of King Andrew of Cranganore, according to the the Song of Thomas Ramban (1601).

vowed continence on the day of her marriage with Dionysius. When Dionysius became a bishop (of Cranganore or Mylapore), he gave the veil to his wife. This first Indian nun or deaconess was martyred, says the *Passio*, and on her tomb was written in Greek words and characters: "Here lies the spouse of Bishop Dionysius, who is the daughter of the Apostle Thomas."¹ At the church of Kuravalangad, Travancore, which, though not one of the Seven Churches, claims to have been first built in A.D. 335, there is a bell with two Christian crosses cast in the metal, one an eight-petalled lotus cross, and an inscription in characters not identified yet with any known alphabet, though some of the characters seem to be Greek. The eight-petalled lotus cross is by the Christians of Parur, near Cranganore, held to be the primitive Malabar cross. The bell at Kuravalangad now bears out their contention.

The Christians of St. Thomas and their privileges were not to be trifled with. They had a king of their own, and their bishops were their lords temporal, as well as spiritual, in practically all matters. As for the honour shown to their Apostle by their own non-Christian countrymen, it is well-nigh incredible.

At Cranganore there was an ancient temple of the idol Parui, so ancient that it was supposed to be anterior to the Christian era. Its revenues surpassed those of all other Malabar temples. On the day of the feast, at the moon of March, hundreds of boats, adorned with many-storeyed castles, and laden with pilgrims, would come to it from everywhere. On passing the Church of St. Thomas at Cranganore, they lit up their candles and started their music and their dances; but no sooner had they turned the point than the noise ceased and the candles were extinguished. Owing to the ebb it would happen that some of the boats could not pass. The next morning, at the flow, when these boats came in front of St. Thomas', one of the men would go to the top of the castle, wound himself in the finger and vow, that, if Messer St. Thomas let them pass, they would the next year prepare in his honour a still grander castle.

Jealous of this pilgrimage and its revenues, Ramará, king of Cochin, and head Brahman in his realm, alleged a dream. The god Parui had appeared to him and bid him change the Cranganore pilgrimage to Palurte, near the Cochin lime-kilns. He was disgusted with the Cranganore wars. A tank was dug, the feast of Parui at Palurte was fixed on the same day as at Cranganore, and the pilgrims with their offerings were diverted on to Palurte.²

The origin of the salutes to St. Thomas was said to

¹ Bonnet, *ibid.*

² do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, 1.8, c. 14 (Lisboa edn., 1783, pp. 290-293.)

be that St. Thomas himself had built that Church, and that, when it had been erected, a sudden wind for many years engulfed large numbers of boats and pilgrims going to the temple of Parui. The Hindus of Mylapore, we may remember, avowed to the first Portuguese that their custom at their processions was to make their idols salute thrice the Church of St. Thomas' tomb. Ships out at sea saluted the Church of St. Thomas Mount at Mylapore, when they passed in front. What would it prove? Perhaps that there had been defections *en masse* on the Coromandel Coast, or that these salutes had been forced on non-Christians by their more powerful Christian neighbours.

Powerful too, up to the middle at least of the 14th century were the Christians in China. de' Marignolli's description of them should not be forgotten. "Shem was anxious to maintain the worship of the true God, and his history we shall now follow. In the second year after the flood he begat Arfaxat, who in turn begat Elam, from whom the whole noble race of the Alans in the East is said to have sprung. They form at this date the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men. 'Tis by their aid that the Tartars have won the empire of the east, and without them they have never gained a single important victory. For Chinguis Caam, the first king of the Tartars, had seventy-two of their princes serving under him when he went forth under God's providence to scourge the world. . . . Arfaxat, the son of Shem, at the age of thirty-five, begat Sela or Sale, by whom India was peopled and divided into three kingdoms."¹

Does not this description of the Alans tally with that of the Georgians, their neighbours in the Caucasus, whom I identify with the Churché, Yu-ché, Niúchen of China?² The Georgians were called Churchii at Ormuz in 1549.³ The Armenians call them Virk.⁴ They seem to be the Hyrcani of old and the Gurz or Guzr of more than one Indian Guzarat.

The Alans were also known by the name of Aás, or Asze, or Asu.⁵

Might not Aás or Asu be compared with Asi and An-si?

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), 373.

"*Major et nobilior natio mundi et homines pulchriores et fortiores.*" Compare with the description by Ammianus Marcellinus of the Alans of his time: "*Proceres autem Alani poene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus medicriter flavis, oculorum temperatâ torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces*" (xxx. 2). Quoted from Yule, *loc. cit.*

² Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, and Marco Polo, *s.v.*

³ [L. Delplace, S.J.], *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, Florentiae, 1887, pp. 78, 121. Gaspar Barzaeus, a Dutchman, compares them for size to the Germans.

⁴ P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Onomasticon Geografico*, (extract from *Bibliotheca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, t. II), Firenze, 1913, p. 555.

⁵ Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, and Marco Polo, *s.v.*

An-si, An-hsi is a name for Parthia¹ or Persia.² Pelliot thinks that the Alans, the As in Mongolic parlance, were brought to China in the 13th century from the Caucasus, where the Ossetae are their modern representatives, and that the As might be identical with the Asot or Asod of the Ming dynasty. A fief of the Alans was, he believes, not at Tch'ang-tcheou, south of the Yellow River, but at Tchen-tch'ao, a little to the north of the same river.³

Romanet du Caillaud is of opinion that the Hak-ka or A-ka, thrifty colonists in the South-West part of China, might be sprung from the Alans or Alia.⁴

Who were the Ghūr or Gores of the Lequeos or Loo-Choo Islands (Formosa), white men?⁵ West of Kabul, there is a district called Ghūr, inhabited by the Nukdari or Nigūdari, some of whom, said Emperor Babar, spoke the Mongol language.⁶

Some of the names of the Christian Keraites, Uigurs and Onguts of China in the 13th and 14th centuries are:—

Ai-buqa.	(George) K'ouo-li-ki-ssu, Kor-
Alaquis-tagin-quli.	guz, Gorguz, Gorgoz.
Albadai.	Houo-sseu-ten.
Asan-quamiš.	(James) Ya-kou (for Yakub).
(Bacchus) Po-kou-sseu.	Ioannes Yochoy.
Bainiel.	(John) Yo-nan, Juhanan, Chou-
Bar-Çauma Elišor.	ngan (for Johanan).
Bolyai.	(Jesus) Yi-cho (for Yišo), 'Isā,
Buyan Šiban.	Ngai-sie.
Chemboqe (Jayan-buqa) Vensii.	(Joseph) Yao-sou-mou.
Chyansam (Hiang-Chan) Tongi.	Kulinčak.
Cinqai.	Kun-buqa.
Coliy-buqa.	(Luke) Lou-ho.
(Cyriacus) Qurjaquz, Turkish	Ma K'ing-siang.
pronunciation of Quriaqus.	Ma Tsou-tch'ang.
(Denha) T'ien-ho.	Nakudai.
Fodim (Fou-ting) Iovens.	Nangiadai. Ngan-t'ong.
	(Paul) Pao-lou-sseu.

¹ Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, index, *s.v.* It is very tempting to compare the Asi with the Asii, though V. A. Smith (*Early history of India*, 1908, p. 213, n. 2) says that the attempts of various writers to identify the Asioi and other tribes (the Pasianoï, the Sakarauioi, the Tocharoi) are unsuccessful.

Strabo (x1. 8. 2) says: "The best known of the Nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria,—the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauili, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, over against the Sacae and Sogdiani, which country was also in occupation of the Sacae." Cf. *Cambridge Hist. of India*, 1922, I. 459.

² Mrs. E. A. Gordon, *Asian Cristology*, p. 174, n. 5.

³ *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 641-643.

⁴ *Les Missions Catholiques*, Lyon, 1886, p. 56.

⁵ Cf. Dames, *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 215 n. 1; 216 n.

⁶ Yule, *Marco Polo*, I (1875), 104.



3. Cross at the Jacobite Church,
Kadamaggram.



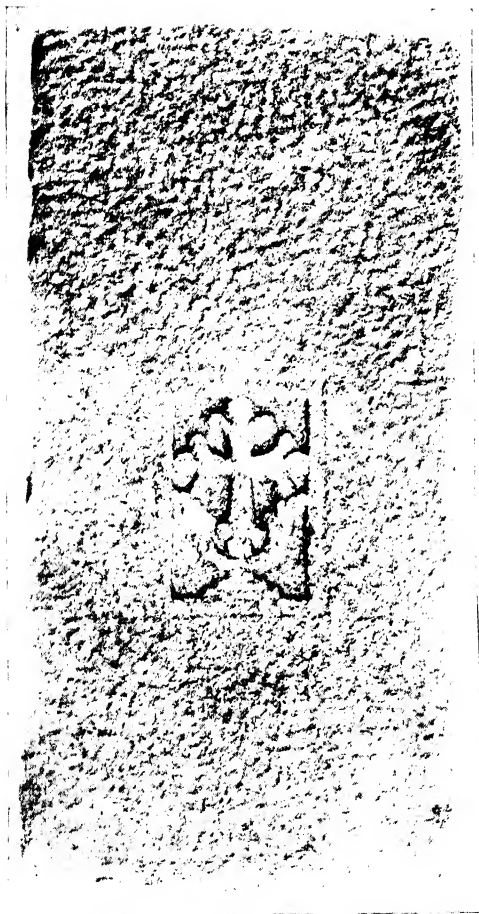
1. Kottayam Valiyapalli Church.
Cross on left-side Altar.

Plate lent by the Archaeological Department, Travancore.

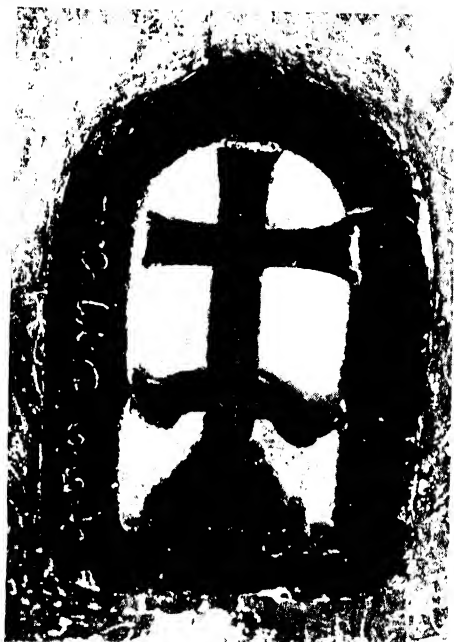


The three Sassanian-Pahlvi Crosses in Malabar.

2. Kottayam Valiyapalli Church.
Cross on right-side Altar.



Cross in the Kadathuruthy Church (on the inside wall). See p. 363.



Muttuchira Cross with Sassanian-Pahlvi inscription. Cf. pp. 341-363.
(Travancore State).

Po-yao-ho.	Sarah, Ara ^c ol (<i>fem.</i>).
Qadaq.	Siban.
Qiamta (<i>fem.</i>).	(Simon) Chen-wen.
Sargis.	Tamur-uga.
Syorya xtani-bagi (<i>fem.</i>).	Tchen-kouo. ¹

¹ Cf. P. Pelliot, in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 627-639.—The name of a layman, Sāzik the Indian, is found in one of two Christian cemeteries, of between A.D. 750 and 1350, in the Russian province of Semiryechnsk in South Siberia, or Russian Turkestan, near the towns of Pishpek and Tokmak. Cf. A. Mingana, *Early spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East* (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 9, No. 2, July 1925), p. 41.

19. *Pārasika, Tarsā, Tūin, Thanawi, Kirānī, Christian, and Firingī.*

1. *Pārasikas*.—"The Kaveras, the *Pārasikas*, and the Kings of Sinhala (Ceylon) and other islands" paid tribute to Vinayāditya. What means the word *Pārasika* (Persian) in the above portion of an inscription relating to Vinayāditya Chālukya, who ruled from Shaka 602 to Shaka 618 (680-696 A.D.) ?¹

Like the words Yavana, Shaka and Turushka, it has fluctuated in the course of centuries in different parts of India.

In an inscription composed in the reign of Rāna Rājamalla of Chitor in 1545 V(ikrama) S(amvat), corresponding to 1489 A.D., which was found in the temple of Eklingji, 14 miles W. of Udaypur, '*Pārasika*' is used in the sense of 'Muhammadan.' In that inscription it is said of Arisinha, the Rāna in whose time Chitor was besieged and sacked by Alāu-d-dīn Khalji, that he "possessed a dauntless heart and fought with the *Pārasikas*."² Prof. Hodivala shows that Arisinha did not fight the Muhammadans with the help of the *Pārasikas*, but that he fought the *Pārasikas*, i.e. the Muhammadans. Indeed, the same poet who composed the inscription of 1545 V.S. composed two others, one of 1541 V.S., and another of 1561 V.S., in both of which the word *Pārasika* is applied to the Muhammadans.

The former inscription, of 1541 V.S., calls Gyāsa Sāhi (i.e. Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Khalji) of Mālwa 'the ornament of the *Pārasika* race.' He is also called Lord of the Shakas in *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions* (p. 130, Shloka 68). The inscription states further that Bahari, 'leader of the Shakas,' 'Lord of the *Pārasikas*,' vanquished a Hindu king, named Kshemakarna; that Bahari, originally a Kshatriya, was made a 'Yavana' by the Mālwa Amir, Sālaha, who had himself been a Mādhyamdina Brahman named Ghudau, and was made a '*Pārasika*' by Sultan Mahmūd Shah Khalji I., from whom subsequently he received the title of Khān³

The latter inscription, of 1561 V.S., states that Yodhā, the

¹ For our discussion on the name *Pārasika* we have to depend almost entirely on the study of Prof. Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala, M.A., Principal of the Bahauddin College, Junagadh, in *Parsi History, being a series of five lectures delivered in 1925*, Bombay, 1926, pp. 73-84 (K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Publication).

We are also largely indebted to the same work for the use of the word '*Tarsā*.' I shall also quote at some length Mr. Hodivala's letter to me of Meher Villa, Dhondy Road, Deolali (Nasik District), September 24, 1927, in which he kindly discussed a large number of points touched upon in my paper. His letter was written away from all books.

² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 76-77.

ruler of Mārwarz, after whom Jodhpūr is named, cut off the "Pathān race of the *Pārasikas* with the edge of his sword," and exclaims: "What *Pārasika* did he not defeat in battle and what deed of fame did he not accomplish?"¹

Doubtless, in both these inscriptions the word '*Pārasika*' stands for Mussulman: hence, in the inscription of A.D. 1489, composed by the same poet, the word '*Pārasika*' has the same meaning.

In older inscriptions the meaning of the word can be different.

In an inscription of Kulottunga Cholā I. (otherwise called Rājendra Cholādeva II.), who ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., we are told that the exploits of Kulottunga Cholā, the destroyer of the fort of Kottāra (the present Kottar in Travancore?), the conqueror of the Keralas (people of Malabar) and of the five Pandyas, were sung spontaneously on the further shore of the Ocean by "the young women of the *Pārasī*" (Persians).²

An inscription of the Chālukya ruler Someshwar II., dated Shaka 991 (1069 A.D.), lauds "his prowess and his dominion over the kings of the Cholas, Varālas, Lālas (Lātas?),³ Khasas, Māgadhas, Keralas, *Pārasikas*, Nēpālas and Turushkas."⁴ Though, as in many similar Indian inscriptions, these conquests over so many kings and countries far apart from one another seem to be poetical exaggerations, we note that the *Pārasikas* are here mentioned after the Keralas or the people of Malabar.

The '*Gaudavaho*' of Vākpatirāja, an epic poem written in Mahārāshtri Prākṛit in honour of his patron Yashovarman of Kanauj, who reigned from about 675 to 700 A.D., informs us that Yashovarman conquered the king of Vanga (Eastern Bengal) and "then moved along the sea-coast as far as the Malaya (Malabar) mountains, and reduced the *Pārasikas* to subjection.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79, quoting Dr. Hultzsch in *Epigr. Indica*, V. 103-104.

³ Who were the Lālas (Lātas) conquered by Someshwar II (A.D. 1069) and by Vishnuvardhana Hoysala (A.D. 1117-1157)? (*Ibid.*, pp. 79, 81.) Were they the people of the Lāta province of Gujarāt? Marco Polo's account of the Province of Lar occurs between his chapter on Mutili and his chapter on Cael. Lar, he says, was a province west of St. Thomas' tomb (Mylapore); from it came all the Abrahimans of the world; their king would send them, merchants, to the Soli (Chola) Province of Malabar (Coromandel), where the best pearls were to be found. Lar was also a great place for *jogis*. Yule (*Marco Polo*, 1875, II. 353 n.) was not satisfied with the explanation that Lar here meant the Province of Gujarāt. The word Larres, Laris, Larer, Lader applies to a caste or sect in South India. Cf. Theodor Zachariae, in *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1918, pp. 33-34 of reprint, and p. 34 n. 1.

The *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* gives Ilādar (a plural), compares it with the Skt. Lāta, and translates by "peuples—, yoghis de Guzerate."

⁴ Hodivala, *ibid.*, p. 79, quoting L. D. Barnett, *Epigr. Indica*, XV. 94.

From the country of these Pārasikas he proceeded to the southernmost point where the Eastern and Western Oceans meet (Cape Comorin). He then marched northwards to the mouth of the Narmadā, and carried his victorious arms to Marūdesha, Thāneshvar, Ayodhyā, and the Mandara Mountain in the Himālayas.”¹ The Pārasikas are here mentioned as reached from East to West, and as living East of Cape Comorin. In about 675–700 A.D. who could they be?

In the contemporary inscription relating to Vinayāditya Chālukya (680–696 A.D.) we are told that “the Kaveras, the Pārasikas, and the kings of Sinhala (Ceylon) and other islands” paid tribute to Vinayāditya.² Hodivala identifies the Kaveras with the Keralas. Might they not be the people along the Kaveri River? The name recalls the Chaberis Emporium of Ptolemy and his River Chaberos. There is a caste of South India called the Kavarais.³

At a much later date we find the term Pārasika applied to the Dutch, much in the same way as the word Firingī (Franks from Frank-land) might have been applied to them. Thus, an inscription of Sevāppā Nāyak of Tānjore states that his son and heir Achyuttāppā Nāyak drove away the Dutch (Pārasinān in the original), who tried to land at Negapatam and found a trading factory.⁴

There can be little doubt that the word Pārasika designated foreigners, and that originally the Hindu writers had in mind foreigners from Persia. Like the Yavanas, these Pārasikas were Mlechchas (barbarians). ‘Yavana’ could mean at different periods of Indian history Bactrian Greeks, Alexandrian Greeks, Romans of the Empire, Persians, Pathāns, Turks, Mussulmans, and even Europeans of latest date. In the same way, the Hunas and other Scythian invaders were the original Shakas; but the word Shaka came to mean Afghāns, Turks, Moguls, and other Mussulmans. The Turushkas, properly the Turks, became for the Hindus a convenient name for the Muhammadans in general, whether Persians, Arabs, Turks or even converts to Islam of Indian birth.⁵ In Malabar the word Yavana or Yona (from Ionia, a part of Greece), is now applied by the St. Thomas Christians to the Mappilas or Moplas of British Malabar, though originally it would have been more correctly used for the Syrian Christians of Mesopotamia. The term Mappila seems to be shifting similarly from the Christians in Malabar to the Muhammadans. In Chhota Nagpur I have

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79, quoting S.P. Pandit's edn. in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, introd., *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ Thurston, *Castes and tribes of South India*.

⁴ Hodivala, *ibid.*, p. 80, quoting T. A. Gopinātha Rao and T. S. Kuppusvāmi Śāstri in *Epigr. Indica*, XII (1913-14), 343-344. The text is in the *Sāhitya-Ratnākara*, VI. 68.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

heard the word Mogul used in connection with a roving band of gypsies passing from West to East. They came from Central India, and looked like Hindus rather than Muhammadans. The country people about Ranchi had simply transferred to these suspect nomads their former fear of the Moguls.

Who then were the Pārasikas? In the inscription of Someshwar II. (1069 A.D.) they are mentioned in conjunction with the Keralas; if we had no other reference to them, we could not say where they lived, as the names of the tribes mentioned in the inscription seem to be jumbled together without any geographical order. Tribes in the North of India might have been called Pārasikas, if they had been won over to Manicheism. The inscription of Vinayāditya (680-696 A.D.) is more precise. It places the Pārasikas in conjunction with the Kaveras and the people of Ceylon and other islands. We are in Southern India. More precise still is the 'Gaudavaho,' which fixes them on the Fishery Coast, or at any rate East of the Malabar Ghats. As the 'Gaudavaho' does not mention the Cholās, the Pārasikas may have lived further East than the Fishery Coast, *i.e.* on the Coromandel Coast. The inscription of Kulottunga Cholā I. (after 1070 A.D.) mentions the young women of the Pārasī (Persians) on the further shore of the Ocean. By the further shore of the Ocean I would not understand the West Coast (Malabar), but rather the East or Coromandel Coast. It is not likely that the poet would say of Pārasikas of Malabar, defeated with the Keralas, that their young women sang 'spontaneously' the fame of Kulottunga Cholā. We could understand it more easily in the case of Pārasikas, subjects of Kulottunga Chola I., along the Coromandel Coast, chiefly if they were honourably treated by him. Now, we have in the Cathedral of S. Thomé, Mylapore, a fragment of a once big inscription, belonging to the reign of his son, Vikrama Cholā, who began to rule in A.D. 1118. This inscription seems to refer to a grant of land made to the Christians of St. Thomas and their Church of St. Thomas the Apostle at Mylapore.

Dr. Bhandarkar has recognised the St. Thomas Christians in the Pārasikas. Prof. Hodivala does the same. We ask of them only not to place them all in Malabar.

The reason why the Christians of the Malabar Coast might have been called Pārasikas is obvious enough. They were ministered to from an early date by clergy from Persia or Mesopotamia. We have in Malabar four crosses with inscriptions in Sassanian Pahlavi characters. There may have been even better reasons for calling the St. Thomas Christians of the Coromandel Coast by the name of Pārasikas. In the Church on St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore, we have round a cross an inscription in Sassanian Pahlavi characters, probably of a date not later than about A.D. 650. We surmise that a monastery of St. Thomas in

India, near or below the "Black Island," existed at Mylapore before A.D. 363, the Black Island being, I surmise, Karumanal ("black sand"), a village along the sea north of Madras, the name of which is pronounced Coromandel by Europeans.¹ Kalamina, Kalamita, Kalamêna or Karamêna could be derived from Karumanal. As the 'Black Island' was in the vicinity of the town of Milon, we are led to identify Milon with Meilan or Mayilāpur (Mylapur) and to place the Indian monastery of St. Thomas near St. Thomas' tomb at Mylapore. This monastery counted 200 monks before A.D. 363. It ought, therefore to have begun about the year 220-230 A.D. It was largely visited by monks from Mesopotamia and may to some extent have been peopled by monks from Persia and Mesopotamia.² We are even forced to suppose that Mazdai, the king under whom St. Thomas was martyred, reigned at Mylapore and was a Persian, as his name indicates. We have some clues that his wife Tertia was the sister of the King of India (Gondophares), a Parthian.³ Under such conditions, it was natural that the Christians of Coromandel, recruited originally by St. Thomas among a colony of Persians, should have been called for centuries after by the name Pārasika.⁴

The *Passio* states that St. Thomas was summoned to worship in a Temple of the Sun, and the Office of St. Thomas for July 3 used by the Romo-Syrians of Malabar says the same. Both agree in making St. Thomas die on that occasion. The Office adds that St. Thomas was buried in India, in a place near the sea. That can be only Mylapore, judging from the Malabar tradition. The *Passio* is of A.D. 450-550, or earlier. The Office appears to be very ancient, and is independent of the *Passio*.

The Christians of Quilon were the masters of the public steelyard in the 9th century. Those of Cranga-

¹ Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel, for Karumanal.

² A. Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 10, No. 2, July, 1926, pp. 18-21.

³ In the *Passio* of St. Thomas, Tertia, Mazdai's wife, is called the sister of Karish, Mazdai's kinsman; Karish is also called Tertia's brother. In some medieval versions of the *Passio*, e.g., the *Legenda aurea*, Tertia is also called the sister of Mygdonia, the wife of Karish, perhaps for no other reason than that she addresses Mygdonia as sister. But in *The Falling asleep of the Holy Mother of God* (Greek text), Labdanēs, whom I take to be Vizān and therefore Tertia's son, is called the king's sister's son. One of the forms of Vizān's name is Luzanis. As he was the son of Tertia and Mazdai, the title of nephew cannot be justified unless we suppose that Gondophares is meant by king (of India.) Cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, 1903, p. 152, and cp. p. 157.

⁴ Prof. Hodivala directs me (letter, Junagadh, 9-8-1927) for discussions of the use of the word Pārasika to: Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 368; Fleet, in *Ind. Antiq.*, IX. 127, 131, 133 (or *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 368-374); Rice, in *Ind. Antiq.*, VIII. 24. I cannot here consult any of these authorities.

nore held a similar privilege, probably from the very time of Thomas Cana (A.D. 345), if not earlier. In 1348 the Christians of Mylapore had the public steelyard for pepper and all other aromatic spices, and this privilege was said to have been granted to St. Thomas in perpetuity: the Christians at Mylapore were still so powerful in 1348 that no one dared to contest their privilege but at the risk of his life. (Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), pp. 377-378) The Christians of the Coromandel Coast and of Malabar stood no doubt in the highest rank, both intellectually and financially. It would therefore have been no ordinary boast on the part of Kulottunga Cholā I. (A.D. 1070-1118) to say that the young women of his Pārasī (Christian ?) subjects of their own accord sang his exploits.

Christian communities existed in the first centuries, not only at Mylapore, but further south, down to Cape Comorin and in Malabar. A Malayalam MS. of about 1800 A.D. says that in 293 A.D. Christians from Kaveripattanam were persecuted and fled to Malabar, where they were welcomed by their co-religionists. It also states that Manikka Vāsakar or Vāchakar, whom the St. Thomas Christians regard as a great sorcerer and enemy of the Christians, came to Quilon in 315 A.D.¹ In the first centuries of our era Kaveripattanam was a great resort of the Yavanas. We may take it that even in the first century some of these Yavanas were settled at Kaveripattanam in a special quarter of their own. Some of them formed the body-guard of the Pandyan kings of Madura. We look for Christians among them. The great attraction for the Yavanas at Kaveripattanam would have been the pearl fishery.

The original name of Kāyalpattanam appears to have been Sonagarpattanam. Sonagar or Jonagar is a Tamil corruption of Yavanar (Yavanas).² In 1644 there were at Old Caile (Kāyal ?) 800 Christians.³

In 1604, at Vaipar and Vembar (Bembar), four leagues and six leagues respectively from Tuticorin, to the north, there were people, who, though not Christians, considered themselves of the stock of the ancient Christians of Malabar. They called themselves Tarideicalnaiquemar,⁴ i.e. Taritāykkal Nāykanmār, Christians (Tarisā) of the Naique class,⁵ Nāyak (Skt.) meaning "leader, chief, general." By 1644 there were at Vaipar 850 Christians, whereas some years before there were more than 2,000. In the same year there were 1,300 Christians

¹ From information given me by T. K. Joseph, Esq., Trivandrum.

² Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 359 n.

³ (L. Besse, S.J.), *A short account of the Missions... in the year 1644*, Trichinopoly, p. 19.

⁴ (F. Roz, S.J.), *Relação sobre a Serra* (1604), British Museum. Rotographs in my possession.—do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 5, p. 282 of the Lisbon edn. of 1788, has Taridasca! Naique Mor, by mistake.

⁵ Explanation by Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum.

at Vembar.¹ It would seem that the people of ancient Christian origin in these two villages had been won back.

In 1644 some Christians near Ramanancor, now Rameshwaram, belonged to a caste different from that of the Paravas. They called themselves Palavalis.² Were these Palavalis of ancient Pahlava or Persian stock?

In 1599 there prevailed in Malabar the opinion that former Christians from Mylapore had taken refuge in the direction of the Mountains of the Todas. It is in that direction, on the east slopes of the Nilgiris and away from the present habitat of the Todas, that, while at Kodiveri, Fr. J. B. Petit discovered in 1925 and 1926 scores of stones planted in the fields or hidden in jungle which bear at the top, amid apparently Hindu symbols or symbols of a religiously indifferent character, the sign of the cross on a pedestal, the cross having generally a line of beads round the upper limb. These crosses will have to be explained as Christian symbols. There appears to be no chance of connecting them with Hinduism, Buddhism or Jainism. The present inhabitants have no explanation for them, though some say they represent the God of their ancestors. Other traces of Christianity are probably to be sought in certain cruciform stones near dolmens in the Hyderabad State. We may have to search for other Christian traces still further north, in the Bhopal State, and in the States roundabout it, as well as in Bundelkhand, where chiefly the women have tattoo-marks representing the cross in many different types. Such tattoo-marks of the cross reappear among the Abors of Assam.

Remarks by Prof. Hodivala.—"The text of the inscription of 1541 V. S. is printed in a Collection of Inscriptions edited by the late Dr. Peterson for the feudatory State of Bhavnagar, which is generally quoted as 'Bhāvnagar Inscriptions.' The geographical knowledge of the author of the *Gaudavaho* appears to have been very meagre, and the name 'Malaya Mountains' is used very loosely by Hindu writers. I believe it is sometimes used for the Eastern Ghats. If the hero of the poem first reached the Mountains in Malabar and then reduced the Parastikas to subjugation, he must have proceeded from West to East, and not from East to West. The statement about Vinayāditya having compelled the Kaveras, Pārasikas, etc., to pay tribute to him occurs in other inscriptions of his descendant Kīrttivar-mā II.³ In fact, it is borrowed by the later scribes almost word for word from the earlier record. There is only this difference that, where the earlier text has Kaveras, the copy has Keralas. Fleet, I believe, has already suggested that the Kaveras must be people living on the banks of the Kavary river, but this description covers such a large area that any definite identifica-

¹ (L. Besse, S.J.), *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ A. D. 746-760.

tion or location would be exceedingly hazardous. May I point out that my object was merely to prove that the Pārasīkas of Vinayāditya *could not have been* the ancestors of the Parsis settled in Western India. My contention was that the word was so loosely used by the Hindu writers *at different periods* and for so many different races or religions that it was impossible to build anything upon it. Parsi scholars are not unacquainted with the Pahlavi inscriptions in Southern India, and I have repeatedly read Burnell's paper on the subject, and the history of the Syrian Church is not quite unknown to us. The existence of Christians in Travancore, Mailapur and other parts of Southern India is also common knowledge, and Sir W. Hunter has discussed the subject with some fullness. Personally, I am not disposed to attach much importance to the ethnological or geographical knowledge of Hindu writers. The Pārasīkas of Kālidāsa were most probably Persian Zoroastrians of the Sāssānian period. The Pārasīkas of the early Hindu writers were the Persians of the Achaemenian period. The Pārasīkas of the *Gaudavaho* and of Vinayāditya's inscription need not have been identical. Those of Someshwar may or may not have been the same as those of Kulottunga Chola. The description may apply, not only to Christians, on the East Coast or on the West Coast, but to the *ancestors* of the 'Lubbytes' or other Muhammadan residents in Southern India, who are known to have taken refuge in India and fled from Persia or Arabia in the 7th and 8th centuries.

"I have not a copy of *Hobson-Jobson* here, but I believe you will find in it quotations from, I think, Caldwell and others indicating that Sonagar or Jonagar, etc., which are derived from 'Yavana,' may be referred with *greater probability* to the *Muhammadan* merchants (on the Coast), of Arabian and Persian origin, than to the Christian settlers. 'Yavana' is frequently used for Muslims by almost all Hindu writers of the mediæval period. The 'Yavanas' who resorted to 'Kaveripattanam' in 'the first centuries of our era' were most probably subjects of the Roman Empire, and the very large finds of the mintages of Augustus and other emperors would seem to support that view. They might have been, during and after the fourth century, Christians, but it is at least equally likely that they were professors of one or other of the numerous other faiths represented in that vast conglomeration of races and religions.

"It is suggested that the Palavalis are perhaps of ancient Pahlavi or Persian descent. The older writers on the history of Southern India have indulged in speculations connecting the great Pallava rulers of Kānchi with the Pahlavas or Parthians, but I believe this view is now generally, if not universally, abandoned by scholars" (Letter of 24-9-1927).

Prof. Hodivala himself suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 84) that the Pārasīkas of the *Gaudavaho* might be the Nestorian Chris-

tians of Malabar or some other foreign emigrants in the extreme South of the Peninsula. I still submit that Yashovarman's movements were from East to West, that he reached the Pārasikas before proceeding to Cape Comorin. I submit also that, as at this early date (c. 675–700 A.D.) there were Christians on the Coromandel Coast with clergy from Persia, these Christians would have been called Pārasikas rather than some newly arrived Muhammadan settlers from Arabia and Persia. I submit further that the name Pārasika, as applied to the Christians of the Coromandel Coast, was considerably older than Yashovarman's reign. Caldwell, I surmise, considered too much the present value of the name Yavana in Sonagar and Jonagar. Yule quotes him, not in his *Hobson-Jobson*, but in his *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 359. My suggestion about the Palavalis is made in spite of the present theories on the Pallavas, because their likely connection with the ancient Yavanas, Pārasikas and Tarsās suggests their connection with the Pahlavas. Be the value of the new theories on the Pallavas what it may, there may have been room in South India for Pallavas and Pahlavas. What is the meaning of Parittivakkam, a place name, at the foot of St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore? Near it we have Palavantangal and Pallavaram.¹

From a letter of Pandit Hiranand S'astri (Fernhill, Nilgiris, 27. 5. 1928) to Prof. Hodivala I gather that the Pārasikas are mentioned in other Hindu works. "Then he (Raghu) set out by land [from Ayōdhyā] to conquer the Pārasikas." (Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 60.) "Mlechchha tribes or castes are Hūnas and Pārasikas and Chinas [the Chinese] . . ." (*Mahābhārata*, vi. 9. 65-66.) The *Mūdrarākṣasa* mentions Pārasikas with the Mlechchhas of the N.-W. of India.

Granting that the word Pārasika does not in these quotations connote Zoroastrians, it must connote nationality. If the texts show that these Persians were settled in India before the Muhammadan invasions, these Persians were either Zoroastrians or Christians, or both jointly.

We may recall also that the Sabayo kings connected themselves with Saba or Sawa in Persia. Cf. *supra*, pp. 408–412, 500 n. 2, etc., what I have written of the kingdom of Saba, or Yābah, of the Ruhmis of the Christian city of Deogir (Daulatabad), and of the Jor, Juri, Juriya, Jurz, Juzr, Guzr, whom I identify with the Virk (Georgians) or the Armenians.

2. *Tarsā*.—The Tarsā or Christian Church of Quilon is named in certain copper-plates granted to that Church about A.D. 880. The name Tarsā, according to Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum, is from the Syriac 'Trisā,' meaning: "right, orthodox." Another form is Tarsā. The primary meaning of

¹ Cf. the map facing p. 111 in Medlycott, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*.

Tarsā in the European dictionaries is 'Christian.' At times, for reasons obscure, the name Tarsā is given by these dictionaries to infidels, fire-worshippers and, perhaps, Buddhists. As among the Christians some were Persians, and many of the Persians were fire-worshippers, the term Tarsā may have been misunderstood to apply to Persians in general or fire-worshippers in particular; but some of the Persian writers declare that Tarsā does not mean a fire-worshipper, but a Christian. The Christians would be regarded as infidels by those who were not of their religion, for instance by the Muhammadans. Buddhists too might improperly have been called Tarsā from the similarities observed between them and the Christians; but the examples quoted are not conclusive in favour of Buddhism. The Christians in Malabar are even now called Buddhists. Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo (*Systema Brachmanicum, Liturgicum, Mythologicum*, Romae, 1791, p. 161) writes: "The Malabar Brahmans call St. Thomas the Apostle Budha, and the Christians Baudhenmar, as if they had received from Budha or a man full of the spirit of God and of piety the institutions of the Christian faith."

If we find the word Tarsā used in a religious sense for parts of India other than the South, the presumption must be that it applies to the Christians, considering that the name was used for the Christians of Malabar before A.D. 880, and, along the Fishery Coast in 1604, by people who had lost their primitive Christian faith, as they themselves confessed. In other parts of the East the word was applied to the Christians primarily, if not exclusively. Several Muhammadan writers protest that 'Tarsā' designates the Christians only. I had long hoped in vain that the word might turn up for parts of India other than the South. We have at last such a case for the town of Kambāyat (Cambay) in the 12th century.

Awfi, a Muhammadan traveller, who visited Cambay in the 13th century, relates in the *Jawāmi 'u-l-Hikāyāt* (Elliot & Dowson, *Hist. of India*, II. 162-164) that, during a riot at Kambāyat, the Hindus, instigated by the Tarsā, destroyed the minaret of the mosque, burnt the mosque and killed 80 Muhammadans. King Jai Singh of Nahrwāla ordered that two of the leading men of each class of infidels, Brahmans, Tarsā, and others, be punished.¹ (Cf. also *Bombay Gazetteer: Cambay*, VI. 215.)² We suggest that these Tarsā were neither Zoroastrians, as proposed by some, nor Jains, as proposed by others, but Christians. There were at the time, or had been, Christians all along the West Coast from Sind up to the Coromandel Coast, chiefly at all the

¹ Prof. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, and see his discussion of the meaning of Tarsā at pp. 24-29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

points of vantage for commerce. There were Christians with a Bishop and clergy from Persia in about A.D. 535 at Kalliana, near the present Bombay. At the same date there were Christians in Malabar, and Christians with a Persian clergy in Ceylon. There were, in A.D. 1321-23, Christians at Thānā, and at Supara (Bassein?), where they had a church said to have been founded by St. Thomas (it had recently been destroyed and rebuilt); others were to be found at Broach, and probably too at Gogo in Kāthiāwār.¹ There were Christians at Saimur (Chaul?) in A.D. 1274,² and at Mangalore in A.D. 1502. In fact, we might

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), pp. 225-230.

² Kazwini states for A.D. 1274: "Çaimur, a town of India near Sindia (Sind), whose inhabitants are noted for perfect beauty, being descended from Indians and Turks. There are Muslims, Christians, Jews and Magi. In the town there are Muhammadic temples, churches, synagogues; there is also a temple of fire-worshippers." Cf. Gildemeister, *Scriptores Arabum de rebus Indicis*, Bonnæ, 1838, p. 208. It would be worth noting what words Kazwini uses for 'Christians,' 'churches,' 'synagogues,' and 'fire-worshippers.'

Ibn Muhalhal (c. A.D. 941) writes: "Saimur, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese." Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. xcii and n. 2; p. exi.

Mas'ūdī (A.D. 916): "The year 304 I found myself in the territory of Saimūr (or Chaimūr) belonging to Hind and forming part of the province of Lār, which is in the states of the Balhara.... There were in the place about 10,000 Mussulmans, both of those called *bāiasirah* (half-breeds), and of natives of Sirāf, Omān, Basrah, Bagdad and other countries." Cf. Barbier de Maynard, *Maçoudi*, Paris, II, (1863), 85; cp. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Choul. The passage contains no allusion to Christians.

"Much water has passed under the bridges since the publication by Wüstenfeld and Gildemeister of the text and translation of the passages relating to India in Kazwini's work and the extracts printed in the first volume of Elliot and Dowson. There is, I believe, no doubt now that large parts of Kazwini were transcribed bodily by that writer from earlier authors without scrutiny or verification. He often repeats literally what was said by *Mas'ūdī* and others in the 10th century, and we should be on our guard in supposing that the statements are true of the 13th century, merely because they are re-affirmed and there are, apparently, two witnesses instead of one.

"As for Ibn Muhalhil, I understand from an article of Dr. Horowitz in the *Islamic Review* (which I read in April and May last in Bombay) that this work has now been proved to be a forgery." (Prof. Hodivala, 24-9-1927).

I am not aware that the passage quoted from Kazwini is taken from Mas'ūdī. If Mas'ūdī has it too, he would be a link between the Christians of Kalliana (A.D. 535) and those of the 10th century in the same direction. As we find Christians in that neighbourhood in A.D. 1321-23, who, at Supara, possessed an ancient Church attributed to St. Thomas, we believe ourselves justified in supposing there had been no break in their occupation between A.D. 535 and A.D. 1321-23.

Prof. Hodivala writes to me a later note. "Kazwini himself says that it [the passage quoted by me?—H. H.] is borrowed from Misar bin Muhalhil—the supposed author of the '*Ajāibu-l-buldān*'—a work of which the name is quoted by Mas'ūdī and attributed by him to Al-jāhīz. See Elliot and Dowson, I, 95, 97. Another passage quoted in Elliot, I, 96, from Kazwini, is borrowed, says Dowson, from Istākhrī. The passage

suspect that there were Christians at all the places, along the West Coast and in Malabar and on the Coromandel Coast, which we find mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes (about A.D. 535). He seems to mention them in geographical order from North to South and from West to East: Sindu,¹ Orrhota,² Kalliana,³ Sibor,⁴ and the five marts of Male (Malabar); i.e.: Parti,⁵ Mangaruth,⁶ Salopatana,⁷ Nalopatana,⁸ and Pudopatana;⁹ also, away from Siedidiba (Ceylon), Marallo,¹⁰ and Kaber.¹¹

Friar Jordanus of Séverac writes about A.D. 1330 of India the Less, by which he understands India from Sind up to Malabar:

"In this India, the greater part of the people worship idols, although a great share of the sovereignty is in the hands of the Turkish Saracens, who came forth from Multan, and conquered and usurped dominion to themselves not long since, and destroyed an infinity of idol temples, and likewise many churches, of which they made mosques for Mahomet, taking possession of their endowments and property. 'Tis grief to hear, and woe to see!

"The Pagans of this India have prophecies of their own that we Latins are to subjugate the whole world.

"In this India there is a scattered people, one here, another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith. Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ.

"There, in the India I speak of, I baptized and brought into the faith about three hundred souls, of whom many were idolaters and Saracens.

about Somnāth (*ibid.*, 97-98) is borrowed from the *Jāmiu-l-Hikāyāt* and Ibn Asīr. See *ibid.*, II. 468. The story of the idol hanging in the air is evidently apocryphal, and is quoted by Ferishta from the *Jāmiu-l-Hikāyāt*. The paragraphs about Kūlam and Multān contain several absurd and incredible statements. Mas'ūdi wrote about 320 or 322 A.H. and died on 345 A.H. (955 A.C.). Misar bin Muhalhil is supposed to have gone to China and India about 331 A.H. (942 A.C.). Cf. Elliot-Dowson, I. 18. 95."

* If Kazwīnī borrows from Misar bin Muhalhil the statement that the inhabitants of Saimūr are born of Turk and Indian parents, how is it that Yule, quoting Misar bin Muhalhil, has Turk and Chinese parents? In case Kazwīnī borrows from Misar bin Muhalhil the statement that there were Christians at Saimūr, we have again a link between the Christians of Kalliana (A.D. 535) and those of the 10th Century in the same direction.

¹ Sind. ² Sorath in Kathiawar.

³ Kalyan near Bombay, according to the commonest theory.

⁴ Chaul. ⁵ Kundapur (?), N. of Mangalore. ⁶ Mangalore.

⁷ Cranganore, for Wilford, in *As. Res.*, X (1808), 77. 85.

⁸ Nalisuram (*ibid.*).

⁹ Puthupattanam in Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II. 85.

¹⁰ Morilloum opposite Ceylon, according to Walckenaer. Yule asks whether such a place exists. Cf. *Cathay*, I (1866), p. clxxviii, n. 5.

¹¹ Kaveripattanam, at the mouth of the Kaveri.

“And let me tell you that among the idolaters a man may safely expound the Word of the Lord; nor is anyone from among the idolaters hindered from being baptized throughout all the East, whether they be Tartars, or Indians, or what not.”¹

As the churches turned into mosques must have been between Thāna, where Jordanus had chiefly laboured, and Multān, it is not unlikely that the Christians of Kambāyat had been dispossessed of their Church and its endowments, and that their church too had been changed into a mosque. The Turkish Saracens of Multān, to whom reference is made, may have been those of Mahmūd of Ghazni, 300 years before. Mahmūd, coming from Ghazni, would pass through Multān, and indeed he took that city several times.² Or the reference is to the gradual encroachments of these same Turks and their increasing oppression of the Hindus and the Christians in different parts (say, up to Mālwa). The Tarsās of Kambāyat were probably great traders long before the Turkish Saracens appeared on the scene. If their former commercial advantages were gradually being wrested from them by the Muhammadans, it is easy to understand that the Tarsās, if inferior to the Turks in number and power, instigated their fellow sufferers, the Hindus, to take action against their rivals.

The use of the word Tarsā from an early date for the Christians in Turkestan and China is well-known. The Muhammadans may have applied it to the Buddhists from a mistaken identification of these with the Christians, or they may have meant Christians even in Tibet. There were Christians in Tibet from at least the 8th century. The Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I (A.D. 779-823) writes: “And in all the countries of Babylon, of Persia, and of Assyria, and in all the countries of the sunrise, that is to say, among the Indians, the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Turks, and in all the provinces under the jurisdiction of this Patriarchal See, there is no addition of *Crucifixus es pro nobis*.”³ The same Timothy wrote in one of his letters: “In these days the Holy Spirit has anointed a Metropolitan for the Turks, and we are preparing to consecrate one for the Tibetans.”⁴

The existence of Christianity in Tibet in ancient times, and the possibly lax use of the word Tarsā by the Muhammadans may have caused Muhammadan travellers to say to the Jesuits at Akbar's Court that the Emperor of Cathay and his people were Christians, believers in Jesus.

In 1580-82, the Jesuits had similar information about the

¹ Yule, *Mirabilia descripta*, 1863, pp. 23-24. ² *Ibid.*, p. 23, n. 1.

³ A. Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia* (reprint from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 9, No. 2, July 1925, p. 12).

⁴ Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

people near Lake Manasarowar. Repeated investigation, always confirmed in the same manner, made the Jesuits undertake in 1624 an expedition to Western Tibet and found a mission at Cha-brang (Tsaparang) on the Sotlej. It may appear less preposterous now that the Fathers should have found at Cha-brang and in the neighbouring monastery of Toling traces of Christianity, chiefly in the form of crosses, depicted in books and paintings, and surrounded by characters unintelligible to the Lamas.

Remarks by Prof. Hodivala.—"The etymology of 'Tarsā' is exceedingly doubtful. Mr. Joseph's derivation from the Syriac may, for aught I know, be as valueless as that which some Persian lexicographers give with great confidence: 'Tarsidan' (Persian): to fear, to quake. But, whatever be the true etymology, it can be of little or no use or have any bearing on the point in issue, the various *secondary* meanings of 'Tarsā'. The etymology, whatever it is, cannot prove that 'Tarsā' does not mean 'Buddhist' or 'Jain' or 'Fire-worshipper.' These applications of the word are due, not to the knowledge of the Musalman writers, but to their ignorance. They cared nothing at all for any other religion than their own. Buddhists, Jains, Fire-worshippers, Christians, were all huddled together. They were all 'Kafars,' and that was sufficient. The transition of meaning from 'Christian' to 'Fire-worshipper' and 'Buddhist' is probably this. The form of Christianity with which the Sāssānian Persians were most familiar, and which they held in pre-eminent detestation, was the Manichean. The Manicheans are the 'Zaudiqs,' on whom the most opprobrious epithets are bestowed in the Pahlavi literature. Manes was a Persian, and his religion was 'a damnable heresy' in the eyes of the orthodox Sāssānian Zoroastrians, at least as much as in those of the Christians. His dualism was the connecting link between him and Zoroastrianism; his asceticism and idolatry (the Musalman writers all speak of his Book of Pictures) were probably derived from Buddhism. There is therefore nothing strange in the confusion. The Manicheans derived their origin from Persia, the land of fire-worshippers, but they also called themselves Christians and had points of contact with Buddhism also. Thus they all came to be called Tarsā indiscriminately.

"Sopara' is a well-known place. Buddhist remains of considerable antiquity have been found there. It is now a station on the B.B. & C.I. Railway in the neighbourhood of Bombay and Bassein. The Church which is said to have been destroyed about 1321 must have owed its demolition to the invasion of the Muhammadans under 'Alāuddin Khalji, his son, Qutbuddin Mubārak, and the Tughlaqs. We (Parsis) possess ancient MSS. of the Avesta written in 1323 and 1324 at Thāna and Navsāri (18 miles from Surat) by the Iranian scribe Mihrāpān Kaikhusru, which contain two colophons written in corrupt Sanskrit, in which it is distinctly said that both those

places were under the sway of Ghiāsuddin Tughlaq in those years.

"May I point out that Jordanus' reference to 'churches turned into mosques' can have no reference to the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni (circa 1000 A.C.) or the time of Jay Singh of Nahrwāla, who died in 1143 A.C., or to the destruction of the mosque in Cambay by the Idolaters, who are explicitly said to be Hindus or 'Brahmans'? May I invite your attention to the words used by Jordanus himself in regard to the 'Turkish Saracens' who came from Multan and conquered the usurped dominions to themselves "not long since," i.e., not long before 1321-23 A.C.? How then can it have any reference to the idol-breaker from Ghazni, who was in Gujārāt only in the year of the sack of Somnāth in 1024 A.C.?"

My argument for explaining Tarsā by Christian in the case of Kambāyat in the 12th century, is that there must have been Christians there as in the neighbourhood, and that they would have been called Tarsā there, as well as in Southern India in the 9th century. Awfi may have used for them the local term.

In connection with Jordanus' Turkish Saracens from Multan I mention Mahmūd of Ghazni only out of deference for Yule (*loc. cit.*).

3. *Tūin*.—The word 'Tūin' is said to be the Mongol name for 'Buddhist priest.' We find it in the sense of 'Christian priest' in the *Djihān-Kushāi* (MS. 69, fol. 155v).¹ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* relates of Muhammad Bakhtiār Khalji that he invaded Tibet and penetrated to the heart of the country as far as the city of Karambattan (*var.*: Karambain, Larambain, Kurrumputtum). "The inhabitants of it," we read, "are Brahmans and Nūnīs (*var.*: Tūins) and the city is under the sway of the chief of these people. They profess the Dīn-i-Tarsāi" (religion of the Tarsā).² This is one of the passages where the word Tarsā is by some supposed to mean Buddhists. Raverty thinks that the reference is to Manichean Christians.³ Why not to Nestorian Christians?

The word Tarsā applied to the Nāimāns means Christian.⁴ At one time, most of the Nāimāns were Christian.⁵ There were Christians among the Hephthalite (or White) Huns, among the Turks, the Keraites (Kerits or Krits), the Merkits or Mekrits, the Tangutians.⁶ The niece of the king of the Keraites, a Christian, was the mother of Mūnga Khān, Kublai Khan, Hūlākū Khān and Arig Bōga.⁷ Marsden in his edition of Marco Polo ventures

¹ Hodivala, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26, quoting Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, II. 311, and Dowson's note; *Bibl. Ind. Text*, 154, l. 4.

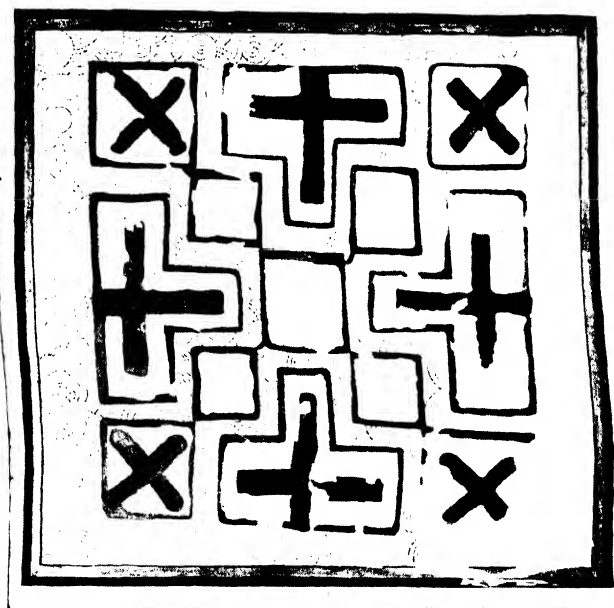
³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵ Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8. 10-12, 14-16, 23-30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.



Fresco painting on the walls within the Kyanzittha Onhmin Pagan.
Courtesy of Director, Archaeological Dept., Madras, Burma Circle,
No. 8-2211.



Burma, Elephant Point. *The Holy Family*. Ivory carving. Cf. p. 510.
Note the aureolas above the heads of several figures and compare
with subject No. 7, p. 5. Are there more aureolas of the kind in
India?

to say that the words *Krit* and *Mekrit* are both derived from the word 'Christian.'¹

We find the term 'tuin' used by Odoric of Pordenone (c. 1324) in connection with an idol temple of the Province of Mobar (Ma'bar or Coromandel). The Palatine MS. of his account calls the temple *celai*, and says that "the Emperor and their Pope and other priests, which are called 'Tuin,'" and the whole body of the people would drag the chariot of the idol, and that some of the people sacrificed themselves to the god by throwing themselves under the ponderous wheels."²

4. *Tanui*; *Thanawī*; *Sanawī*.—Could there be a connection between *tūin* and *tanui*, *thanawī*, *sanawī* (dualist), a term used mostly for 'Manichean,' and perhaps also for 'Nestorian Christian'?

Abū Zayd Hasan (c. A.D. 916) says there were many Jews in Ceylon, as well as other sects, chiefly *Tanuis*.³ Germann contends that the word *Tanui* means dualists, comprising Zoroastrians and Manicheans, but scarcely ever Christians. Prof. W. Ivanow wrote to me that "*thanawī* (*sanawī*, etc.)" never means Christians. Be that as it may, we have evidence that there was a Mesopotamian bishop in Ceylon before A.D. 893, and that there were Christians there in the time of Cosmas (c. A.D. 535). A Persian cross was found some 15 years ago in the ruins of the town of Anuradhapura, and two crosses were found by the Portuguese during their occupation of the island. We suggest therefore that the word 'Tanui' in Abū Zayd Hasan is used improperly for 'Christian.' If there were Manicheans in great numbers in Ceylon, we should expect there were even more on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts; but we have no clear evidence for Manicheism in those parts. Idrīsī, writing in A.D. 1154, says: "The king of Serendip (Ceylon) has sixteen vizirs, four of whom are of his own nation, four Christians, four Mussulmans, and four Jews."⁴

In Timūr's time there were at Tughlaqpur, near Delhi, and in many other parts of India, e.g., at Bhatnir, Mirat,

¹ I say this from memory, not having the book for reference. Might the name *Mekrits* or *Merkit* be connected with 'Melkite,' from *malkā* (*basileus*, emperor)? The name *Melkite* for Orthodox Syrians dates from the 5th century.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I (1866), p. 82 n. 2; p. 83 n. 1.

³ The spelling 'Tanuis' comes from Renaudot, who explains the word as Manichean. Cf. Germann, p. 105. Prof. Hodivala writes to me that the form in the Arabic and Persian dictionaries is to be rendered by 'Thanawī' and 'Sanawī,' not by 'Tanawī' or 'Tanui.' G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand Sulaymān*, Bossard, Paris, 1922, p. 119 translates by Manichean, and so does Elliot-Dowson (I. 10). Abū Zayd speaks elsewhere (G. Ferrand, *ibid.*, 128-129) of the Christians of Sokotra, descendants of Greeks. What term does he use in the original in this latter case?

⁴ Germann, 118, quoting *Géographie d'Édrisi*, éd. A. Jaubert, Paris, 1836. p. 72.

Nagrakot, in the Sawālik Hills and in Kashmir, people called by the Muhammadan writers by the various names of Gabrs, Sanawiya, and Sālūn.¹ Sometimes these people seem to be confused with the Hindus as infidels; in many places they are clearly distinguished from them and represented as worshipping two gods, one called Yazdān, the other Ahriman, whom they typified by light and darkness. They supposed all good to come from the one, and all evil from the other.² Many of these men had been expelled from Khorāsān. They were counted by hundreds of thousands, and opposed a most stubborn resistance to the Muhammadans, committing self-destruction when no longer able to defend their cities. We can hardly suppose that these men were Zoroastrians. They were too many and too far in the interior. They were probably Manicheans. Their name Sālūn is perhaps to be compared with the name Śalivāhaṇa. As we are told that the Manicheans held that St. Thomas was impaled, they may have called St. Thomas Śalivāhana (cross-borne or cross-bearer). From different parts of India, notably from Kashmir, and Warangal, we get the story of a minister who was killed, crucified, in the place of his king.³ The story resembles that of the Muhammadans, who hold that not Christ, but one like him was crucified. Whoever these Guebres of Gabrs were, some modern Christian writers, perhaps in imitation of medieval writers, take them to have been Christians. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo writes in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1796, pp. 175—176: "About the year 1209, when Chingis Chan invaded the kingdom of Tibet, there were still about 200,000 Christians in Tibet, in Turkestan, in Corasan, and in the Indian town of Cabul, in Cashemir and in Lahur (Lahore)... About the year 1409 there succeeded to Cinghis Chan in India Timur, who was most ardent in propagating the sect of Mohamed. At a single word of command, within a single hour, this man, the most cruel in the memory of man, killed at the town of Delhy in India about 100,000 native Indians, among whom not a few Christians. See *Histoire de Timur-Bec, écrite en Persan par Cherefuddin-Ally, traduite en François par M. Petit de la Croix*, t. III, ch. 18, pp. 89-90." (The reference is properly, t. 2, bk. 4, ch. 17 (A.D. 1398), where we find the word 'Guebres' used.)

To designate the Jains, the Muhammadans had such terms as Samāni or Samāna and Jati.⁴ The former term was also applicable to the Buddhists. It is not likely that they ever

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, s. v. Gabrs, especially in the *Zafar-nāma*, III. 497.

² *Ibid.*, III. 431. See also V. Note C: On fire-worship in India, pp. 559-570, and *Mem. A.S.B.*, III. 695-698.

³ Wilford in *As. Res.*, X (1808), 44-63.

⁴ Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 30-33.

used the term Samāni to speak of the Christians. They had for the Christians such terms as Īsāi, Masihi, Nasrāni, Nasāri, and Tarsā.

Remarks by Prof. Hodivala.—‘The philological connection that is suggested between ‘Tuin’ and ‘Thanawi’ is exceedingly doubtful. Quatremère says that ‘Tuin’ is a Mongol word, i.e. derived from a Turānian root. ‘Thanawi’ is without doubt of Arabic or Semitic origin, and related to the Arabic word for ‘two’. The tenets of the ‘Thanawis’ (or ‘Sanawis’ as the word is pronounced by Persians) are clearly described by ‘Sharastani’ in the ‘Millal wa Nahal,’ and there is a translation of the extract in a paper by E. Rehatsek in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The work is well known to Oriental scholars and has been edited in the original Arabic by W. Cureton, and there is I think, a German translation of a portion by Haarbrücker. The author’s description of the religion of these ‘Thanawis’ bears not the smallest resemblance to Buddhism in any of its forms. It appears to be applicable to some Zoroastrian heresy. There is a similar account in a Persian work (MS.), the ‘Tabṣarat al-Awwām,’ a copy of which is in the Mullā Firūz Library in Bombay. Odoric of Pordenone’s use of the word ‘Tuin’ in connection with an idol temple in Ma’abar or Coromandel and the car-festival is either the result of ignorance or of some confusion in the writer’s mind between the idolatry of Tibet and that of India, or some resemblance between the Mongol ‘Tuin’ and some Dravidian word which he imperfectly caught and understood. In a word, there can be little doubt that what Germann and Ivanow have said about ‘Thanawi’ is correct and that it is infructuous to try to establish any connection between ‘Tuin’ and ‘Thanawi’.

“As for the Tughlaqpūr passage from the Tūzuk-i-Taimuri, I may be permitted to say that I have been cudgelling my brains about it for nearly thirty years. I agree with you that the Gabrs of Tughlaqpūr were not Zoroastrians, though they are said to be ‘Sanawiyah’ and to have been worshippers of Ahuramazd and Ahriman. Other Parsi writers are, it is true, of a different opinion and have built upon these stray allusions elaborate theories, more or less imaginative, about the existence of large Zoroastrian colonies in Northern India in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is unfortunate that the paper of Sir H. Elliot to which you refer in the notes has lent countenance to, if it is not the origin of, these notions. I have no doubt myself, and can prove it, that Sir H. Elliot was mistaken in regard to the interpretation of Badāoni’s ‘kanisahā’ as ‘Fire-temples,’ and that the reference to ‘the hundred thousands’ of Fire-worshippers whom Afrāsiāb is said to have banished to India from Khurāsān, and whom Ibrāhim Ghaznavi is said to have destroyed or enslaved, is absolutely valueless. The tale occurs

for the first time in the 'Rauzatu-s-Safā' of Mirkhond, a work of the 15th century, and is undoubtedly unhistorical. I see that you have connected the Gabrs of Tughlaqpūr with 'the hundreds of thousands' who had been expelled by Afrāsiāb. I am sure that, if you will read the passages again, you will see reason for deleting the words. But if these Gabrs of Timūr were not Zoroastrians, they were not Manicheans either. They could not have been other than 'Hindus,' and the passage about Yazdān and Ahriman is merely the gloss of an ignorant writer anxious to display his supposed knowledge of distant lands and peoples. Such glosses are unfortunately only too common in Musulman writers, and it is a mistake to attach any importance to them after what we know of their intellectual limitations and their bigoted mentality. I hope you will not mind my saying that what Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo says about 'not a few Christians being included among the 100,000 native Indians massacred by Timur' is a gloss founded on a similar confusion and imperfect apprehension of a word used in an indifferent translation. The author, of course, knew that 'Guebre', 'Giaour' and 'Gaur' was generally used in Persia and Turkey for Christians, and he has interpolated an absolutely unauthorized statement in consequence." (24-9-1927).

My reason for suggesting a connection between Thanawi, Tanui, and Tuin is that Thanawi may at times have been loosely used for Christian. Might Thanawi not lead by metathesis to Thawani, Tauni and thus to Tuin?

The words which Prof. Hodivala would like me to expunge are: "Many of these had been expelled from Khorāsan." As these words come from an old author, I prefer to let them stand and to keep Prof. Hodivala's comments on them.

5. *Kirānī* —Why are the Indian Christians in the Panjab and on the side of Allahabad and Agra called *Kirānī*? The dictionaries assign a variety of meanings to this word: writer; clerk; copyist; one of European and Indian descent; a convert to Christianity. Is *Kirānī* an old name for Christian, which came to mean writer, clerk, or *vice-versā*? Does it mean Christian, because the first clerks or writers under the Portuguese and later under the English had to know two languages and would therefore, chiefly under the Portuguese, embrace the religion of their employers? Or does it mean clerks, writers, because the first clerks and writers under the Portuguese were Christian? Pahlavi translators identified (by mistake, says Prof. Hodivala) the Avestaic *Keresāni* (Vedic *Krishānu*) with *Kalasyākā* or *Karsyāk*: hence Neryosangh (about the end of the 12th century) understood the word as applying to the followers of the Tarsā religion, the believers in Jesus.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

Prof. Hodivala directs us to Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, where one might overlook the presence of the word *Kirānī* under the form 'cranny' (1st edn., 212; 785). The original is the Hindustani *Karānī*, which Wilson derives from the Skt. *karan*, 'a doer.' In Bengal, the word used to be applied to a clerk writing English, and thence vulgarly and generically to the East-Indians or half-caste class, from among whom English copyists were generally recruited. *Karana* is also applied to one sprung from a Sudra mother and Vaiśya father or from a pure Kshatriya mother and a father of degraded Kshatriya origin. Ibn Batuta (c. 1350) uses the word *Kirani* for a ship's clerk. Abul Fazl (c. 1590) calls *karrānī* a ship's accountant, who serves out the water to the passengers. De la Boullayelle Gouz (c. 1653) says of the *karanes* that they are the sons of a 'Mestis' and of an Indian mother, which would show that at Goa the word had the meaning of one of mixed blood, with almost the modern application of East-Indian. Marco Polo calls *Caraonas* the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers (cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1875, I. 99). See also Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, I. 220a, 479a, s.v. *carrana*. Prof. Hodivala writes: "'Shri karané' is repeatedly used in Hindu inscriptions of the Gujarāt Chālukyas and other Hindu rulers for the 'secretary,' 'secretariat,' 'Record office'.... I venture to say that no philologist would connect it with the 'keresāni' of the Avesta. All Avesta scholars are now agreed in regarding Neryosangh's interpretation of that word as '*Karsyāk*' or 'Christian' as demonstrably erroneous. Mills, Darmesteter, Bartholomae and others are all agreed in regard to the matter. The connection of the Pahlavi *Karsyāk*, *Kalusyāka* with *ecclesia* is equally certain. But that does not mean that there is any etymological connection between *Karani* and the *Keresāni* of the Avesta, which latter is the old Persian form of the Vedic *Krishānu*" (24. 9. 1927). "*Keresāni* occurs in the Avesta in what is known as the 'Haoma Yasht,' and is the 9th chapter of the Yasna, which, whatever its exact age, is certainly several centuries older than the birth of Christ" (7. 5. 1928).

In December 1927 I heard a missionary at Lahore describe a monastery of fakirs, on the side of the Sangla Hill (Punjab), with a composite membership taken from Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Sikhism, etc., as a *kirānī* monastery. He was puzzled, when I asked him how the word *kirānī* was also used of Christians in the Punjab. Would it not seem that the monastery in question was called *kirānī* on account of the mixture of religions? To connect *kirānī* with Canarim, a name given to the people of Goa, and now used at times exclusively at Goa in the sense of Christian (cf. Dalgado, s.v. *Canarim*), must appear far-fetched, yet Tavernier, *Voyages*, Rouen, 1712, III. 159, speaks of Canarins as native solicitors and proctors.

In Persian *ecclesia* gives us *kalisā*, *kalisa* or *kalisiyā*.

Who recognises *ecclesia* in the Portuguese *igreja*, which gives us the Hindustani word *girjā*, and in the Japanese *ekirinjiya* or *ekirinji*?

6. *Christian*.—It would be interesting to know what terms have been employed in India since the Portuguese Conquista, or are now employed by non-Christians in different parts of India, to designate the Christians. To what extent is *Kirānī* used? Has *Tarsā* left any trace and where? It survives in Malabar in the word Taritaykkal.

How is the word 'Christianus' (Christianos) rendered in our vernaculars for 1 Pet. 4.16; Acts, 11.26; 26.28? The Protestant Hindi translation of the New Testament, Allahabad, 1890, has 'Khrishtiyan' in all three places. In Chhota Nagpur we have adopted 'Khristān,' with the second *i* dropped. Our Fathers probably found a similar word in use in the earlier Hindi-speaking missions of Patna and Bettiah.

More likely our 'Khristān' was influenced by the Portuguese 'Cristão,' and connects us with the name used for 'Christian' in Bengal in the 16th century. Monsenhor S. Rodolfo Dalgado (*Influência do Vocabulário Português*, Coimbra, 1913, p. 67) gives the following Indian and Far Eastern forms of the Portuguese Cristān (Christian): Konkani, *kristūmv*; Bengali, *kristān*; Tamil, *kiristavan*; Malayalam, *kiristānmār*. Telugu, *kristannū*, *kirastuvānu*; Kanarese, *kiristānu*; Cambodian, *kristāng* (a very near approach to the Portuguese 'Cristão'); Siamese, *khristāng*; Japanese, *kirishtan*, *kirishitan*. Other Indian languages, he says, have *kristi*, from 'Christon- or *kristiyan*, from the English. The Malaya-Polynesian languages have *nasarāni* or *sarāni* from 'Nazarenus.' The Sinhalese have *kristiyāni*, "though twice Christianised by the Portuguese." The Sinhalese *kristiyāni* can hardly be a remnant of a pre-Portuguese Christian vocabulary. Shall we say that in Ceylon the Portuguese 'Cristão' was displaced by the Dutch? The Dutch have the word *kristen*, though family names occur like Christiaens, Christiaensen. The Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., writes to me from Galle, Ceylon (22-9-1927): "*Christiyani* is the usual literary and popular term, in use at least from Dutch times. It is used by Fr. Gonçalves and comes from the Latin. Y is added for euphony, according to rule. *Christiyani-karaya*: Christian; *Christiyani-karanuwa*: to baptise ('to make Christian'). There exists a form *Kristam*, now little used, and only colloquially, which is manifestly from the Portuguese *Cristão*, and was probably the usual term in Portuguese times."

Let us note that in Malabar the Christians are still called Nasrāni by the Muhammadans, and that this is the word which we find used for them by Pope John XXII in 1330. We get, however, in the somewhat corrupt forms, Nastarini, Nascarini,

Nascorini, some of which would make us think rather of Nestorini (Nestorians). (Letter of April 8, 1330.)

7. *Firingī*.—In most parts of India the word for Christian is, or used to be, *Firingī*. The use of this word in the East has been the subject of some study. The origin of the word is the Persian *Farangī*, *Firingī*. In Arabic we get *Ifranji*, *Firanji*, *Afranjah*. The term designates the Franks, "for so they term us, not indeed from France, but from Frank-land (*non a Franciâ, sed a Franquiâ*)," says Friar John de' Marignolli c. A.D. 1350.¹ At an earlier date, c. A.D. 1330, Friar Jordanus assures us that the Hindus had prophecies about the future world-conquest of the Latins, by whom they seem to have meant the Westerners or Europeans in general.² According to *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Firingi*, the Tamil *P'arangī* and the Sinhalese *Parangi* mean only the 'Portuguese.' Is that correct, or is it still correct? In 1924, near Malayatur Hill, far in the interior of Malabar, I met a forest-ranger dressed in coat and trousers, an Indian, whom my companion, a Syrian Christian, called a *Firingī*. The man too considered that his title. Here was an example of the gradual degradation of terms. '*Firingī*' here was a matter of dress, not of nationality or religion. A Chinese chronicle, speaking of the horses which Friar John de Marignolli (c. 1345) brought all the way from Europe across the continent to Peking, to be presented to the Great Khān in the name of the Pope, calls them "horses from the kingdom of Fulang" (*Farang*? *Europe*). The Tibetans are said to have corrupted *Firingī* to *Pelung* or *Philin*,³ but this is denied by Jaeshke⁴ and W. Rockhill.⁵

I find no one to suggest that the word *Folin* or *Fulin*, by which the Chinese understood the Byzantine Empire, has any connection with *Franquia*. In the 9th century the Greeks, says Mas'ūdī, always called their city Constantinia by the name *Bolin* (*Polin* from '*Polis*,' town).⁶ The word *Folin*, already applied by the Chinese to Constantinople and its empire in the time of Heraclius,⁷ might therefore be regarded as derived from *Bolin*. On the other hand, Pegolotti says (c. 1340): "They call *Franchi* all the Christians of these parts from Romania westward." (Yule, *Cathay*, 1866, II. 292.) Yule comments that Romania seems to be included here and that it means Greece or

¹ *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Firingi*.

² Yule, *Mirabilia descripta*, 1863, p. 23, and cp. Jordanus' letter of Thana, 1323 (1324?) in which he says that the Indians were in daily expectation of the Latins and prayed for their coming (*Cathay*, I (1866), 230).

³ *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v., *Firingi*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. W. Rockhill in Sarat Chandra Das' *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, London, 1904, p. 215 p. 1, where he explains Das' use of *Phylin*; "i.e., 'foreigners'; literally, 'outside country.' The word, he says, has no connection, as was once supposed, with *Feranghi* or Franks."

⁶ Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 402 n. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

nearly so (*tutti i Christiani delle parti di Romania innanzi in verso il ponente*); "yet I do not think the Greeks were or are regarded as Franks." (*Ibid.*, II. 292n. 3.) Yule also quotes (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Firingi) Tenreiro c. A.D. 1560: "Here (at Tabriz) live some nations of Christians. . . and they call some of them Franques; they have customs and faith like ours. . . and others they call Armenians."¹ Who were these Franque Christians at Tabriz in 1560, who were distinguished from the Armenians? We do not expect any Christian Missions from Europe at Tabriz at that date. Were they remnants of the medieval Missions? Even so, why should they have been called Franques, if they were natives of the land, though won over by the Latin Missionaries? Unfortunately, I am not sure that we have the text completely enough to discuss with advantage.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, and probably for some time later, the word 'Armenian' was a convenient term among the Moguls, and among our Europeans in India too, for all the Eastern Christians west of India, Chaldeans, Syrians (Arameans), Nestorians, etc.² The Muhammadans at Akbar's Court (1580-82) were of opinion that the Georgians accepted only the Zabur or Psalms and were not Christians.³

If our conclusions for the use in India of the terms *Pārasika* and *Tarsā* are admitted, a great advance may be anticipated for the history of early Christianity in India. Both terms, chiefly the former, will probably be found now in many passages hitherto unexplained.

Wilford states that the Christians in India are referred to as *Peshkār Brahmins*, *Takshakas*, *Sābakas*, *Śālwas*, *Śālavas*, *Śālyas*, *Aryyas*, *Śakas*, *Śaka-Rājā-vāmsas*, *Śāla-vāmsas*, *Buddhists*, etc. Cf. *As. Res.*, X (1808), 60.63.81 87. His study on the *Origin and Decline of Christianity in India*, though now 120 years old, cannot be neglected. Cf. *As. Res.*, X (1808), 27-126.

¹ A. Tenreiro, *Itinerario*, Coimbra, 1560 (Lisbon, 1762), ch. XV.

² *Mem. A. S. B.*, III, 609.

³ *Ibid.*



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